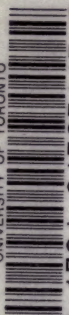


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IRISH NATIONALISM.

S E R M O N

PREACHED IN ARMAGH ROAD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
PORTADOWN, ON SABBATH MORNING,
NOVEMBER 16TH, 1884,

BY

REV. SAMUEL ANDREWS, M.A.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.



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IRISH NATIONALISM.

“Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass.”—(Matt. xxi. 5.)

THERE could be nothing grander than the view of ancient Jerusalem as it burst on the sight of the traveller on the great Eastern highway as he swept round the base of the middle peak of the Mount of Olives, and beheld the splendour of its walls and streets and towers and domes surrounding the central “Stronghold of Zion.” Josephus, who saw it as it was seen by our Lord, cannot restrain his patriotic feeling as he writes—“It made those who forced themselves to look upon it at the first rising of the sun to turn their eyes away just as they would have done at the sun’s own rays.” What thoughts and emotions the sight of it awoke in the bosom of Jesus as he approached it for the last time and looked down from Olivet on that “Inheritance of Peace,” that great and wonderful City which was in a sense then, as it is still, the centre of the world. “When He beheld the city He wept over it.” Often before He had entered it unnoted and unknown, joining like another traveller the concourse on its streets. But now He is about to make His last public offer of Himself as the nation’s Messiah. He assumes kingly state, yet in such a way as to discountenance the common ideas of royalty. He does not intend like David to put Himself at the head of a Jewish army. “For what can war

but endless war still breed." He claims to be that nation's King, but disclaims all the selfishness and all the cruel evils that pertain to worldly kingship. Hence He makes His public entry into His capital riding, not on the proud and fiery warhorse, but on the lowly creature referred to by the old Prophet, when he said :—"Tell ye the daughter of Zion, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass."

Christ's public entry was intended not to encourage but discountenance the mere worldly patriotism of the National party in Judea. Just then, after the eclat of His great miracle of raising Lazarus, had He appealed to patriotic feeling in the usual way, He might have made a formidable revolt. For the country was at that time seething with sedition, which not many years afterwards broke out in the most frantic and horrible excesses. But the trained valour and steady strength of the Roman soldiers was more than a match for Jewish fanaticism. The country was entirely and cruelly subdued, and its beautiful capital, holding the splendid temple, destroyed. It was the foreknowledge of this destruction that made Jesus "weep" as He paused on the road leading to the city and looked down on it. He knew what the proud, fanatical patriotism of His ritualist countrymen was leading to. He knew the Pharisees—the life and soul of the Nationalist party. He knew their bigotted temper and their bitter hatred of the foreign yoke by which they were now held down. He saw how unwise their Nationalist passion was. He knew the massive strength of the Roman Empire, and saw that little Jewish nation as a little wave dashing itself in pieces against a granite rock of mountain size. It was the madness of blind bigotry, nurtured by a system of ritualism, which drove the Jews to contend with the Romans, and made a little province challenge to deadly duel a world-wide Empire. No doubt it was spirited. No doubt in their war with that great Empire the Jews showed admirable courage, wonderful perseverance, quenchless zeal. But all that made their conquest the more damaging, their destruction the more cruel. In one besieged fortress, in their extremity, they all agreed, men, women, and

children, to kill one another, and did it, so that the Romans entered a silent citadel, and found only dead bodies. That is but a sample of the terrible war which Jesus foresaw when He stood on Olivet and wept over Jerusalem. The simplest peasant in the nation could have told the Jews they were no match for the Romans; but in a struggle which rouses both National and religious fanaticism reason will not be heard. It is true that a country as small as theirs did once successfully engage a great empire. Little Greece overthrew the immense powers of Persia. But the cases were not parallel. Those Greeks who conquered at Marathon were the best trained, the ablest, and most enlightened soldiers in the world, while the Persians, with all their multitudes, were no better than a mob of soft luxurious Asiatics, unfit for the rigours of war. Thus in modern times a handful of British soldiers have defeated thousands of effeminate Easterns. But it was no such enemy that the Jews proposed to cope with. There were then no soldiers in the world so brave, so hardy, so experienced, so well disciplined, or so well equipped as the Romans; while the Jews, with all their bravery and all their fierce fanaticism, were no better than an undisciplined mob, occupying a small corner of the Roman Empire. But the blindness of bigotry, the pride of race, and the fury of Nationalism hindered them from seeing the yawning abyss towards which they were rushing. Jesus wept when He looked at the beautiful and renowned Capital, and knew it was about to reject Him—about to turn away coldly from its last hope of safety. He thought of the “abomination of desolation” standing in the Holy Place, whose courts now appeared before him clad in the beauty of morning light. What seldom happened, He wept, and amidst His tears addressed the city in most touching, ever memorable words: “If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace! . . . but now they are hid from thine eyes!” They were hid by the leaven of fanatical zeal and National hatred then working in that strangely unfortunate race. Thus they were prevented from seeing Christ’s way of peace, and rushed into a war of unspeakable horrors,

Our subject irresistibly suggests the case of a nation nearer home. No one can read Irish history without a feeling of pathos similar to that which Jesus expressed when He wept over Jerusalem. In Ireland we still behold the spectacle of a sensitive and lively race, strongly wedded to their ritualism, and full of a certain religious zeal which is not according to knowledge; full also of antipathy to a foreign race and a foreign religion; brooding over the remembrance of ancient glories, and ancient wrongs; held down by superior force; but as ready to slay their Protestant masters as ever the Jews were to slay their Roman oppressors; while they are excited by the goads of superstition, by the hope of gain, and by an idea of nationality, which is as visionary in one case as it was in the other. Had we lived in the eve of '98, when our grandfathers were young men, and had we been able to see the whole case of the Irish rebellion of that year as it is now seen in the page of history, we might have wept over our poor misguided misgoverned country as Jesus wept over Jerusalem. The "United Irishmen" of '98 tried to accomplish an impossibility similar to that which was attempted by the Jews when they challenged the Romans to deadly conflict. The result of that rash act on the part of the Irish was disaster to a large extent similar to that which befel the Jews. Also, the majority of the Irish were animated by a spirit of bigotry and religious fanaticism, nurtured by ritualism, not unlike that which drove the Jews to deeds of demon cruelty. The British Empire then was probably as great as the Roman Empire was in the days of Josephus. In all parts of the world British soldiers and British sailors had greatly distinguished themselves. India had been conquered on the East and Canada on the West. Yet just then Ireland, a poor little country armed chiefly with pikes, threw down the gage of mortal combat to the greatest and richest Empire in the world, whose armies were renowned for victories achieved under the burning sun of the tropics and amidst the snows of the north. You have heard of the disasters resulting from that foolhardy attempt. There were savage massacres committed by the infuriated and bigotted people, and savage retaliations on the part of the brutal and hard-hearted

soldiery, burning of villages, hanging and quartering of rebels, midnight conspiracies, detected by patriots turned traitors, distrust and dismay in divided and terror-stricken households—all this, and a thousand evils impossible to describe, resulted from that insane attempt at obtaining independence. And though the Irish Capital was not destroyed as Jerusalem was, our insurrection resulted in the loss of the last sign of our nationality, the Irish Parliament. The Rebellion was immediately succeeded by the Union.

Would that our Irish Nation had learned a lesson from these holy pages by what befel the Jews! Would that the lesson were not yet to learn! Would that the people instead of the way of war were even now considering Christ's way of peace! But alas, the fires of Rebellion are not yet extinguished, but only smouldering under heaps that have been hastily flung on them! We do not find any Nationalist movement of this kind free from the element of religion. We know as a matter of fact that the strongest and most explosive element of the Jewish Rebellion was the Jewish religion—such as it was!—the ritualistic bigotry which impelled them to destroy the heathen “dogs.” And history shows it is by the sacred swords the priests have blessed that the fiercest blows of patriotism are struck. Therefore, however it begin, an Irish Rebellion always ends in being decidedly Romish. To Irish Protestants there is thus presented the bitter alternative, either to sink their religion for the sake of patriotism, or to sink their patriotism for the sake of their faith. To the noblest and best minds both courses are hateful; for love of country, as well as religion, is highly honoured in the Word of God. It is true that the way of peace has sometimes been by war, but Christ came to His people to show them “a more excellent way.” He did so on that memorable day when, offering to satisfy both patriotism and religion of the noblest kind, He said in the language of action: “Tell ye the Daughter of Zion, Behold thy King cometh unto thee meek, and sitting upon an ass's colt.” In that act He declared His disapproval both of Nationalism and Fanaticism as ways of peace for the Jews. The King who acted in this way caused and still causes

bitter disappointment and anger in the bosoms of worldly patriots and bigots. It was not for claiming to be their King that they crucified Him ; it was for refusing to be a king such as they desired. They were enraged because he gave such good evidence of being a King, and yet looked coldly on the National movement. According to their ideas He was a cold patriot and a bad churchman. They turned away in disgust and hatred. Hitherto kings had reigned by pride—pride was the foundation of their power—but now Jesus proposes to found his kingly authority on the opposite quality of meekness. "And they hated him yet more for his dreams."

Yet Christ's kingdom was not a dream—nor his royalty a mere figure of speech. Even a poor man, if he be the son of a poor man, might become so necessary to his people that he would be in the best sense their king. If in meekness and forgetfulness of self he constantly laboured for their good—if during a long course of years he had clearly manifested his earnest desire to benefit the people—if he never on any occasion showed the slightest selfishness, but was always willing to take the lowest place and most disagreeable duty—if the people had confidence in his wisdom—if they were assured of his honesty—if they knew that he always studied and worked for their highest interest regardless of himself ; that man, though a poor man, and the son of a poor man, might become his people's king. Since they find that his will is their best interest, is he not likely to get them to take whatever course he wishes ? The pilot may be the poorest and meanest man in the vessel, yet princes and nobles, if they be in the ship, will take direction from him ; since he alone has skill to guide the vessel through the storm or through the perilous rocks, and since the safety of the entire crew depends on his knowledge and ability. The poor pilot is king of kings for the time being. The old way to sovereignty was by wars and slaughter. Christ's way is by doing good—by being of infinite service—by laying men under infinite obligation. Men have waded through seas of blood, climbed over hills of slain, to a throne. But the ambition to be the greatest servant is not liable to such objection. It excludes all that indulgence of pride

—all that working of unscrupulous policy—which characterise worldly kings, and requires chiefly the spirit of meekness ; by which a man is able to care nothing about what position he has or what kind of work he engages in, or who praises or blames, if only he is doing good. In the words of Henry Morley : “ A man must exert all his powers, be the best and do the best that is in him to be or do ; give all he hath and hazard all ; not making condition of reward according to desert, not asking whether he shall be rich or praised or happy for the simple hearty doing of his duty, but doing it and taking what may come.” Or in the words of a Greater : “ He that will be great among you let him become the servant of all.” Such a man will be a king by meekness.

Compared with this, how vulgar is the ordinary ambition, how mean the ordinary pride ! Even the ambition of a Napoleon is but a great and exorbitant selfishness, which leads its possessor when he meets with those who are meek, meanly to trample upon them, and in the same way to take the utmost advantage of generosity. There would be no need for struggles for freedom if some were not inclined thus meanly to tyrannise ; if some, filled with the “ alcohol of egotism,” did not insist on gratifying themselves at the people’s expense ; if there were not selfish agitators desirous to advance themselves by sowing seeds of discontent.

It is fair to ask : “ What has Christianity to say to this Irish question ? ” Surely if it be a healer, here is scope for its healing efficacy. How does the saving power of our Gospel apply to a part of our nation which seems incurably disaffected and just now indulging extravagant hopes ? The British nation cannot exterminate or banish from this land four millions of Celts. The British nation cannot content this Celtic population. The British nation is in duty bound to protect the one million or so of Protestants in this land. We hold there is no good solution of the difficulty but the further extension among all classes and creeds of the spirit of Christ. It would certainly do good and promote peace among all parties, did they all more deeply consider the meaning of His announcement : “ Tell ye the

Daughter of Zion, Behold thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting on an ass's colt." Let every member of our parties truly accept this King in the sense intended, and all will be well. To accept Christ as your king is to become like Him in meekness, in self denial, in purity, in diligence, in honesty. Under any political condition there is room for the exercise of self-denial. The worse the condition the more room there is for such ways of doing good. I fancy I hear Jesus saying to Irishmen what in effect he said to his own agitated countrymen—"Give up these pernicious dreams of political revolution, put away that fierce ritualistic bigotry that makes you hate your fellow man! 'Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls.'"

We should not be anxious that the people be called Protestants, or that they should come and fill our church pews. Our main anxiety should be that the people learn to love Christ and be led by His Spirit. By whatever self-denying service, by whatever true religious knowledge kindly communicated, by whatever personal appeal or consistent example this can be brought about, the nearer we are to a settlement of a difficult question, and the extinction of an ancient sore. And while we, Irish Protestants, talk of reforming our neighbours, we should not forget it is of the first importance we should reform ourselves. The candle that should shine in a dark land may need to be snuffed. What good is our Scriptural system or Scriptural knowledge if we are as little self-denying as others, if we are as selfish and bigotted, as proud and ambitious? What good can our Protestantism do, if we show as little meekness, or charity, or brotherly kindness, or forbearance as the most blinded Romanist? Have *we* admitted the claims of the meek King? Have *we* tried to reign as kings by meekness? How are our countrymen to know that our religion is better than their own, if they see that our spirit and conduct are not better, but perhaps worse? Proud, selfish, tyrannical, unchristian Protestants cannot force their religious system on Roman Catholics at the point of the bayonet. The propagating power of Christianity has been from

the first a "leaven," and when we forget that it consists in the influence of personal character we fail of success. Let us give up our excessive worldiness, our exorbitant greed, our pride of caste, our desire of domineering, and let us truly receive this King who rules by meekness, from our hearts hailing Him with hosannas, and assuredly it will not be without effect on our neighbours. If in our lives we be true subjects to Christ we shall succeed in getting others to become His subjects.

But alas! how sadly the Protestants of Great Britain and of Ireland have failed in this respect; how wofully they have obstructed the progress of Christianity in this bright island! Only shouting "Hozanna" in our Sabbath services,—one day doing honour to the Christian character and Christian spirit, and the next execrating it as meanness, scorning it as cowardice, contemning it as folly! Alas, we call for fire from heaven, and we know not what manner of spirit we are of. We think we honour Christ's humility, purity, justness, self-denial, mercy; but when these things come to be reduced to practice in our conduct they become hateful and disgusting to us. Then we want rid of Christ, and (in a sense) cry "Crucify Him" as loudly as ever the Jews did.

Still this fact remains—He who stooped from the highest to the lowest place to do the greatest service—He who stooped from the life and light of Heaven to a shameful death—solemnly symbolized His Kingship by riding on an ass. It was of the utmost importance His nation should perceive the significance of this fact. For a moment the multitude seemed to perceive it; recognizing true spiritual glory, they cast their garments in the way and broke off branches of palm. At that moment, when Jesus was recognised as a King reigning by meekness, the heart of the people seemed right. Alas! how evanescent are the moments of our spiritual insight! Soon the old currents of bigotry, pride, prejudice, resumed their sway over the multitude, and they cursed and scorned what they had lately worshipped.

On our Irish roads we meet crowds of people carrying slips of a tree on the day which commemorates the event referred to

in our text. But, alas, how few of them give to Christ any deeper honour than that old Jewish multitude gave! If, while they carry the "palm" in their hands, they bear carnal passions in their hearts, they are prepared, though they know it not, to crucify Him afresh. With all their shouts and signs of outward respect, how ignorant the Jewish multitude were of the true character of Jesus! And who can help being touched to find an Irish multitude in our own days showing Jesus the same kind of respect, while equally ignorant of the spiritual meaning of the event which they commemorate! Should not "our heart's desire and prayer to God for *Ireland* be, that they may be saved? For we bear them record they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge. They go about to establish their own righteousness and submit not to the righteousness of God." "What then are *we* better than they?" Have *we* after labouring under the legal yoke come to him and found rest? Have *we* come to Him and learned of Him to be meek and lowly in heart? Have *we* taken the yoke of this lowly King and found it easy? Are *we* prepared to die that we may live with him—to suffer that we may reign with Him? If we have truly repented and believed, we are better; but otherwise we are worse, having abused greater light.



MAJOR-GENERAL

CHARLES WORSLEY,

M.P. FOR MANCHESTER 1654.

By ^{John Edington} J. E. BAILEY, F.S.A.

REPRINTED FROM *The Manchester Guardian*,

28TH DECEMBER, 1885.

NOT PUBLISHED.

1886.

“Stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God, and famous to all ages.”—MILTON, *Tractate on Education*.

MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES WORSLEY, M.P. FOR MANCHESTER 1654.

The circumstance of a member of the Worsley family having lately contested one of the newly formed Parliamentary divisions in this neighbourhood recalls the occasion 230 years earlier when one of the Worsleys of Platt was elected member for Manchester. The sagacious ruler of England at that time acknowledged the claim of the town to electoral rights, and doubtless intimated to his friends his desire that one of his "Ironsides," whom he had domiciled in the King's Palace, should be returned. The memory of that first local election has been appropriately perpetuated by the spirited statue of Worsley in one of the niches of the Town Hall. A short account of his brief career, remarkable for the vigour with which he pursued what he took in hand, may not prove an unwelcome record. The review will introduce into the military annals of Manchester some important matters which have been omitted by the local chroniclers, and the details will enable us to form a clear idea of Worsley's character.

It is singular how very few particulars of Worsley were put upon record by his contemporaries. Hollinworth, who knew him well, does not introduce him into his "*Mancuniensis*." The local leaders associated with the Independents, to whom Worsley belonged, were indeed less fortunate than those who attached themselves to the Presbyterians, for the literary men of the latter party, by dedications or other allusions in their books, preserved fragmentary yet entertaining records of their successful soldiers. More information from these sources may be learned, for example, of the Cheshire General, William Brereton, than of Charles Worsley, with whom no one of literary repute seems to have been intimate. One example of Worsley's obscurity in the books of the time may be found in the fact that Carlyle failed to identify him as the beloved friend of the Protector, for he is not once introduced into the text of the "*Letters and Speeches*," and the index to the work seems to confuse him with Sir Charles Wolseley.

Charles Worsley was eldest son of Ralph Worsley, of Platt, a respectable merchant of Manchester, engaged in the importation of yarn and the selling of cloth, and possessed of a house and estate at Platt, near Rusholme. The mother was a Miss Massey, and the marriage took place in or just after 1621. In the Ashmolean MSS. at Oxford there is a memorandum showing that the Major General, or one closely connected with him, consulted the oracle John Booker (a Manchester man) concerning his destiny. This was in the year 1655, when Worsley was thirty-two years of age. The curious record, in part written in shorthand, has a value in that it supplies the exact date of Worsley's birth—namely, 24th June, 1623, “ap'd Manchester,” between eight and ten in the morning. There was, we gather from the same horoscope, a twin-brother, Edward, at that time a minister in Norfolk, but Charles is said to be “primogenitus.” The twins were baptised at the Collegiate Church on 30th June. Mr. Booker in his notice of Worsley in the “History of Birch” was not quite satisfied that they were twins, because the registrar omitted to state the fact. Nothing of his early life appears to be known. His letters show that he had been piously nurtured. His and his father's names occur on the list of those who took the National Protestation as inhabitants of Birch Chapel in 1641-2, where also are found the names of their neighbours, Mr. Thomas Birch (afterwards the Colonel, “Lord Derby's Carter”), Mr. George Syddall, Oliver Edge (afterwards Captain), and others. During this excitement which preceded the Civil War Charles Worsley fell in with the political sentiments of the Manchester burghers, and his activity amongst the extemporised soldiers soon obtained for him the rank of captain. In the volume in the Chetham Series containing the Lancashire Civil War Tracts one is surprised at not meeting with his name. In common with his neighbour and comrade, Colonel Robert Dukinfield, he was a zealous favourer of the views of the Independents. Both these officers were influential in forming the first Congregational churches in Lancashire and Cheshire. Worsley encouraged the establishment of the churches which met at Birch and at Chetham's College, over which was placed his chaplain, John Wigan, one of the “errant saints” ridiculed by the satirist—

whom all men grant
To be the true Church Militant;
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun.

Under the patronage of Worsley, Wigan at Chetham's College preached doctrines, as Martindale tells us, "diametrically opposite" to the Presbyterians, "under their very nose," for they held their "classical" meetings in the same building. When the "drum ecclesiastic" was beaten, Wigan was as ready as Worsley to don his armour.

It was in the height of the troubles—viz., in 1644—that Worsley married his step-sister, Mary, daughter of Mr. John Booth, of Manchester, the ceremony taking place at Didsbury 18th September. The lady died at another troublous period—viz., 1st April, 1649,—after giving birth to a daughter, Mary. In the following year, when there were serious riots (in March) about the collection of the excise in Manchester, Rochdale, Preston and Ormskirk, Worsley, now lieutenant colonel, was busy enrolling and drilling foot soldiers. A good part of these troops belonged to a regiment raised in Manchester and other parts of Lancashire about the year 1647. They became notable for their exploits, having distinguished themselves in the campaign under Cromwell, Lambert, and others in Lancashire against the Duke of Hamilton in 1648, the gallantry of Colonel Ralph Ashton, afterwards Major General, and Major Robinson, "with his true-bred Lancastrians," being specially praised by an officer named Hodgson (hereafter noticed), who further said that "the Lancashire foot were as stout men as were in the field, and as brave firemen, . . . as good fighters, and as great plunderers as ever went to a field." When not on service a patriotic *esprit* kept them together. Called "supernumeraries," they were disbanded in the county in January, 1647-8, and May, 1648. When in the year 1650 troops were much wanted in Ireland for the assistance of Major General Lambert, Lord Lieutenant, the Council of State ordered a regiment of foot to be forthwith raised in Lancashire, under such officers as he might appoint. The order had the approval of Parliament, and measures were taken for its pay. The force, thus again got together, clad in green, was under the control of the Lancashire Militia Commissioners. It was first called "The New Militia," in Manchester

it was known as "The Manchester Militia;" but it soon came to be designated "The Lord General's Regiment of Foot," the "Lord General" being the title of Cromwell at this juncture of his career. The name implies a close familiarity on his part with the troops, but it is annoying that the particular cause which led to the use of the name is not forthcoming. It seems to be connected with Worsley, who by Cromwell's favour was placed at the head of it.

The political movements in Scotland caused the destination of the regiment to be diverted from the west to the north, and Worsley was drilling the soldiers with a Scotch campaign in view. The formal order for raising the regiment in Lancashire was dated 21st June, 1650, and it had the approval of Parliament. On July 1, just after Cromwell had left London for Scotland, payments were ordered for advancing "the Lord General's Regiment now in Lancashire," and the force is also said to have been "lately raised in Lancashire for the Lord General." To it belonged Captain Ellatson, one of the owners of the Chetham Hospital Buildings, Major (the Rev.) John Wigan, his partner in that ownership, Major Robinson, Captain Carter, and others. John Burdsell, "of the Militia [not *Milgate*, as printed by Mr. Booker] in Manchester," was equipped for the service by the elder Mr. Worsley, and for his pains he had 30s. in hand, 1s. daily when he was trained with his company, and 30s. more when he set out. Another private was John Moores, of Lane End, Sale, who was killed "at Wooster fight," and whose child Mary was baptised at Stretford Chapel 1st February, 1651-2. Other volunteers from Stretford were also in the regiment. "Robert Stone," says the parish register, "being souldier under lieutenant Worsely, was buried the fifteenth day of September annoque domini 1651." Amongst the other officers we meet with the names of Captain James Brettargh, Captain Edward Chatterton, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Standish, and Captain Roger Tattersall, all with companies of foot; and Captain Clement Touluson, with a company of horse.

There were two important musters of the troops—called by the elder Mr. Worsley "L'tenn' Coll. Charles Worsley's souldiers"—at Cheetham Hill on 21st July and 2nd August. Urgent orders had come for them to join Sir Arthur Heselrigge,

Governor of Newcastle, and to fall under his command. On 3rd August the Council of State directed a part of the force to be sent to Carlisle to secure the northern parts from invasion. On the 28th they sent instructions to "Lieutenant Colonel Worsley, commander of the regiment of foot raised in Lancashire," to march according to Heselrigge's orders, adding that money had been provided, and Heselrigge was directed at the same time to send the regiment with all speed to the Lord General. But Worsley was at that date already far upon the road, having left Manchester on the 19th; he was at Skipton on the 24th, and so marched on to Durham and Newcastle. He arrived, however, too late to take part in the victory at Dunbar, 3rd September. He remained with his regiment in Scotland throughout the long campaign; but no particulars of their exploits are recorded. In February, 1650-1, the Colonel's twin-brother, Edward, then benefited at Runtou, near Cromer, very anxious for news of his brother, was writing letters to him couched in the most affectionate terms; he sent them by way of Yarmouth and Newcastle, and one of the messengers he employed was directed to see the Colonel ere he returned. It was early in August, 1651, during very hot weather, that the Scotch army, with the newly crowned King, leaving Cromwell's forces far away north in Fife, hurried off to the English border in the direction of Lancashire. Cromwell at once deputed after the invaders 3,000 horse under Lambert, with orders to march night and day, and he himself with the foot and waggons followed with all speed. Cromwell passed the Tyne on 12th August, Carrick Bridge on the 16th, and on by way of Whittingham, marching at the rate of twenty miles a day, the baggage being carried by the country people. Cromwell reached Manchester, the Council of State twice say in their despatches, on the 19th, when the Scotch army had got as far as Stone. The placing of Manchester in Cromwell's route is surely a mistake, unless he left his main body for a hurried visit. Clarendon says that Lancashire and Cheshire were out of the way Cromwell was to follow, "who was entered into Yorkshire." It is unfortunate that there is apparently no itinerary or other detailed record of this most arduous march, memorable for the energy with which it was carried out. Carlyle uses only about half a dozen words to take his hero from York to Not-

tingham. The troops, already fatigued by a long campaign, were surprised into their march when the weather was very unfavourable. In great numbers the men dropped out of the ranks by the way, and orders were sent to the counties through which they passed (Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, York, and Notts only being mentioned) that they were to be accommodated and refreshed, being "well-deserving soldiers." Meanwhile the Militia Commissioners of Lancashire and Cheshire were ordered to break down bridges and stop passes in order to retard the invaders, and they were to act under the orders of Major General Harrison and Colonel Robert Lilburne. The latter officer, with ten troops of horse, one regiment of foot, and some from Chester and Liverpool, was left near Preston to watch the movements of the Earl of Derby, who had just arrived in the county from the Isle of Man, and had collected adherents in such numbers as to cause Lilburne to act with much discretion. General Lambert was at Settle on the 11th of August, with five regiments of horse; and his action with the enemy at Warrington occurred on the 16th, where the Royalists taunted their opponents by crying out "Rogues! we will be with you before your Cromwell comes!" Worsley's presence now begins to show itself. Though unnamed he can be traced in the military Memoirs of Captain John Hodgson (already mentioned), one of Cromwell's soldiers, who has left a vivid description of the battle of Dunbar, and has consequently earned from Carlyle (who carelessly quotes him) the epithet of "an honest-hearted, pudding-headed Yorkshire Puritan." He was an Independent, and lived at Coley, near the residence of Oliver Heywood. His Memoirs (first edited in an indifferent way by Joseph Ritson and Walter Scott in 1806, and lately reprinted at Brighthouse, with little improvement in the editorship) describe Lambert's and Lilburne's positions in Lancashire before the engagements at Warrington and Wigan. He proceeds:—"We [*i.e.*, the Lord General's force] having marched as far as Rutherford Abbey [*i.e.*, Rufford, near Ollerton] in Nottinghamshire, Lilburne writes to the General [Cromwell] for a foot regiment, as he was not able to meet him [the Earl] on the field. The next morning he [the Lord General] ordered his own regiment to prepare for a march to Lancashire. It was newly

raised. They came to us after Dunbar fight, and I had a company given me in it. The soldiers had an inclination to march, being many of them Lancashire [*i.e.* brave, spirited] men. We had one troop of horse with us; marched at a great rate until we came at Manchester, and coming thither there was some appearance of danger; and so we pitched in a field a night or two until Lilburne sent orders to march up towards Wigan, and be very careful, for he feared the Earl would fall upon us and take us unawares. We set out two scouts before us, and they brought in two prisoners that informed our officers that the Earl and his party were totally routed at Wigan" on 25th August. Lilburne's description of this affair to Cromwell is as follows:—"Hearing [while at Ribble Bridge of] your Excellency's regiment coming towards Manchester, I only removed two miles to a more convenient ground, thinking to have stayed there till your regiment could come, but their weariness frustrated that expectation." He then explains how his opponent's forces had been strengthened by "that engagement of the priests [*i.e.*, the Presbyterian ministers] and Manchesterians (who are very malignant) to assist them with 500 men and arms," and refers to the hopes these forces entertained of "surprising your Excellency's regiment," then at Manchester. It was when Hodgson's party were returning to rejoin Cromwell, who reached Worcester on 28th August, that they took on "the Downs," near Whitchurch, five or six hundred of the Scotch in retreat from Worcester, and near at hand he also witnessed the capture of the Earl of Derby and other gentlemen by Oliver Edge. Worsley did not thus participate in the Worcester victory. Some fugitives, about sixty in number, were taken near Bolton by Captain Carter and Captain Ellatson, "of my Lord General's Regiment of Foot."

The regiment was soon after ordered back into Lancashire with the view of joining the expedition to reduce the Isle of Man, which was taken in hand soon after the trial and execution of the Earl of Derby. It was at first intended to place this matter in the hands of Lilburne; but he being sent by Cromwell to Scotland, Colonel Dukinfield, governor of Chester, was selected as general of the forces, and Colonel Thomas Birch also accompanied them.

Another statement about the force is that it was made up of the Lord General's Regiment and Major Deane's. The rendezvous was at Hoylake, where ten ships were to assemble. "Horse and foot," says Hodgson, "were drawn into Wirral to wait for shipping and a fair wind. At last it came, and we were transported to the isle; forced our entrance after storms at sea, and had two castles delivered upon terms, viz. Peel and Rushin." In spite of the opposition of the widowed Countess of Derby, the island surrendered 2nd November, 1651. In the following year Worsley, Major John Wigan, and Captain Rigby were summoned to give evidence in July relating to some of these proceedings.

We are told by Hodgson that the next removal of the regiment was to London, with "no time to refresh ourselves, but when one woe was past another was coming." In the interim occurred Worsley's second marriage, the lady being daughter of Roger Kenyon, of Park Head, near Whalley Abbey, Esq., sister of the Rector of Prestwich, a family of Royalist sympathies. The ceremony took place 6th October, 1652, at Park Head, the minister being "Mr. Briskoe," i.e. Rev. Michael Briscoe, a minister of "the Congregational way," formerly of Burton and Walmesley, but at this time of Black-burn, and in favour with the Committee of Plundered Ministers at London. Twelve days later Worsley, with his wife, set out from Platt on horseback to London, where Cromwell provided St. James's Palace for a residence, formerly occupied by Colonel Berkstead and his regiment. This Palace with other Royal buildings had been granted to Cromwell by Parliament in February, 1649-50. While Worsley was here it was, besides a home, a garrison, a magazine, and a prison. It still contained the Royal library, and the famous John Dury, it is noticeable, had charge of it.

Now occurs the point in Worsley's life when he set his signature to a very interesting letter preserved at the Chetham Library, the subject of which illustrates his deep interest in matters concerning his own county. During a time when active measures were being taken for the formation of new parishes, the chapelries of Oldham and Shaw came under review; but at the former place John Lake was minister. He was a native of Halifax; had been a Cavalier parson, present, it is said, at Basinghouse; and he became famous long afterwards as one of the

Seven Bishops. Lake was befriended by Mr. Edmund Assheton of Chaderton Hall ("Justice Chaderton" Calamy calls him) and by other Royalists; and efforts were being made by Mr. Henry Wrigley, a wealthy clothier of Salford (sheriff of the county in 1651), residing at Chamber Hall, and others, to put the living into the hands of the Rev. Robert Constantine, a Presbyterian. The Committee of Plundered Ministers in London, and Judge Bradshaw, as well as Worsley, were appealed to for assistance in the difficulty, for Mr. Lake the while kept his opponents well at bay by arguments and the favour of influential friends. The letter now to be quoted is written on a double sheet of foolscap and has a fragment of Worsley's heraldic seal:—

Sr,—Yo'rs I rec'd yest'rday, whereby I vnderstand that Mr. Lake is now vseinge meanes to get hands to a pet'ion, Divers off which are hands off men of other parishes. I shall be glad to know, if it were possible, the names o[f all t]hose men not beinge of his owne parish, a[nd who t]he[y] are y't Laboure afft'r [gettin]ge such hands. I have sent you hereinclosed the order ffrom the Com'ittee you desired. It will doe well you Laboure to send up the Examinations as sone as Can be; and y't you doe y'r bissiness Effectual, it will not be amiss, seeinge the[y] intend to p'sent a petition, y't you have a solicitor who dayly waits upon the Com'ittee to speake to it, if any such come to them, Lest the[y] get out Any crose Ord'rs; bec[ause] I cannot attend allwaies there. You must Laboure to make yo'r selves as stronge as you Can. Sr, I shall La[boure]. you to serve to the utmost of my abilitie, and tell you I am, Your most Humble Servant,

CHARLES WORSLEY.

Jameses y^s 19th Nov. '52.

Endorsed: "ffor Mr. Henery Wrigley att the Chamber neer Ouldham ("neere Manchester" added in another hand), in Lancashire, these: haste—haste." Another endorsement: "Conserninge Mr. Lecke." On the back is written: "Witnesses from Halliffaxe: John Worrall, Abraham Wood, Thomas Houlden, John Breerecliffe."

Hodgson says that after several years lying in London, the Protector being settled, he left the foot regiment, and, wishing to rejoin his family, got himself removed into Major General Lambert's regiment, which was much quartered in Yorkshire. In assisting to follow out the career of Worsley Hodgson has given good help. Meanwhile, in June, 1652, Worsley was assiduously devoting himself to his duties at his large barrack-like establishment at St. James's. He was in attendance upon Cromwell on the very memorable occasion, 20th April, 1653, when the latter dissolved the Long Parlia-

ment; and it was Worsley who obeyed the order about the Speaker's mace, "Take away that fool's bauble!" This symbol of authority was not the mace which the newspapers told us the other day was sent to be regilt, nor yet that which had been associated with the times of Tudors and Stuarts, but a proper Republican bauble, made after a "new form," by order of the House, soon after the death of Charles I. Thomas Maundey, of London, goldsmith, was its fabricator, the work occupying him two months, and he was paid £137. 1s. 8d. for his trouble, though the House had a suspicion that his handiwork had been "miscast." Its custodian then was the Sergeant-at-Arms. On the fifth day of the session of the Barebones Parliament (8th July, 1653) "Sergeant Edward Birkhead, Esq.," was ordered "to repair to Lieutenant Colonel Worsley for the Mace, and to bring it to this House." Worsley disgorged this curious piece of spoil, and on the 12th it was ceremoniously ordered to be brought in, "which was done accordingly."

On 20th February, 1652-3, Worsley, Jeffrey Ellatson, J. Hodgson (author of the *Memoirs*), and Thomas Scott, said to be of "Jameses Garrison," recommended to the Admiralty Commissioners the petition of "a poor soldier in the Lord General's Regiment" who had suffered much and was very faithful to the present Government. In the Dutch war a number of the men from the regiment entered the fleet, under Blake and Deane, and took part in the operations against Van Tromp. The interest of Mr. Worsley, sen., in this war is shown by an entry in his diary of "the great sea fight" (at North Foreland) "between the English and Hollanders, begun 2nd June, and continued three or four days."

On 19th July, 1653, Mrs. Worsley, then at Park Head, gave birth to a son, Charles, who on the 24th was baptised at Altham, near Blackburn, by Mr. Thomas Jolly, an Independent minister.

Worsley was destined to earn distinction in his own town as well as in the metropolis. On 19th July, 1654, in obedience to the writ of Cromwell to the High Sheriff, the constables of Manchester assembled a select number of the burghers at the Booths, who made choice of "Charles Worsley, of the Platt, Esq.," to be Burgess. This Parliament, which met on 3rd September, though opened with much state, was short-lived, being dismissed in the following January. Worsley's neighbour and mili-

tary associate, Colonel Birch, was the representative of Liverpool.

The elder Worsley followed the Puritan habit of his son in speaking of the Palace, for under date of October, 1654, he records that "Dorathy, daughter of Lt. Colonell Charles Worsley, was born at *James House*, near Westminster." In the same year by a suspicious transfer Worsley acquired two-thirds of the estate of his neighbour Sir Cecil Trafford; but he surrendered this upon his deathbed, out of justice to Sir Cecil's heirs. "Major Wigan" is still found to be faithfully associated with his patron in matters connected with the regiment—undoubtedly the *quondam* minister, though he is grotesquely indexed in the State papers as the Mayor of Wigan! By the aid of Cromwell Wigan obtained a suspicious grant of money in 1654 as "late preacher at Birch." The strength of the regiment in these times was about 1,200 men; and though there was no war, the General was amply occupied. Many matters connected with Manchester and the county were referred to him by the Council for advice and assistance. We meet with Worsley about this time as a J.P. for the county of Middlesex. On 9th August, 1655, it was proposed to make him one of the ten major generals, his district to be the counties of Derby, Chester, and Worcester; and Lambert was to have Lancashire; but to the former two days later was assigned Lancashire, Cheshire, and Stafford. His annual salary was £666. 13s. 4d. The full tyranny exercised in these major generalships is pretty clearly unfolded in Worsley's letters and reports to Thurloe, Secretary of State. By the 3rd of November, when he writes from Manchester, he had got to work. He says that he found amongst the local officers "a spirret extrardinarily bent to the worke" committed to him by His Highness and Council. One of his chief duties was the disarming and prosecution of "our great malignants" and Papists, with a view to decimating their estates. He had also to eject ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, and to put in force the laws against profaneness, drunkenness, &c. To fitly carry out this huge task he was continually asking for additional powers. The numerous towns whence he dates his letters show his untiring activity; he seems to have been continually riding up and down his broad province. He appeals for a

grant to pay for the postage of letters—"there is such a multitude comes upon me from all parts." He complained that at Stafford he could not find a "corum of honest men." He interfered in the choice of sheriffs, and amongst friends whom he recommended for promotion was Richard Haworth, of Manchester, "an ancient lawyer and practitioner in the Chancery here." In dealing with the alehouses he was in a dilemma, for he feared that his vigorous proceedings would affect the revenue; yet he "threw down" 200 of them in Blackburn Hundred. He would have interfered with fairs held on the days between which Sunday came. In his Westminster home, always "Jameses," he held amongst the prisoners Sir John Byron and Sir Robert Sherley, whose estates in his province he had seized. From January to March, 1655-6, he seems to have been visiting his wife's former home at Park Head. Westminster he seems to regard as his home; and on 5th May, 1656, he asked Thurloe for permission to take a journey thither. But meanwhile there came an urgent message for his presence in London; and a sign of his increased infirmity of body is seen in the fact that he was not now as eager to go. "Indeed, sir," he pleads, "I am not well. My intent was to take a little rest and some physic;" yet, he says, he will try to come. A contemporary letter, dated London, 31st May, states that there was a great talk of a Parliament and an enlargement of the major generals' commissions; that all the major generals had often been sitting close at Whitehall; and that Worsley was very sick, many thinking he would not recover. Meanwhile a son Roger, born at Park Head, was baptised 25th May at Whalley by Mr. Samuel Eaton, the Independent minister of Dukinfield, at this time scheming to obtain the rectory of Stockport, one well acquainted with the foot regiment, and in high favour with those who dispensed "augmentations."

The General died at the Palace on 12th June. His decease deeply affected the Protector, who provided a most gorgeous ceremony for the funeral at Westminster Abbey. "His Highness and the nation," says Thurloe, "hath had a very great loss;" and he adds that the deceased was "a most trusty and diligent man." The elder Worsley, although not present at the interment, notes with

some particularity that the body was buried in Henry VII.'s Chapel, "near Sir William Constable." The comrades of the General discharged "three grand volleys" over the grave. A few months later a sum of money was paid to Charles Rich, the Protector's avenor, for trumpets, torches, charge of inviting coaches, innkeepers' bills, and a hearse for this funeral. The wife not being able to attend her husband's deathbed, she seems to have induced her brother, Roger Kenyon, to go to him. He was in time to take the last directions of the dying man, and he attended the funeral as "mourner." He it was (incredible to narrate) who, when the ceremony was over, stealthily wrote on the stone the unbrotherly pun, "Where never Worse lay," words which offended Cromwell so much that he offered a reward for the discovery of the writer. Well was it for the corpse that no mason was nigh, as when Ben Jonson was buried, to cut the words upon the stone; for of all the bodies of Cromwell's associates and relatives who were buried in that historic Chapel Worsley's alone, unnoted by an inscription, escaped disinterment. The remains only came to light a few years ago, in the time of Dean Stanley, who has inscribed some suitable words upon the grave and placed the warrior's arms and those of the Commonwealth in the window overlooking the spot. His major generalship was given to Colonel Tobias Bridges, in whose time the tyranny of that rule was overpast.

Captain Hodgson relates a singular circumstance about his discovery in London, in the year 1655, of a bag and vase filled with jewels, which belonged to one William Tombes, of Hackney, *felo de se*. This treasure Hodgson took to his comrade at St. James's, Lieutenant Colonel Worsley (not Wortley, as the last editor of the Memoirs would have it), who sealed it up and deposited it in the Palace. On 18th July, 1656, an income out of this estate of Tombes was settled upon Mrs. Worsley and the children, and the provision was further increased by the Protector by grants out of the estates of one Mompesson. The widow also received the full salary of her husband for a year.

Such is a record of a man whose history in full detail would be highly instructive in connection with the political party to which he was allied. He stands out most prominently as an active soldier, and the sculptor of his statue has very

happily represented him in the act of urging some military movement before a council of officers, an occasion which may now well be assigned to some critical moment in the Scotch campaign or the redoubtable march from Fife to Worcester. The recurrence of the word "Labour" in the Oldham letter is eminently characteristic. He was as earnest in his political actions to benefit his country according to the conceptions he had formed. One cannot justify the inquisitorial nature of his proceedings as Major General regarding the private life of members of the county families in his province. Amongst those whom he exasperated were Sir Peter Leycester and members of the family of Sir George Booth. It is to be regretted that but little is known of his private life. Only one autograph letter has been preserved at the Platt Mansion by his descendants—viz. one dated 1649 from his brother's benefice in Norfolk, which exhibits his affectionate relations to his family; but it is noticeable that the surname here is in an orthography different from that in the Oldham letter, and the three years' busy official life in the interval also affected the style of the writing. At Platt are likewise preserved the General's sword and portrait, made heirlooms by the pride of his father, who survived him twelve years, and who referred to him in his will as his "dear deceased son."



THOMAS SOROCOLD, M.A., AUTHOR OF 'SUP-
PLICATIONS OF SAINTS,' CIRCA 1585-1754.

I shall be obliged for any particulars of this old divine, or for the dates of numerous missing editions of his popular book of prayers. He was a native of Manchester, born in 1561 of respectable parentage. Some of his connexions were vintners in that town and in Salford. Bradford the martyr mentions one of the families. The curious name seems to have been derived from a place in Leigh parish, Lancashire, near Byrom Hall; and it is introduced (my nephew Harold Bailey informs me) in Harrison Ainsworth's novel of the 'Tower of London,' where the chirurgion is called Sorocold. Thomas was probably educated at the grammar school of his native town, and he became a battler or student of Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1578. By that time he had made himself well known in Manchester; and on Dec. 7, 1579, the executors of the bounty of Robert Nowell, brother of the Dean of St. Paul's and the patron of towardly scholars, gave 10s. to Thomas Sorocold, "scholar of Manchester, com'endid by certen gent' of Lancashire, and of Mr. Carter." Oliver Carter was fellow and sub-warden of the foundation of Manchester College. In part iii. of his manual he has a good "Schollers Prayer." "Tho. Sorow-cowld, Lanc., pleb. fil.," was matriculated at his college July 18, 1580. He was B.A. Feb. 6, 1582, and M.A. July 8, 1585. Then followed his ordination, and the exercise of his profession in Lancashire. In July, 1587, he was preaching at Lathom House in that county, the seat of the magnificent Earl of Derby. On Sept. 25, 1588, Mr. T. Sorocold, preacher, owed 6s. to the estate of Elizabeth Goldsmith, of Salford, daughter of Thomas Sorocold; and Ralph Sorocold, vintner, was a debtor for 11l. His well-known little manual of prayers derived much of its popularity from its containing "three most excellent Prayers made by the late famous Queen Elizabeth," as well as her portrait. On Oct. 29, 1590, this queen presented Tho. Sorocold, A.M., to the rectory of St. Mildred, Poultry, London (Newc. 'Rep.' i. 502); but the date of



his successor there is not given. The three royal prayers described by the author as "‘Præstantiores,’ far more eminent and excellent than all the rest," were the prayer of thanksgiving for the overthrow of the Spanish navy, for the success of her navy, and another for her navy, 1597. Wood says (‘Athen. Oxon.,’ i. 635) that in the latter end of Queen Elizabeth, and in the time of King James I., the book took with the vulgar sort, and was as much admired as ‘The Practice of Piety’ was afterwards. These facts may give a clue to the earliest date of the book. I possess twelve copies of it, which have taken very many years to get together. The earliest of them, without a title-page, once Dr. Bliss’s, has been marked by that careful bibliographer as belonging to 1617. This edition is dedicated to Prince Charles, and shows us that Sorocold was acquainted with the royal family. It is dated “from the Rectory of St. Mildred in the Poultry, Lond., 1617.” He tells the prince that “it is now a year almost since I presumed to present unto your Highness my poor Mite of Devotion, which your sister, that most virtuous Princess Palatine of the Rhine, challenged for her own, long before the translation of her into that Climate.” This Princess Elizabeth, who was born Aug. 16, 1596, married Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, Feb. 14, 1612/3. To this edition Sorocold added six small prayers. He says that it is now offered “again” to Prince Charles’s royal hands. Of the tenth edition we may give a copy of the title-page, as follows :—

Supplications of Saints. A Booke of Praiers and Prayes. In foure Parts. 1. Daniels Devotion. 2. Pauls Assembly. 3. Dauids Suite. 4. Moses Song. Praiers for 1. Thrice every day. 2. Companies. 3. Euery one alone. 4. Praises & Graces. Wherein are three most excellent Praiers made by the late famous Queene Elizabeth. The Tenth Edition. By Tho. Sorocold. Reuel. 8. 4. The smoke of Incense which came with the Prayers of the Saints, ascended vp before God. London, Printed by I. B. for Nicholas Bourne, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the South entry of the Royall Exchange. 1622.—8vo., pp. xv. 418+iv. The portrait of Queen Elizabeth in this copy is at p. 277.

After this edition the manual appears to have



been issued regularly every year, but copies are not recorded. The eighteenth edition is dated 1631, the twenty-first 1634, and the twenty-fourth 1638. I have copies of all of these. A copy of the 1634 edition, said to be corrected and enlarged, once the Duke of Sussex's, is now at the Chetham College, Manchester, the only copy of the work possessed by that old library. The twenty-sixth edition is in the Bodleian; I also possess that edition, with the twenty-seventh, 1642. Anthony à Wood says that the book was printed several times in 8vo. and 12mo., and that the thirty-eighth edition (?) was printed at London in 1671 in 12mo. The British Museum has the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh editions, dated 1687, 1690. Hearne had a copy of the thirty-eighth edition, London, 1693, 12mo.; and he relates that he remembered a very pious lady who used to give away great numbers yearly to the poor. I have the thirty-ninth and fortieth editions, dated 1703 and 1711. The forty-first edition, 1715, is in the British Museum, which altogether, Mr. G. Bullen has kindly informed me, possesses six editions.

The only copy in the Free Library, Manchester, Sorocold's native town, is the forty-third, dated 1729 (392, c. 96). The Bodleian Library, which possesses only two editions, has one of the latest, viz., that of 1754, the forty-fifth. The title damned it in the eyes of Scotchmen, and it never seems to have been permitted to cross the border. A distinguished bibliographer in Edinburgh writes, "Nobody here knows anything of Sorocold. His 'Supplications' is not in the Advocates' Library, nor the Signet, nor the Free College Library." An abridgment of the work was published by Dean Hook, in his admirable "Devotional Library," begun in 1846, being reprints from well-known Church of England divines for parochial distribution. An interesting advertisement relating to this series of books will be found in the first volume of 'N. & Q.,' No. 14, Feb. 2, 1850 (1st S. i. 224), where 'Sorocold's Prayers for a Week' is set down, price 2d. This abridgment of Sorocold's work is well-nigh as scarce as some of



the early editions, for though I have long sought it I still lack it. I may quote in conclusion one of Sorocold's prayers, viz., that for sobriety, illustrating the good old meaning of the word temperance :

" O Lord God, which hast commanded us to be sober, direct my paths in the right way of Sobriety, spiritual and corporal : Suffer me not this day, nor any other, to abuse thy good creatures or turn thy grace into wantonness ; let me be not overcome with surfeiting and drunkenness, but avoid all superfluity, using all temperance and moderation both in meats & drinks. Grant me a stayed mind, a grave & sober disposition, & an humble & lowly conceit of my self. Bless me that I may be wise, but to sobriety, that I may live soberly, righteously, & religiously in this present world, for Jesu's Christ's sake, Amen."

JOHN E. BAILEY.

Stretford, Manchester.



INDEX

OF THE

STYLES AND TITLES

OF

SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND



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SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

By WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.R.S.L.

A SIMPLE list of the styles and titles used by the earliest as well as the mediæval and later sovereigns of our island empire is of great use to the historian, and at the request of the Council of the Index Society I have revised my collections, the greater portion of which were originally printed in the *Athenæum*, Nos. 2528, pp. 497-499, 8 April, and 2530, pp. 566, 567, 22 April, 1876.

The books which I have used in my researches into this interesting subject are such as are easily available to every ordinary student of history, and will be found in every library of antiquarian worth or pretension. They comprise the celebrated 'Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici,' by J. M. Kemble, published in 1839, for the English Historical Society; B. Thorpe's 'Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici,' 1865; some of the Master of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles and Memorials; the four parts, forming a complete series of Facsimiles of Ancient Charters, published in 1873-1879, for the Trustees of

the British Museum; my own 'Fasti Monastici Aevi Saxonici,' and several other kindred works. In order not to encroach too much upon space, I have avoided giving references except in the more important instances.

All the sovereigns of England, from the commencement of the seventh century, when the heptanomy of England was in its full vigour, down to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, appear to have employed the word *rex* or *regina*, as the case may be, without exception. And as we may take this for granted, or if necessary prove it without difficulty, by the most cursory examination of the most common collections of royal acts and documents running in the royal name, I have omitted to give any special attention to the use of this specific title, in its simple and uncombined form, by any particular sovereign.

There are, however, a number of words, derived from native or imported sources, which have been employed by these sovereigns from time to time in their royal styles and diplomatic titles, to signify the extent of their power and the nature of their supreme domination over the people or peoples subject to their rule. Many of these terms are of a very interesting kind, and it is to these that I would call the attention of my readers.

I do not propose to investigate the intricacies of the synonymous phrases adjoined to the title, which, starting with the simple form *gratiâ Dei*, gradually branched out into luxurious circumlocutions and periphrastic expressions in the Saxon period, such as, for example, "disponente domino," "gratia gratuita dei patris concedente," "domino concedente," "divinæ dispensationis gratia," "ejus [dei] melliflua gratia largiente," "ejus præclara gratia concedente," "favente dei omnipotentis clementia," "regnante domino," "Christo largiente," "dei dono," "Christi annuente clementia," "divina dispensatione," "patientia divina," "divina dispensante gratia," "domino donante," "divino suffragio," "divina inspirante gratia," "deo prædestinante," "dei prædestinatione," "deo cuncta pie disponente in cujus manu sunt omnia jura regnorum absque ulla antecedente merito," "cælica fulciete clemencia," "gratia

gratuita dei patris concedente," "almi regnantis gratia," "divina dispensante pietate," "ipso piissimo praeordinante deo," "mei non meriti sed dei gratia largiente," "omnipotentissimo deo concedente," "deo omnipotente donante et concedente," "favente omnipotentis dei clementia," "altithroni cuncta creantis ac gubernantis concedente clementia," "divina mihi arridente gratia," "disponente clementia creantis," "Dei omnipotentis nutu," "divina largiente clementia," "deificæ voluntatis permissione," etc.

For all such expressions, although for a time they obtained an employment with the diplomatic writers of the Norman period, were rapidly reduced again to the simple form from which they had started. And we find, for instance, the sole form *dei gratiâ* upon the seals and in the genuine charters of the two Williams and Henry the First; one charter, however, of a doubtful origin, of this latter sovereign, contains the phrase, "providente divina clementia" (*Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1873, vol. xxix. p. 250).

Confining, therefore, our attention to the words or expressions signifying rule or government, we are immediately struck with their variety and their import. For convenience, we will examine them in order of alphabetical arrangement. The first part comprises styles used previously to the advent of the Normans. The second part embraces the period between A.D. 1066 and the present year. It will be easily seen that some particular phrases have been frequently employed, while others have been found to occur once or twice only throughout the space of about 450 years which is illustrated by extant *diplomata* and official documents issued under the immediate surveillance of the chief ruler of our island. For convenience of reference, I have grouped the expressions which are found combined with *basileus*, *imperator*, *monarchus*, and *rex*, under the separate headings of *basileus*, etc., in alphabetical subordination. K. refers to Kemble's *Codex*. The italic word in the sentence is that which is arranged in alphabet.

PART I. A.D. 604–1066.

Beatus agonista totius Britanniae—used by Eadwi, in 956.

Angulcynincg—used in reference to Eadgar, in 969; in reference to Eaduueard after 972, and in 977; in reference to Aethelred, between 978–992.

Apice totius albionis sublimatus—used by Aethelstan, in 933; by Eadgar, in 961.

Archons—used by Eadwig, in 956 (*bis*); by Eadgar, 964, 968.

Basileon—used by Eadwig, in 956; and by Cnut, in 1021–1023.

BASILEUS.

The lexicographers of Middle Age Latin explain this term to be equivalent to Imperator (see lower down). *Basileus*—‘Glos. Ælfrici Saxonieum,’ *Basileus*, kyning, i. Rex. Hanc porro Basilei appellationem videntur sibi prae ceteris arrogasse veteres Angliae reges.—Du Cange, ‘Glossarium,’ s.v. *Basileus*.

Basileus—used by Coenuuealha of Wessex, in 670, with subscription “Ego Coenuualla basilleos Westsaxonum,” etc.; in the phrase “*basileus Anglorum simul et imperator regum et nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium*,” by Aethelstan in 930 (934?); and again in 931, “*basyleos Anglorum caeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium*”; used by Aethelstan, in 931; by Aethelstan, in the phrase “*Basileos Anglorum et aequae totius Britanniae orbis deicolarumque fylos atque curagulus eorum*,” in 935; by Eadmund, in 940, 946; by Eadred, in 948, 955; “*basileus Anglorum hujusque insulae barbarorum*,” used by Eadred, in 955; by Eadwig, in 956, 959, 960; by Eadgar, in 959, 960, 962, 963, 964, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 978; by Aethelred, in 979, 980, 982, 983, 984, 985, 988, 993, 994, 996, 998, 999, 1002, 1004, 1007, 1008, 1012; by Cnut, in 1022, 1023, 1031, 1032; by Eadweard, in 1043, 1044, 1046, 1055, 1060.

Basileus omnis Britanniae regimen adeptus—used by Cnut, in 1033.

Compos regni Anglorum basileus . . . paterno solio sublimatus—used by Eadmund, in 941.

Basileus Anglorum et aequae totius Bryttanniae orbis curagulus—used by Aethelstan, in 935, 937, 939.

Basileus native jureque dedicatus—used by Aethelred, in 983.

Rite dicatus *basileus*—used by Aethelred, in 986.

Basileus egregius—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Egregius Angul-Saxonum *basileus* cæterarumque plebium hinc inde habitantium—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Basileus egregius—used by Aethelred, in 972.

Non solum Angul-Saxonum *basileus* verumetiam totius Albionis insulae . . . sceptro fungens—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Basileus, regni fastigio humili praesidens animo—used by Eadgar, in 961.

Basileus . . . et gubernator—used by Aethelstan, in 939.

Basileus Anglorum . . . gubernator et rector—used by Eadred, in 945, 948; by Eadwig, in 956; by Eadgar, in 961; by Eadweard, in 1050.

Basileus Anglorum et imperator regum gentium—used by Eadgar, in 966 (K. DXIV.)

Basileus . . . imperator et dominus—used by Eadgar, in 964.

Basileus Anglorum, et rex atque imperator regum et nationum infra fines Britaniae commorantium—used by Eadgar, in 967.

Basileos industrius—used by Aethelstan, in 938; by Aelfred, in 939; by Eadmund, 940, 942; by Eadgar, 961; by Aethelred, in 983, 987, 988, 1015; by Eadweard, in 1046.

Basileus tocius Anglorum gentis, cæterarumque nationum in circuitu degentium primatum gerens—used by Aethelred, in 983.

Basileus . . . regens atque gubernans—used by Cnut, in 1024.

Basileus Albionis monarchus—used by Eadwig, in 956 (?).

Basileus (see Rex et Basileus).

Basileus Anglorum . . . tocius regni fastigium tenens—used by Aethelred, in 995.

Regiae dignitatis solio subthronizatus *basileus*—used by Aethelred, in 981.

Brytenwalda (see Cyning).

CINCG.

Cinc—applied to Aethelbryght, to Eadmund, and to Eadred, in 965 and 993.

Cincg—used by Aethilbald, between 743 and 745; applied to Eadmund, between 965 and 993.

Cing—used by Eadgar, in 966; by Cnut, between 1013 and 1020, 1035.

Cingc—used by Aelfred of Wessex, between 880 and 885.

Cinig—used by Eadweard of Wessex, between 901 and 909.

Cining—used by Eadgar, in 963 and 975 ; applied to Cnut, *circ.* 1020.

Cining—used by Aethelred, in 1006.

Cynig—applied to Eadgar, in 962 ; used by Aethelred, *circ.* 984.

Cyneg—used by Cnut, in 1032.

Cyng—applied to Eadred, in 946 and 955 ; used by Cnut, in 1032, 1033 ; by Eadweard.

Cyngc—used by Eadweard ; by Cnut.

Cynig—used by Beornuulf, in 825 ; by Berhtuulf, *circ.* 840 ; by Eadweard of Wessex, between 901 and 909 ; by Aethelstan, in 934 ; by Eadred, in 955 ; by Eadgar, in 970, 973 and 975.

Cyninge—used by Eadweard, in 1065.

Ongol-Saxna *cynig* and brytenwalda calles thyyses iglandæs—used by Aethelstan, in 934.

Kining—used by Cnut, in 1023.

King—used by Aethelred of Wessex, between 867 and 871 ; by Aelfred, between 871 and 878 ; by Aethelstan (K. ccclix, ccclx), in 939 ; by Harold, in 1038 ; *passim* by Eadweard.

Kinge—used by Eadweard, between 1061 and 1065.

Kyng—used by Cnut, 1020 and 1023 ; by Eadweard.

Kyngc—used by Eadweard, between 1044 and 1065.

Kyning—referred to Eadweard, between 901 and 909 ; used by Aethelred, *circ.* 1000 ; and by Eadweard, in 1062.

Coregulus (*see* Gubernator).

Curagulus, i.e. curam gerens, sollicitus, curiosus (*see* Basileus and Rex).

Dominus—used by Eadgar, in 963 (*see* Basileus).

Fretus, etc. (*see* Regalis).

Fylos=φύλος for φύλαξ (*see* Basileus) or φίλος.

Gubernacula regens—used by Aethelflaed of Mercia, between 915 and 922.

Gubernator—used by Cnut, in 1018.

Gubernator sceptri hujus insulae—used by Aethelred, in 1014 ; by Cnut, in 1033.

Gentis gubernator Angligenae totiusque insulae coregulus, etc.—used by Aethelred, in 1002.

Gubernator et rector—used by Eadred, in 955; by Eadwig, in 956; by Eadgar, in 959, 960, 961, 962, 964, 967 [977 and 978].

Gubernator (*see* *Rex and Rector*).

Ierarchia (*see* *Rex*).

IMPERATOR.

Used by Cnut, in 1018 (K. dcxxxvii), in the phrase, “Imperator Knut . . . regiminis Anglici in Anglia potitus”; used in the phrase “Rector et imperator,” by Coenwulf of Mercia, in 798 (*see* below, under *Rector*); in conjunction with Basileus, q.v., by Aethelstan, in 930 (934?) (K. ccclix*); “Eadwi rex, Angulsaexna et Northanhumbroorum imperator, paganorum gubernator Breotonumque propugnator,” in 956 (K. ccceli); “Basileus, imperator et dominus,” used by Eadgar, in 964; by Aethelred, in the phrase “totius Albionis . . . imperator,” in 995 (Chron. Mon. de Abingdon, i. 388).

Anglorum basileus, omniumque insularum oceani quae Britanniam circumjacent cunctarumque nationum quae infra eam includuntur *imperator* et dominus—used by Eadgar, in 964 (K. dxiv).

Basileus Anglorum, et rex atque *imperator* regum et nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium—used by Eadgar, in 967 (K. dxxxvi).

Rex . . . gubernator . . . propugnator . . . ac *imperator*—used by Aethelred, in 1013.

Anglo-Saxoniae atque Northhymbrensis gubernator monarchiae, paganorum propugnator, ac Bretonum caeterarumque provinciarum *imperator*—used by Aethelred, in 1013.

Paganorum *imperator*—used by Eadred, in 949 (K. ccccxvi) (*see* *Rex*).

Imperator regum—in the phrase “Basileus Anglorum et imperator regum gentium”—used by Eadgar, in 964 (K. dxiv).

Famosus totius Brittannicae insulae *imperator*—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Totius Albionis *imperator* augustus—used by Eadgar, in 970.

Oswaldus totius Britanniae *imperator* ordinatus a Deo—Life of St. Columba, Acta SS. Bollandus, vol. xxii. p. 186; Paris, 1867.

Serenissimus *imperator*—used by Eadgar, in 974 (K. plxxxi).

Imperatoris titulum sibi arrogasse Reges Anglosaxonicos ex hoc patet, quod Basileas sese passim indigitarent: quae vox Imperatorem tum sonabat.—Du Cange, ‘Glossarium,’ s.v. Imperator.

Imperiali Anglo-Saxonum diademate infulatus, etc.—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Imperium—used in the phrase “rex . . . regens imperium,” was employed by Aethilbald, in 742 (*see* below, under *Rex*); in the date “anno secundo imperii,” by Coenuulf, 798 (*see* below, under *Rector*); “imperii piissimi regis . . . Coenuulfi anno xv^o,” by Coenuulf, in 811; in a phrase, “super . . . imperium elevatus rex,” by Aethelstan, in 930 (*see* under *Rex*); in the date, “iiii^o anno imperii mei,” by Eadmund, in 943 (K. cccxciv); “primo anni imperii mei,” by Eadred, in 947; in the phrase, “rex terrenus sub imperiali potentia regis saeculorum aeternumque principis magnae Britanniae temporale gerens imperium,” by Eadred, in 948; “anno imperii mei tertio,” by Eadred, in 949; “primo anno imperii mei,” by Eadwig, in 956 (K. cccxxxvii, K. cccclii, K. ccccliv); “anno secundo imperii Eadwiges totius Albionis insulae imperantis,” 957; “anno quarto imperii,” by Eadwig and Eadgar, in 959; “anno imperii vi^o,” by Eadgar, 963.

MONARCHUS, etc.

Monarcha—used by Eadgar, in 966; by Eadweard, in 1065.

Monarches—used by Aethelred, in 1012.

Monarchia (*see* *Rex*).

Totius Albionis *monarchiam* gubernans—used by Aethelred, in 1004.

Monarchia regni munitus—by Offa of Mercia, in 785.

Monarchiam totius Britanniae insulae cum superno juvamine obtinens—used by Eadgar, in 965.

Monarchiam optinens—used by Eadweard, in 1053.

Possidens totius Magnae Britanniae *monarchiam*—used by Eadgar, in 966.

Monarchia—in the phrase “singularis privilegii monarchia praeditus rex” (*see* *Rex*).

Opitulante gratuita dei gratia *monarchiam* tenentes—used by Aethelred and Aethelfled, in 901.

Monarchus—used by Aethilbald, in the phrase “Aethilbaldus Britanniae Anglorum monarchus,” between 725 and 737 (K. lxxxi*); by Eadwig, “totius Albionis monarchus,” in 956, and by Eadred, in 949; “Monarchus Britanniae insulae,” by Eadwig, in 956; “Britanniae Anglorum monarchus,” by Eadgar, in 959, 961; “monarchus,” by Eadgar, in 961, 966, 969 and 970, 972; “Bryttanniae Anglorum monarchus,” by

Eadwig, in 959; by Eadgar [977 and 978]; and by Aethelred, in 993; "*Britanniae totius Anglorum monarchus*," by Aethelred, in 994, 1005, 1006; by Cnut, in 1018, 1019, 1020 (monarcus), 1021-1023, 1031; by Eadweard, in 1042, 1062.

Monarchus et primicerius—used by Eadred, in 949.

Regius Angliarum monarchus—used by Eadweard, in 1049.

Monarchus (see *Basileus*, and *Rex*).

Praepotens Anglicanae genealogiae sceptro fretus—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Primicerius (see *Rex*, and *Monarchus*).

Primicherius—used by Eadgar, in 967.

Propugnator (see *Imperator*, and *Rex*).

Anglorum rector caeterarumque gentium per circuitum adjacentium gubernator—used by Aethelred, in 995.

Rector et imperator—used by Coenuulf of Mercia, in the phrase "*rector et imperator regni*," in 798. (Facs. of Anct. Charters in B. M.) The date is given "*anno secundo imperii nostri*."

Rector (see *Gubernator*, and *Rex*).

Regali prosapia comptus—used by Aethelred, in 1003.

Regali delibutus unguine, sceptrigeraque gentis Anglorum monarchia altithroni favente clementia sublimatus—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Regali fretus dignitate—used by Ini, of Wessex, in 701, 725; by Beorhtric of Wessex, before 790; by Egberht, in 825, 826; by Aetheluulf of Wessex, in 854; by Eadgar, in 963; by Aethelred, in 996, 1015; by Eadweard, between 1038, 1042, 1044.

Regalia sceptra gubernans—used by Eadweard, in 1065.

Regalis regiminis obtinens—used by Aethelstan, in 939.

Regia dignitate praeditus—used by Offa, in 796.

Regia dignitatis sublimatus honore—used by Aethelred, in 1005.

Regia infula comptus—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Totius Brittannicae insulae regimina gubernans—used by Eadgar, in 971.

Totius Brytanniae triviatim potitus regimine—used by Eadgar.

Totius Albionis triviatim potitus regimine—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Regiminis Anglici potitus—used by Cnut, in 1018.

Regni Merciorum sublimatus ad culmina—used by Eadgar, in 958.

Regnum dispensans—used by Aethelstan in the phrase “*regnum totius alblionis deo auctore dispensans*,” in 929.

Praesidens regno magnae Britanniae—used by Eadgar, in 972.

Regni gubernacula sortitus—used by Aethelred, in 995.

(Rex) *Regni solio sullimatus*—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 934; by Eadgar, in 970, 974; by Aethelred, in 985, 988.

Regulus—used by Uhtred, of the Hwiccas, in 767; and again in 770; for Aldred of the Hwiccas, in 777; and by him between 778 and 785.

REX.

Commonly used by all sovereigns without exception from the seventh to the eleventh century.

Rex assistens angligenarum—used by Eadweard, in 1061.

Rex et basileus totius angliae—used by Eadgar, in 966.

Clementissimus rex, speaking of Aethelbert, in 761.

Rex regia dignitate conspicuus—used by Eadmund, in 940.

Rex a domino constitutus—used by Eadgar.

Rex a rege regum constitutus—used by Offa between 793 and 796.

Rex Anglorum et curagulus totius Bryttanniae—used by Aethelstan, in 939; (et aeque totius Brit. curagulus), by Aethelstan, in 939.

Rex Anglorum et curagulus multarum gentium—used by Eadmund, in 940.

Rex . . . et curagulus praelectus—used by Aethelstan, in 938.

Rex ac defensor constitutus—used by Eadweard, in 1063.

Dei atque domini nostri Jesu Christi faventeque ridenteque gratia in regem dicatus—used by Burgred, in 869.

Rex regni regimonia dispensans—used by Beorhtric of Wessex, in 801.

Rex . . . domini adridenti grati regimini praelatus (sic)—used by Ætheluulf of Wessex, in 839.

Rex donans, etc.—used by Coenuulf, in 799; by Aethelstan, in 933.

Rex donator—used by Hlotharius of Kent, in 679; by Ceadualla of Wessex, in 688; by Osuini of Kent, in 689 (K. xxx*); by Wythred of Kent, in 696; by Aethilberht of Kent, in 732; by Aetheluulf of Mercia, in 845.

[*Rex*] *Donator*—used by Ecgberht of Kent, in 779.

Rex egregius—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Super . . imperium elevatus rex—used by Aethelstan, in the phrase “*tam super Britannicae gentis, quam super aliarum nationum huic subditarum imperium elevatus rex*,” in 930 (K. cccli).

Rex sceptris fretus regalibus—used by Aethelstan, in 929, 930.

Gloriosus rex—used by Uuihtraed, in 694; in mentioning Wihtred,

the father of Athelberht, king, 724; by Eadgar, in 949; by Eadgar (*c.* 978?).

Rex gloriosissimus—used by Eadred, in 949.

Rex Anglorum gloriosissimus, rectorque Northanhymbra, et paganorum imperator, Brittonumque propugnator—used by Eadred in 949 (*k.* ccccxxvi).

Rex gratulabundus—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex Anglorum . . . culminis totius regimen gubernans—used by Aethelred, in 995.

Rex ac gubernator—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex et gubernator—used by Aethelstan, in 937.

Rex Anglorum gubernator et rector—used by Eadred, in 949; by Eadwig, in 958; by Eadgar, in 961; by Aethelred, in 1002.

Rex Anglorum, ac totius Britannicae telluris gubernator et rector—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex Anglorum, caeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector—used by Edmund, in 940, 944, 945, 946; by Eadred, in 946, 947, 948, 949; by Aethelstan, in 943; *industrius rex, c. q. g. i. c. p. g. e. r.* as above, by Eadwig, in 956; (“circumquaque” for “in circuitu”), by Eadwig, in 956, 957, 958; (“multarum” and “circumquaque”), by Eadwig, *c.* 958; by Eadgar, in 963, 964, 968, 971; by Eadweard, in 977; by Aethelred, in 984, 1006 and 1012; by Cnut, in 1032, 1033 (*see Industrius rex*).

Rex . . . Angulsaexa et Northanhumborum imperator, paganorum gubernator, Breotonumque propugnator—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex et dominium habens—used by Eadweard Confessor.

Humilis et devotus rex—used by Aethelstan, in 938.

Rex imperiosus—used by Aethelred, in 984.

Inclitus rex—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Inclitus et serenissimus rex—used by Eadgar, in 969.

Inclitae memoriae rex, speaking of Aethelbert, in 762.

Industrius rex—used by Eadmund, in 940, 941, 942, 943; by Eadwig, in 956, in the phrase “*industrius rex Anglorum, caeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector*”; by Eadwig, simply, in 956; “*industrius Anglorum rex gubernator et rector*”—used by Eadwig, in 957; by Eadgar, in 958; by Aethelred, in 1005.

Rex justus et benignus—applied to Athulf, in 937.

Rex et monarchus—used by Aethelred, in 987, 1014 in the phrase, “*sullimatus rex et monarchus totius Albionis.*”

- Nomine regis* fungens—used by Cuthraed of Wessex, in 745.
- Rex ordinatus* super Angligenas, etc.—used by Eadmund, in 941.
- Rex pacificus*—used by Eadgar, in 968.
- Pius rex*—used by Coenuulf of Mercia, in 803, 811.
- Piissimus rex*—applied to Offa in 759 [B. M. Add. Ch. 19789]; used by Offa, in 779, and applied to Coenuulf, in 811.
- Regum* praecellentissimus—used by Eadwi, in 956.
- Singularis privilegii ierarchia praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 930 (for 934), 932, 934; (gerarchia), in 931; by Cnut, in 1035.
- Ierarchia florentis Albionis praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 935.
- Monarchia praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 932.
- Singularis privilegii monarchia praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 933; by Æthelred, in 1009.
- Rex ac praedux*—used by Eadgar, in 964.
- Rex . . . praeordinatus in regem*—used by Eadred, in 949; by Eadwig, in 956, 958.
- Praeordinatus in regem*—used by Aethelred, in 994.
- Rex Albionis summam praesidens*—used by Eadred, in 949.
- Rex Anglorum et aeque multarum gentium monarchiae potestatis praevisor*—used by Eadweard, in 977.
- Rex et primicerius*—used by Eadmund, in 946; *rex . . . totius albionis primicerius*—used by Eadred, in 947, 953, 955, 956; by Eadred, in 955; by Eadwig, in 956, 961; by Eadgar, in 958, 963, 965, 966, 967; *rex primicheriusque*—used by Eadgar, in 969, 972, 973, 975; by Aethelred, in 1009; by Hardacnut, in 1042; *rex primiceriusque*—used by Eadweard, in 1052-3; by Eadweard, in 1054.
- Rex et primicerius tocius Albionis regni fastigium humili praesidens animo*—used by Aethelstan, in 931; by Cnut, in 1033; by Eadweard, in c. 977, 1050, 1052.
- Rex et princeps*—used by Eadberht, in 761; *rex et Anglorum princeps*, by Eadweard.
- Rex in cathedra regali promotus*—used by Cnut, in 1020 and 1023.
- Rex . . . [Christi] ammonitione provocatus*—used by Cnut, in 1033; by Eadweard, in 1044.
- Rex et rector*—used by Aethelstan, in the phrase “*rex et rector totius Britanniae caeterarumque deo concedente gubernator provinciarum*,” in 930; by Aethelstan, in 933, 934; by Eadred, in 949; by Aethelred, in 1001, 1005.
- Rex Anglorum gentiumque circumsistentium praepotens almifice rector*—used by Eadmund, in 942.
- Rex regens imperium*—used by Aethilbald of Mercia, in the expression,

“Ego Ethelbald rex divino suffragio fultus gentis Merciorum regens imperium,” in 742 (K. lxxvii).

Totius regni *rex* citra mare—used by Eadgar, 966.

Rex . . . regni totius fastigium tenens—used by Aedelred, in 990.

Rex regimina tenens—used by Coenuulf, in 816.

Rex regimina tentans—used by Eadwig, in 955.

Rex terrenus . . . temporale gerens imperium—used by Eadred, in 948.

Reverentissimus *rex*—used by Aethilbald of Mercia, in 727.

Strenuissimus *rex*—applied to Offa in 789.

Rex non modica infulatus sublimatus dignitate—used by Aethelstan, in 926.

Rex . . . sublimatus ad culmina—used by Eadgar, in 963.

Rex . . . regno sublimatus—used by Aethelstan, in 935.

Rex . . . regni solio sublimatus—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 932, 934.

Rex . . . solio sublimatus—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Rex subthronizatus—used by Cnut, in 1018, 1026.

Sceptrigera ditione . . . *rex* subthronizatus—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Subtronizatus *rex* et rector—used by Cnut, in 1019.

Rex Anglorum . . . regni totius fastigium tenens—used by Aethelred, in 984, 985.

Rex vocitatus—used by Cnut in the phrase “Divino nutu Anglorum rex vocitatus,” in 1020.

Subregulus—used by Aethiluueard of the Wiccas, 706—by Eanberht of the Hwiccas, 757—for Oshere of the Hwiccas, in 774—by Uhtred of the Hwiccas, between 764 and 775—by Aldred of the Hwiccas, between 778 and 781; and between 769 and 785.

PART II. A.D. 1066–1879.

This second part, into which my notes naturally divide themselves, embraces a period of 814 years, nearly twice the space of time occupied and illustrated by the former part. But it will be seen that the royal styles and diplomatic titles affected by the sovereigns in this division arrive at a degree of harmony and intelligible adoption not in all cases shown by the first division. The sources from which the following notes have been extracted might have been diffuse, had not the

very nature and essence of the inquiries demanded that my researches should be restricted to formal, original, and irrefragable evidence bearing in a direct manner upon these styles. Hence they are restricted to the evidence afforded by royal documents, coins, medals, and great seals; and the principal repertories, whence I have extracted my notes for this part following, are, the unrivalled collection of charters and seals in the British Museum; the chapter entitled 'Remarks on the Style and Charters of the Kings of England,' to be found in some editions only of 'The Chronology of History,' by Sir Harris Nicolas, itself derived in turn from Hardy's 'Introduction to the Charter-Rolls'; my own article on "Seals" in the *Arts and Sciences Supplement* of the *English Cyclopædia*; various Monographs on the Great Seals by Prof. Willis, the Rev. W. H. Gunner, and myself, in the *Journals* and *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, the British Archæological Association, and the Royal Archæological Institute; and Mr. H. W. Henfrey's 'Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins' (which is, for this purpose, perhaps as useful as other numismatic works of greater calibre that are less easily procured by the general reader).

A variety of other works will naturally suggest themselves to those who read and study the history of England in its critical forms. This part of the notes necessarily arranges itself best under the chronological series of sovereigns; and premising that the sign (*s.*) signifies *seal*, and (*c.*) *coins*, and that other notes without references are from documentary sources, while, for the sake of brevity, constantly recurring words are abbreviated or indicated by their initial letters only, we commence with—

William I. who used—rex—rex Anglorum—rex Anglorum, comes Normannorum atque Cinomanensium—r. A., princeps Normannorum et Cenomannorum—dux Normannorum et rex Anglorum—r. A. et Cenomannorum princeps—Normannorum patronus, Anglis rex (*s.*)—dux Normannorum . . . Angliam veniens in ore gladii regnum adeptus sum Anglorum—Anglorum rex et dux Normannorum atque princeps Cenomannorum—r. A. et dux Norm.—gloriosus rex A. et dux Northmannorum—victoriosus Anglorum basileus, in 1069—rex gloriosissimus—

rex A. hereditario jure factus—magnus, and senior, frequently applied to him by succeeding sovereigns—"imperium ejus" (Nicolas, p. 365, n.)—Anglorum rex (very rare).

William II.—rex Anglorum (*s.*)—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum (on a doubtful seal)—rex A. filius magni Willelmi qui regi Edwardo hereditario jure successit.

Henry I.—rex Anglorum (*c.*), between 1100 and 1108 (*s.*)—r. A., dux Normannorum, between 1108 and 1135 (*s.*)—r. A. et princeps Norm., after 1106—ænglelandes kyning—r. A. filius magni regis Willelmi qui beatae memoriae regi Edwardo in regnum successit (a doubtful charter, dated in 1109)—r. A. et Normannorum dux—r. A. et Normannorum dux, Willelmi magni regis filius, qui Aeduardo regi hereditario jure successit in regnum (in a doubtful charter of 1109)—gloriosus rex Anglorum, applied to him.

Stephen—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum (*s.*)—rex Anglorum only, in charters, with one exception.

Mathildis, or Maud the Empress (of Germany)—Romanorum regina (*s.*)—imperatrix Henrici regis filia, in 1140, 1149, etc.—imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina, in 1141, 1151, etc.—imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum regina, *circ.* 1141 to 1143. See my monograph, 'A Fasciculus of the Charters of Mathildis,' etc., in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1875.

Henry II.—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum, comes Andegavorum (*s.*)—rex Angliae et dux Normanniae et Aquitaniae et comes Andegaviae.

King Henry, son of Henry II.—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et comes Andegavorum (*s.*).

Richard I.—dux Normanniae et dominus Angliae, before his coronation—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum (*s.*)—rex Angliae, dux Normanniae et Aquitanniae, comes Andegaviae.

John—rex Anglie dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie et Aquitannie, comes Andegavie (*s.*)—r. A., d. H., d. N., Aq., et c. An.

Henry III.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie et Aquitannie, comes Andegavie, between 1216 and 1260 (*s.*)—r. A., d. H., dux N. et c. Andeg. (*s.*)—r. A., d. H., d. Aquit., between 1262 and 1272 (*s.*).

Edward I.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitanie (*s.*)—same, but "et dux," in deeds.

Edward II.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitanie (*s.*)—rex Anglie et dominus Hibernie, sometimes in the last regnal year.

- Edward III.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitanie, between 1327 and 1340 (*s.*)—rex Angl., Fra., Hib. (*c.*)—rex Francie et Anglie, dominus Hibernie, et dux Aquitanie, in 1340 (*s.*)—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, between 1340 and 1360 (*s.*)—same, with second “et” omitted (*c.*)—rex F., A. et d. H., in 1347 (*s.*)—r. F. et A. et d. H., between 1340 and 1360, and between 1372 and 1377 (*s.*)—rex A., dominus H. et Aq., between 1347 and 1360 (*c.*), and between 1360 and 1369 (*s.*)—rex A. et F., dom. H. et Aq., after 1369 (*c.*)—r. A. et F., dom. H. et dux Aq.
- Richard II.—rex Francie et Anglie et dominus Hibernie (*s.*)—rex A. et F. et d. H.—rex A. et F., d. H. et Aquitanie (*c.*)—r. A., d. H. et Aq. (*c.*)—r. A. et F., d. H. (*c.*).
- Henry IV.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, and “Francie et Anglie” (*s.*)—rex A. et F., d. H. et Aquitanie (*c.*)—rex Anglie et Francie (*c.*)—r. A. et F. et d. H. (*c.*)—rex Anglie (*c.*).
- Henry V.—Seals same as Henry IV.; coins same as the last three above—Roy de Fraunce et d’Engleterre, seigneur d’Irlande, et duc de Normandie, in 5th year, Norman Rolls—rex Anglie heres et regens Francie et dominus Hibernie—and the same, with “regni” inserted after “regens”—r. A., heres regni F. et d. H. (*s.*), used between 1420 and 1422—kyng of England, heire and regent of the rewme of France and lord of Irland—roy d’Engleterre, heretier et regent du royaume de France et seigneur d’Irlande.
- Henry VI.—Seals same as Henry IV.; coins same as Henry V.—Francorum et Anglie rex, between 1422 and 1451 (*s.*)—“nuper de facto et non de jure rex Anglie,” applied to him by Edward IV.
- Edward IV.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, or r. Francie et Anglie, etc. (*s.*)—rex Anglie et Francie—rex Anglie—rex Anglie et Hibernie (*c.*).
- Edward V.—Coins same as of Edward IV.—rex Anglie et F. et d. H. (*s.*)—r. F. et A. et d. H.
- Richard III.—rex Anglie et F. et d. H. (*s.*)—rex Anglie, and rex Anglie et Francie (*c.*)—rex F. et A. et d. H.
- Henry VII.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, and rex Francie et Anglie, etc. (*s.*).
- Henry VIII.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, between 1509 and 1532 (*s.*)—“His Most Christian Majesty,” title conferred by Pope Julius II. in 1513—rex Anglie, Francie, dominus *Ibar* for Hibernie (*c.*)—rex Anglie et Francie (*c.*)—rex Anglie (*c.*)—Fidei defensor, added in 1521—Henricus Octavus,

d. g. Anglie et Francie rex, fidei defensor et dominus Hibernie, between 1532 and 1541 (*s.*)—H. O. d. g. A. F. et H. rex, fidei defensor et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput, between 1541 and 1547 (*s.*)—same title, with sub Christo¹ added after Hibernice, in medal figured in *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxiv.—Anglie, Francie et Hibernie rex, in 34th to 37th years' coinage.

Edward VI.—Edwardus sextus, Anglie, Francie et Hibernie rex fidei defensor et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput (*s.* and deeds)—Anglie, Francie et Hibernie rex (*c.*).

Mary I.—Maria, Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regina, ejus nominis prima, fidei defensor et in terra, etc., as above, or the same, but "ejus nominis prima" omitted—Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regina (*c.*)—"Maria" to "defensor" as above (*s.*).

Philip I. and Mary I.—Philippus et Maria, rex et regina Anglie, Francie, Neapolis, Jerusalem, et Hibernie, fidei defensores, principes Hispaniarum et Sicilie, archiduces Austrie et duces Mediolani, Burgundie, et Brabantie, comites Haspurgi, Flandrie, et Tirolis, in July, 1554—P. et M., Anglie, Hispaniarum, Francie, Jerusalem, utriusque Sicilie et Hibernie rex et regina, f. d., archiduces Austrie, duces Burgundie, Mediolani, et Brabantie, comites Haspurgi, Flandrie, et Tirolis, in 1555—rex et regina (*c.*)—P. et M., rex et regina Anglie, Hispaniarum, Francie, utriusque Sicilie et Hibernie, f. d., etc., between 1556 and 1558 (*s.*).

Elizabeth—Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie regina, fidei defensor, etc. (*s.*)—Anglie, Francie, Hibernie regina (*c.*)—A., F., et H. regina, fidei defensatrix, in one instance (Nicolas)—"Elizabet, d. g. Angl., Fr. et M. Pr. c. a. i. regina," on coins which have been referred to the taking of Virginia by Raleigh in 1584; the abbreviations "M. Pr. c. a. i." on these coins are rendered "Magnae Provinciae captae auspiciis illius," by Henfrey, but "a. i." may be perhaps "ab inimico."

James I.—Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor (*s.* and deeds)—Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, on coins issued in the first year—Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, on coins issued in the second year—"Jac. I. Totius Ins. Brit. Imp. et Franc. et Hib. Rex," and "Jac. I.

¹ Compare the insertion "proxime a Christo" in the title engraved by Baron in 1736 from Holbein's picture of the king granting a charter to the Barber-Surgeons, and the similar terms "immediately after Christ," on title-page of the Statutes, a^o 31, and "under Christ," Statutes, a^o 32, as pointed out by Mr. A. J. Horwood in the *Athenæum*, 2534, 20 May, 1876, p. 697.

Brit. Cae. Aug. Hae. Caesar," medals figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiv.

Charles I.—Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, etc., in 1626, 1627 (*s.*)—Magnae *to* rex, as above (*c.*)—Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, between 1627 and 1640 (*s.*)—Magnae *to* defensor, as above, between 1640 and 1649 (*s.*).

Republic—Olivarius, Reipublicae Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae, etc., protector, between 1653 and 1658 (*s.*)—Richardus, and so on, as above, between 1658 and 1660? (*s.*)

Charles II.—Carolus II., *or* Secundus, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, etc. (*s.* and deeds)—"fidei defensor" omitted (*c.*).

James II., *mutatis mutandis*, uses the same forms.

William III. and Mary II.—Gulielmus III. et Maria II., Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex et regina, fidei defensores, etc., between 1689 and 1695 (*s.*)—Gulielmus et Maria, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex et regina (*c.*).

William III.—Gulielmus III., Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, etc. (*s.*)—the coins as above, but "et Maria" and "et regina" omitted.

Anne—Anna, M. B., F., et H. regina, f. d., etc. (*s.*)—M. B., F., et H. regina (*c.*).

George I.—Magnae, Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, on deeds—same on seals and coins, with addition of Brunswicensis et Lunenburgensis dux, sacri Romani imperii archithesaurarius et princeps elector.

George II.—deeds and seals ("etc." added) same as George I.—coins omit "princeps."

George III.—deeds, seals, and coins same as George II. until 1801—thenceforward "Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor," deeds and coins; seals have "Brunswicensis" *to* "princeps elector, etc." as George I.—Of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland king, defender of the faith—Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor, et in terra ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hibernicae supremum caput, late in reign (on a seal in the British Museum).

George IV.—Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor, on seals and coins—style in deeds, "of the United Kingdom," etc., as George III.

William IV.—*mutatis mutandis*, as George IV.

Victoria—Britanniarum regina, fidei defensor—seals and coins, style as above—"Empress of India, 1 January, 1877," medal by G. G. Adams, Esq., F.S.A., figured in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiv. 1878.

PART III.

In this concluding division¹ of the subject, I will endeavour to point out succinctly some of the most prominent of the many lessons that the previous extracts and notes appear to show us. I will only say, by way of preface, that I have spared no time or trouble to make my list as perfect as possible, although I can hardly hope to have gathered in every one of the numerous expressions which have been employed, for a period of 1275 years, to denote sovereignty of rule within the area of England.

If readers will refer to the list of expressions in Part I., they will observe that several words for sovereign ruler have been only used on one occasion, and to suit the taste of some individual monarch; and these *hapaxlegomena* divide themselves into two classes, the one of pure Latin origin, the other of Greek extraction. The Latin forms are *coregulus* and *dominus*; the Greek are *agonista*, *fylos* for φύλαξ, or perhaps for φίλος, and *monarches*. We may, therefore, dismiss these from our minds, as words unlikely ever to have been of any great value towards expressing the sovereign power over the kingdom of Britain. *Brytenwalda*, a purely English word, signifying "Britain's wielder," or "the Britons' wielder," *i.e.* "he who wields, or sways, the supreme power in Britain," also occurs but once in a diplomatic document, as far as my researches go (and that I find used by King Æthelstan in A.D. 934), although we recognize therein the more familiar expression *Bretwalda*, or *Brihtwalda*, into the consideration of which it is not my intention to digress on this occasion.

Readers will also observe another class of words, which, from their use on more than one occasion, and by different monarchs, appear to imply a certain amount of acceptance and authoritative employment, during this pre-Norman period. And these, in like manner, divide themselves into Latin and Greek forms. For example, among Latin forms there are *curagulus*, *gubernator*, *imperator*, *primicerius*, *propugnator*, *rector*, *regulus* (but only in a

¹ This division is here published for the first time.

subordinate sense), and *subregulus* (also in a subordinate form). The words of Greek origin, which enter into this category, are *archons*, *basileus*, and *monarchus*.

Of these expressions, *gubernator* occurs either alone, in combination with a genitive case, such as *gentis* or *insulæ*, or with another noun, such as *rex*, *rector*, etc., in between fifty and sixty documents. The word itself appears to have been selected by the scribes and advisers of the royal court merely as a synonym of *king* or *governor*, *ruler of the land*, for the educated Saxon scribe loved circumlocutions, periphrastic expressions, and metaphorical diction quite as much as his modern representative, the learned man of the nineteenth century. The reader may with profit compare the charter K. MCI., commencing "*Afflante per cunctam triquadri orbis latitudinem gibbonifero sacrosancti flaminis incendio*," etc., dated in 928; or that numbered MCVII., dated in 923, beginning "*Flebilia fortiter detestanda totillantis sæculi piacula*," etc., with his own acquaintance with purer Latin styles.

The term *curagulus*, which appears to be a form of "*curam gerulus*" or "*curam gerens*" (although it very much resembles the word "*coregulus*," which has quite a different signification), occurs eight times, in combination with the more sublime title of *basileus* or *rex*.

The expression *primicerius*, or *primicherius*, appears once by itself, once in conjunction with *monarchus*, and twenty-six times in combination with *rex*. The signification of the word is not difficult of discovery, the latter part of the word probably being little more than a mere termination.

Propugnator, an expressive word, and full of meaning and value in the days of its employment, occurs in close combination with *breotonum*, or *paganorum*, twice, and then only in the secondary clauses of an elaborated style.

Rector occurs in the phrase "*Rector et imperator*" once; as "*Gubernator et rector*," ten times; as "*Rex, gubernator, et rector*," between thirty and forty times. Its meaning was evidently almost synonymous with *rex*.

Regulus appears about five times, and *subregulus* about six times, and are employed by local potentates, and not by those

having entire government in the kingdom. These words appear mostly with the *Hwiccas*, or inhabitants of that tract of land generally identified with Worcestershire.

By far the most interesting word in the series to us all is *imperator*, and, from its frequent occurrence in formal documents, there can be no doubt that the use of this term was universally acknowledged and thoroughly understood, as well by the sovereigns who employed it as by the people who accepted its adoption. It appears used alone, or in combination with *rex*, *rector*, *gubernator*, *propugnator*, *basileus*, *dominus*; hence its signification was comprehensive and perhaps as sublime as that of any word in the whole list I have collected. It appears also in such phrases as “*imperator regum*,” “*Breotonum ceterarumque provinciarum imperator*,” “*paganorum imperator*,” “*totius insulæ*,” or “*totius Albionis imperator*,” etc. In all, there are between twenty and thirty examples of the use of the word by Coenwulf, Oswald, Æthelstan, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, Æthelred, and Cnut during years ranging between 798 and 1018. Curiously enough, Du Cange says (*see* the passage I have quoted in the paragraph devoted to this title) that the Anglo-Saxon kings laid claim to the title of emperor because they made use of the term *basileus*, a word which at that time signified the same as *imperator*; but that writer does not seem to have noticed that the actual word *imperator* had ever been used. The primary use of the word was probably suggested by Roman intercourse. One king, at least, adopted the constantly recurring Roman style *Imperator Augustus*.

The Greek word ἀρχων, in its Saxonized form *archons*, occurs three times in absolute use, and no doubt is the equivalent of *rector*, or, perhaps, *rex*.

Monarchus, another Greek term, occurs from twenty to thirty times used singly, and in the phrases “*rex et monarchus*” twice, “*regius monarchus*,” “*basileus monarchus*,” “*monarchus et primicerius*,” once each. *Monarcha*, another form of the same word, occurs twice. This word *monarchus* is used for *emperor* by Theognis, Æschylus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Isocrates, according to Yonge.

Basileus (which is not the translation of *rex* in middle-age

Latin, as it was in older and classical ages, but of *imperator*) is apparently as favourite and as important a word as any in the whole series. This value of *basileus* is shown by the phrase “*Rex et basileus totius Angliæ.*” The middle-age Greek equivalent to *rex* was merely a transliteration of the word into ‘*Ρῆξ*. This word *basileus* occurs very frequently throughout the period embraced in Part I.—from fifty to sixty times simply, as well as many times in combination with the expressions *gubernator*, *rector*, *monarchus*, *imperator*, *curagulus*, and *rex*, the employment of such phrases as “*basileus et imperator*” being, of course, a mere repetition. It is worth while to remember that *tyrannus*, *autocrator*, *hegemon*, and other Greek words were not used by the Saxons.

When we take into consideration the frequency of the use of the word *imperator*, and its corresponding synonym *basileus*, I think we cannot deny that England, up to the time of the coming of the Normans, was not only a kingdom, but an empire, governed by a monarch who, while never losing sight of the words *rex* and *regnum*, yet possessed and very generally exercised his title to the word *imperator*, and designated his territories by the term *imperium*. Why William the First abandoned these titles, with one exception only of the use of *basileus* in a doubtful document, and persistently adhered to *rex*, a practice in which all his successors except James I. imitated him, I do not pretend to determine. If, as some assert, an *imperium* is a possession acquired and governed by the sword, but a *regnum* by inheritance and right and goodwill, then surely William would have used *imperator* and *imperium* in their most critically correct significations, unless, indeed, he desired to emphasize his contention that he succeeded to the throne of England by inheritance and not by conquest. by this use of the title *rex*. But it may be that this king never looked upon England as much better than a province added on to his own primary possession of the Duchy of Normandy: its greater extent being counterbalanced by its unsettled and unsatisfactory condition.

The remaining words, terms, and phrases of which my list is composed explain themselves, and appear to require little

comment; some are merely fulsome and adulatory, others tautological and periphrastic, some explanatory and descriptive, others epithetic and unique. The adjective forms applied to the more important substantive nouns are *beatus*, *egregius*, *industrius*, rather a favourite word; *famosus*, *augustus*, *serenissimus*, *clementissimus*, *gloriosus*, *gloriosissimus*, *gratulabundus*, *humilis*, *devotus*, *inclitus*, *imperiosus*, *justus*, *benignus*, *pacificus*, *pius*, *piissimus*, *præcellentissimus*, *terrenus*, *reverentissimus*, *strenuissimus*, *subthronizatus*, and *vocitatus*. Perhaps these expressions correspond to the modern employment of the words *Most Gracious*, applied to the sovereigns of England, just as *Most Christian*, *Most Faithful*, etc., are appropriated to European sovereigns.

A consideration of the remaining phrases and words which I have not here touched upon must be relegated to a future occasion, lest I encroach too much upon the space here allowed me. There is, however, one peculiar phase of the history of the first use of the term "Great Britain" which must be mentioned before I conclude these notes on the styles and titles of English sovereigns. "*Rex Anglorum*" appears to be the form from William the First to Richard the First; "*Rex Anglie*" commences with Henry the Second, and at first is used side by side with the previous form, but gradually supplants it, yielding in its turn on the death of Mary the Second, in 1695. But the employment of the term, "*Magnæ Britanniae*, etc., rex," was not so uniformly persisted in when it first arose, for Charles the First adopts the words on his first great seal, which was only in use for the year 1626-1627; he then reverts to "*Angliæ*, etc., rex" until 1640, when he resumes the expression, "*Magnæ Britanniae*," etc. Oliver does not use the term, Richard equally avoids or ignores it. Charles the Second, however, reverts to the practice first begun by his father. Yet William the Third and Mary the Second bear the older style on their seal, the newer one on their coins. William the Third's new great seal, after the death of Queen Mary, adopts "*Magnæ Britanniae*," and from that time forwards "*Angliæ*," etc., are discarded. The present style, "*Britanniarum*," etc., dates from 1801, the union with Ireland.

One remarkable instance of a revival is presented by a great seal, of which an impression exists in the British Museum, where George the Third, late in his reign, adds, after *defensor*, the words “et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput,” a title first used by Henry the Eighth, and not continued beyond Mary the First. We must, in like manner, consider the employment of the term *imperatrix* in connexion with Her Majesty the Queen more in the light of a resumption of a well-established Saxon usage—which perhaps inspired the unique title of “Totius Insulæ Britannicæ imperator” employed on the medal of James I.—than, as some will have it, in the light of a novelty without a precedent; for my notes and references indicate that it is a great archæological fact, and remove it altogether from a political expression.

From the Author

AN ESSAY

ON

THE ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

EMBRACING MORE PARTICULARLY AN ENUNCIATION AND
ANALYSIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF LAW AS
APPLICABLE TO CRIMINALS OF THE
HIGHEST DEGREE OF GUILT.

BY

WALTER ARTHUR COPINGER,

Of the Middle Temple, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

*Author of "The Law of Copyright in Works of Literature and Art," "Index to Precedents in
Conveyancing," "On the Custody and Production of Title Deeds."*

"AD HOC NEMO DUBITABIT, QUIN, SI NOCENTES MUTARI IN BONAM MENTEM ALIQUO MODO
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1876.

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In Works of Literature and Art, including that of the Drama, Music, Engraving, Sculpture, Painting, Photography, and Ornamental and Useful Designs, together with International and Foreign Copyright, with the Statutes relating thereto, and References to the English and American Decisions.

BY WALTER ARTHUR COPINGER, ESQUIRE,
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A highly edifying chapter on arrangements between authors and publishers closes the body of the work; and an appendix containing the Statutes having reference to the general subject of copyright, and containing that which will be found peculiarly suited to the literary men, some concise, but at the same time sufficiently exhaustive, forms of agreements between authors and publishers—complete a volume we have experienced much benefit and pleasure in perusing. We unhesitatingly pronounce this to be a work which should be in the hands of every literary man and artist; for the careful industry which has evidently been exerted in the collection of materials and cases both American and English, together with the great judgment and acumen displayed in the classification adopted, justify us thus highly commending it. Copyright law has become an important branch of our jurisprudence, and a volume embodying the modern decisions has been anxiously looked for lately. Mr. Copinger's work supplies precisely what we, in common with the lawyer, have been in search for—the text of the actual law, with as little essay writing as possible. This has been the author's object and aim, as evidenced by the couplet taken from Persius:—
*Non equidem hoc studeo, bullatis ut mihi nappi
Pagina turgescat, dare pondus idonea fumo*—*Art Journal*.

"A work much needed, and which he has done exceedingly well."—*American Law Review*.

"An exhaustive treatise."—*Daily News*, 11th Dec., 1870. See also the *Solicitors' Journal*, 13th November, 1870.

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P R E F A C E.

THE most important object of a penal code—the consummation and acme of criminal jurisprudence—is the prevention of crime : *ut unius pœna metus sit multorum.*

This end I have endeavoured to retain prominently before me in the ensuing essay. It does not, however, follow that because prevention is the cardinal end of punishment, that therefore it may be pursued at any cost ; and it is now generally admitted that neither the difficulty of preventing a particular crime, nor its frequency, nor the number of persons interested in its suppression, will, either separately or jointly, justify the use of preventatives disproportionately severe.

The difficulty of replying to the momentous inquiry—“How may crimes be effectually prevented?”—will to a considerable extent be obviated by investigating the causes from which they usually arise.

Now, great solicitude is requisite in order not to confound those crimes arising from passion and those from premeditated design. Many have based their arguments upon the assumption that the individuals who commit crimes calculate beforehand the consequences of their conduct, whereas in truth they are almost invariably under the influence of strong excitement. It is to the yielding to this excitement—the not sufficiently checking and curbing it—that we owe the majority of crimes which cast a shadow on the much-vaunted civilisation, culture, and progress of

the present age. The power of reason is to a certain extent thereby taken away, and the criminal thinks not at all until he feels the consequences of his imprudence.

In order, therefore, to prevent the consequences of passion, we must in some way counterbalance its effect on the human frame.

What so strong in man as his passion? What so difficult to control and circumscribe within proper and definite limits? That which may prove too much in one, were it wanting in another might prove his curse, and deprive him of all enjoyment in this world. Moderate passions seem no less necessary to the health of the human system than the storms and tempests to the salubrity of the air. When kept within their due and befitting bounds they give life and vigour to the whole man—but within proper and appropriate bounds they must be retained.

Civilisation and culture are the great links binding the passion to the reason, and making the former subservient to the latter. If once the passion acquires the upper hand, the difficulty is increased of conforming the individual to an observance of the law. Passion may be cultivated and trained in a similar manner as may reason, and it is only the habitual exercise of either which gives a power over the other.

Consuetudo est altera natura! and verily man is a creature of habit. If accustomed from habit to check and restrain his passion when roused, it will seldom or never obtain an advantage over him; but if, on the other hand, he from habit acts by impulse, who would not dread the consequences of his passion when awakened?

Why do we among the lower classes more usually discover the murderer? For this reason: the higher classes (those, I mean, to whom the advantages of education have been imparted) have been taught from youth to acquire a

command over their passions, and by sound moral and intellectual training to moderate their desires and impulses ; while, on the other hand, the lower classes, accustomed from childhood to scenes of riot and debauchery—untaught by that moral and intellectual instruction which alone can curb and repress the natural desire of mankind to act solely from impulse—easily give way to the first disturbing influence which falls across their path ; a violent passion ensues, and the termination is too frequently the murder of a fellow-creature.

Even those to whom a slight knowledge has been imparted are usually left at an early age without a director as to their future career—launched into the ocean of life without pilot to guide or direct their course ; eager to increase the little knowledge they have already acquired, they become the easy dupe of the first designing essay, fraught with pernicious principles, that falls in their way—thus verifying the ancient proverb, “A little knowledge is a dangerous thing.” The publications—chiefly periodical works—to which I refer are written in that morbid and licentious style which now so commonly pervades the literature of the lower classes. The style is interesting and captivating, and ingratiates itself almost imperceptibly on the imagination and attention of those by whom such works are greedily perused. The class of people who seek thus eagerly after this low style of literature, must not be irascibly condemned or harshly judged, before we consider fairly on whom to impose the burden of the popularity of such periodicals. When we consider that those who have acquired a knowledge of reading, and little more than such knowledge, *must* read something—they have tasted the intellectual enjoyment derivable from the perusal of the digested thoughts of another—have felt and experienced the glow of pleasure and satisfaction with

which one imagines the existence of times happier than the present, and circumstances unclouded and unchequered by a future ; can one express surprise at such people devouring and becoming absorbed in the only literature which falls within the grasp of their humble means ? Mental cultivation has a tendency to raise the moral character so far as that thereby low and sensual gratifications lose their attractions ; and if we could teach this class by a proper education to reason correctly, they would be fortified against the fallacies of insidious writers, and against the morbid sentiments at the present time so prevalent in their literature.

Nothing but the diffusion of knowledge through the great mass of the people will go to the root of the evil. Nothing but this will correct their moral sentiments, will lay them under the restraints which are imposed by enlightened opinions, and which operate so potently on the higher and more cultivated classes.

Educate our pauper infants ; give them a sound moral, religious, and intellectual training. The seed of virtue in the mind of man, like that of a tender plant in an unkindly soil, requires solicitude and culture in the first period of life as well as our own exertions when arrived at maturity. In its growth it is at first tender, and delicate, and easily warped. Its progress depends very much upon it being duly cultivated and properly exercised. The irregularities of passion should be timely checked, and good habits implanted ; attention should be prudently directed to the precepts of virtue and wisdom, as the mind is capable of receiving them ; the happiness attendant on a virtuous course of life, and the misery on a vicious course, should be at an early age brought prominently before the infantile mind. The want of a moral conductor at an age when the moral faculties are so easily led into a grave from which

the teaching of subsequent years may fail to remove them, is the cause of much of the crime so prevalent at the present time. The children to which I more particularly refer are usually, it must be remembered, surrounded by beings on which a vicious course of life has probably left an indelible stain ; or a continuous struggle with hardship, poverty, and want, and a constant intercourse under such circumstances with the criminal class, has deadened and blunted their moral faculties. How, then, can it be considered surprising that the children but follow in the footsteps of their parents, or rather commence their career in crime where their leaders have halted ? For want of moral culture, bad habits gather strength, and false notions of honour, of pleasure, and of interest occupy their mind. Although to a right understanding free from prejudice, and accustomed to judge of the morality of actions, most truths in morals will appear self-evident ; it is an error having an incalculably injurious effect to suppose that it necessarily follows that moral instruction is unnecessary in the early stages of life, or that it may not be profitable in its more advanced period. Many remain to the end of their days in ignorance of self evident truths ; many more entertain the grossest absurdities in matters where interest, passion, prejudice, and fashion are apt to pervert the judgment. As the power of vegetation in the seed of a plant, without heat and moisture, would for ever lie dormant, so the rational and moral powers of man would perhaps remain dormant without instruction and example.

The principles of virtue should therefore be early engrafted on the pliant and ductile minds of the young, for by habit, arising from a sound moral sense, they would attain a most effectual mastery over their passions, and become capable of repressing those impulses, the non-restraint of which leads to so many fearful enormities.

The following essay was written some years back, when I had a strong impression that capital punishment should be abolished; the ensuing may be taken rather as an argument, backed by a collection of all the opinions I have been able to discover in its support, than the expression of my personal sentiments.

W. A. COPINGER.

BIRCH HALL,

MANCHESTER,

18th December, 1875.

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AN ESSAY

ON THE

ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

THE philosophical spirit which peculiarly animates the advancing age, and pervades the enactments of our legislature, must before long exhibit itself in the treatment of the subject about to be entered upon. 1.
Introduction.

Its frequent agitation can only be justified by its illimitable importance. Some little fortitude is required to combat an opinion that has been sanctioned by long and universal prejudice and supported by popular impulse. Truth, however, is invariably of progressive growth, and reason—though it may be perverted and distorted from its natural and pure channel for a time by the overwhelming force of an incipient desire, or a fallacious prejudice—will ultimately, unalloyed, become the absolute standard and criterion of all our actions. There is much justice in the saying of Sallust—"Omnes homines, qui de rebus dubiis consultant ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet. Hand facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiant; neque quisquam omnium libidini simul et usui paruit. Ubi intenderis ingenium valet; si libido præssidet ea dominatur, animus nihil valet."¹

One of the most important objects to be achieved by a society is the protection and security of its members. The question to be considered is whether this protection and security is at present procured, either advisedly or effectually, and whether we are not endeavouring to effect a conclusion, which neither our means can justify, nor our contrivances attain. 2.
The chief
object of
punishment.

Capital punishment has found advocates and opponents in all ages. Various have been the grounds on which they have respectively based their arguments; but the principal plea on the one hand has been that the power of taking the life of a fellow-creature is not within the measure of authority vested in any community, while on the other hand that such power is so vested.

¹ Cæsar's Speech, *Catalina*, cap. 51.

3. Plan of work. It is proposed to be demonstrated, first, that the power of life and death is vested in the hands of the administrative department of a state; and secondly, that though the state is so endowed, for the reason to be hereafter assigned, such power should seldom or never be exercised.

4. Opportunity very favourable for present inquiry. This is of all times most favourable for the present inquiry. Are not our towns and cities immersed in crime? Do not the voices of the unfortunate victims cry out, as it were, from their very graves, and reproach us for not rather thinking of protection than revenge? How far better would it be to prevent the crime, than afterwards to have the satisfaction of punishing it! *Melius est occurrere in tempore quam exitum vindicare.* Never has a fact been more clearly demonstrated, than that the punishment, at present inflicted, is insufficient to stay the fearful influx of crime, and that something in our criminal code is defective.

Who can say that our criminal code is answering the expectations of its framers? None. It is apparent to the most incredulous that it is insufficient to restrain the vicious and peccant from the commission of crime.

It is not only the test of the present day, but the experience of ages, that has shown the inefficiency of capital punishment. Why should a remedy so desperate be still applied, since it has so long proved abortive. Instances could be adduced without number elucidating the fact that capital punishments do not deter others from repeating the crimes for which so many suffer. Is it not possible that solitary confinement, combined with hard labour, might have a more beneficial effect—a more effectual influence than the probability of an infamous death, in deterring criminals from acts of violence and iniquity. *Melior est justitia verè præveniens quam severe puniens.*

“A man,” says Plato, “ought to be very strict and accurate in examining the first principle and foundation of things, and no less copious and distinct in explaining them; inasmuch, as those points, being once clearly settled, the whole scheme of doctrine regularly follows.”¹ Acting, therefore, in accordance with the advice of the great philosopher, it will be well briefly to examine the right on which is founded the power of punishment.

5. Natural law. To the most extensive and universal rule of human actions, to which every man is obliged to conform, is given the name of *Natural Law*.²

¹ *Satius est petere fontes quam sectari rivulos.* (Better to search the fountains than to cut rivulets.)—10 Co., 118.

² Zouch says that this law consists in that right which natural reason has set down to be observed by all men—*Jus quod naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit.*—*Elemt. Jur.*, Pt. 1, Sec. 3. And Aquinas says it is *aliquid per rationem constitutum*—something which right reason decrees. Suarez says it consists in *actuali judicio mentis*—in the present

God in the beginning imprinted on every creature a natural instinct, or sense, to do that which is agreeable to its nature, and to choose what is good and proper for it.¹

Man, as a creature of a higher nature, consists of three parts, the body, the soul, and the spirit, on which account he is justly termed—

Sanctus—animal, mentisque capacious altæ
Et quod dominari in cætera posset.²

The body is material, formed of the dust of the earth; the soul is that principle of life and sense which man has in common, to a certain extent, with the brutes; and the spirit is that governing or directing part which no creature save man is endowed with. His soul and spirit are of a substance capable of subsisting when separate from the body, immaterial, that is, not formed of what we call matter, and spiritual, and, therefore, not in itself subject to the cognizance of our bodily senses, and only known by the effect which it produces in its action upon outward and visible objects. The whole immaterial part of man, moreover, is frequently spoken of indifferently under the names of soul and spirit. The spirit is the inscrutable residence of man's personality, inscrutable to all but God. The soul is the

6.
Constitution
of man, and
his moral
government.

and actual judgment and sentence of the mind. And in chapter 4 of the 2nd Book he says, "Lex rationis est quæ humanæ voluntati præcipit vel prohibet quod agendum est ex naturali jure." And again, under the name of the Law of Nature he says, "It is the sentence of reason, declaring what the will and mind of God is about the doing or not doing what is agreeable to human nature—Judicium rationis quatenus nobis significat voluntatem Dei de agendis et vitandis, circa ea quæ rationi naturali consentanea sunt."—Lib. 2, cap. 6; see Taylor's *Civil Law*, 99, 105, 126, 2nd edit.; Dawson's *Origo Legum*, bk. 1, chap. v. Also *Notes to the Decalogue on Happiness*, Harris's Works, 1 vol. 297, 302., edit. 1792.

¹ In the first creation two different emanations of souls are manifest, the one proceeding from the breath of God, the other from the elements. "As to the primitive emanation of the rational soul, the Scripture says (God formed man of the dust of the earth, and breathed into his nostrils the breath [or spirit] of life; but the generation of the irrational and brutal soul was in these words, 'Let the water bring forth; let the earth bring forth.' And this irrational soul in man," continues Lord Bacon, "is only an instrument to the rational one, and has the same origin in us as in brutes, viz., the dust of the earth."—*Adv. of Learn.*, bk. iv., chap. 3.

² Cicero reckons up the advantages of men over brutes in these words, "Eademque natura, vi rationis, hominem conciliat homini et ad orationis et ad vitæ sociatalem. Nec vero illa parva vis naturæ est, rationisque, quod unum hoc animal sentit. quid sit ordo, quid sit quod deceat, in factis, dictisque qui modus."—*De Offic.* Lib. 1., cap. iv.; vide *De Legibus*, Lib. 1, cap. vii. "It does not appear that brutes have the least reflex sense of actions as distinguished from events; or that will and design which constitute the nature of actions as such, are at all an object to their perception. But to ours they are; and they are the object, and the only one, of the approving and disapproving faculty."—Butler's *2nd Diss. of the Nature of Virtue*

intelligent and animating faculty—the medium through which (under the present constitution of man) the spirit comes in contact with the body—the repository wherein the ideas of outward objects, received through the bodily senses, are laid up as the materials of thought, and for personal use and action. The spirit was, in its creation, inspired into a material body, it subsists personally in the body, and by means of the body receives ideas of external things, and acts and communicates with external things.¹

It is evident there are at least two parts in the human constitution that may influence our voluntary actions. They may be termed the irrational and the rational, *i.e.*, passion and reason.

The ancient philosophers agreed in making a distinction of this nature, and recognised the two principles of action. The irrational part the Greeks called *ορμή*. Cicero calls it *Appetitus*, taking that word in an extensive sense, so as to include every propensity to action which is not grounded on judgment. The other principle the Greeks called *vous*; Plato calls it the *ἡγεμονικόν*, or the governing or leading principle. “*Duplex enim est vis animiorum atque naturæ*,” says Cicero, “*una pars in appetitu posita est, quæ est ορμή* Græce, quæ hominem huc et illuc rapit; altera in ratione; quæ docet, et explanat. quid faciendum fugiendumve sit, ita sit ut ratio præsit, appetitus obtemperet.”

In the philosophy of the Pythagorean school, the mind of man was compared to a state or commonwealth, in which were various powers, some that should govern, and others that should be subordinate. The good of the whole, which is the supreme law in this, as in every commonwealth, requires that this subordination be preserved, and that the governing powers have always the ascendant over the appetites and the passions. All wise and good conduct consists in this, all folly and vice in the prevalence of passion over the dictates of reason. This philosophy was adopted by Plato; and it is so agreeable to what every man feels in himself, that it must always prevail with men who think without bias to a particular system.

One of the ultimate objects of the principle of action in man called *reason* is what we judge to be good upon the whole. This cannot be conceived even without the exercise of reason, and therefore there cannot be an object to beings that have not some degree of reason. So soon as he has the conception of this object, man is led by his constitution to desire and pursue it.

In order to fitly apply this principle to our conduct, a broad view of human life must be taken, and a correct estimate of its merits and demerits, with respect to their intrinsic worth and

¹ *Readings on the Liturgy*, vol. ii., part i., p. 84.

dignity, their constancy and duration must be formed. He must be a wise man indeed, if any such man there be, who, having no other rule than this to direct his conduct, can perceive in every instance, or even every important instance, what is best for him upon the whole.¹ Man stands in need of a more direct monitor than a dubious view of distant good, and it is pretty evident that if he had no more distinguishable rule to direct his conduct in life than a regard to what he considered as good upon the whole, the majority of mankind would be fatally misled, even by ignorance of the road to its attainment. The principle of a regard to our good upon the whole is so similar to the moral principle, or conscience, of which it is intended next to speak, and so interwoven with it, that both have been comprehended under the name *Reason*. The similarity has induced some to resolve conscience, or a sense of duty, entirely into a regard to what is good for us on the whole, but that they are distinct principles of action is clearly demonstrable. They have been aptly compared to "two fountains whose streams unite and run in the same channel," for though distinct leading principles of action, they both suppose the use of reason, and, when rightly understood, both lead to the same course of life, and there can be no opposition between them.

A moral faculty—that is, a power of discerning moral goodness and turpitude in human conduct—is essential to every being capable of virtue or vice. By this moral faculty we have the conception of right and wrong in human conduct, of merit and demerit, of duty and moral obligation, and our other moral conceptions; and by the same faculty we perceive some things in human conduct to be right and others to be wrong. The first principles of morals are the dictates of this faculty, and we have the same reason to rely upon these dictates as upon the determinations of our senses, or of our other natural faculties. "That we have this moral approving and disapproving faculty," says Bishop Butler,² "is certain, from our experiencing it in ourselves, and recognizing it in each other. It appears from our exercising it unavoidably in the approbation and disapprobation even of feigned characters; from the words *right* and *wrong*, *odious* and *amiable*, *base* and *worthy*, with many others of like signification, in all languages, applied to actions and characters; from the many written systems of morals which suppose it, since it cannot be imagined that all these authors throughout all these treatises had absolutely no meaning at all to their words, or a meaning merely chimerical from our natural sense of gratitude, which implies a distinction between merely being the instrument of good and intending it; from the like distinc-

7.
The moral
faculty.

¹ Reid's *Essay on the Powers of the Human Mind*, vol. 3, p. 261.

² *Dissertation* ii.

tion everyone makes between injury and mere harm, which Hobbes says is peculiar to mankind, and between injury and just punishment—a distinction plainly natural prior to the consideration of human laws. It is manifest great part of common language and of common behaviour over the world is formed upon supposition of such a moral faculty, whether called conscience, moral reason, moral sense, or divine reason; whether considered as a sentiment of the understanding, or as a perception of the heart; or, which seems the truth, as including both. Nor is it at all doubtful, in the general, what course of action this faculty or practical discerning power within us approves, and what it disapproves. For, as much as it has been disputed wherein virtue consists, or whatever ground for doubt there may be about particulars, yet, in general, there is in *reality* an universally acknowledged standard of it. It is that which all ages and all countries have made profession of in public; it is that which every man you meet puts on the show of; it is that which the primary and fundamental law of all civil constitutions over the face of the earth make it their business and endeavour to enforce the practice of upon mankind—namely, justice, veracity, and regard to common good.”

To this moral power of the human mind has been given various names. Some have called it *honesty*, *probity*, *virtue*, *conscience*; others the *moral sense*,¹ the *moral faculty*, *rectitude*. It is both an active and intellectual power of the mind, it prescribes measure to every appetite, affection and passion, and marks out to every principle of action the limit beyond which it may not go.

8.
The principle
of conscience.

This principle of conscience or moral instinct may be defined to be that natural bent or inclination which prompts man to approve of certain things as good, and to condemn others as bad, independent of reflection or act of reasoning.² It is not begotten

¹ Among the ancient writers the *sensus recti et honesti* is a phrase not unfrequently met with; neither among modern writers is the phrase “sense of duty.” It obtained the name of *sense* from some analogy which it is conceived to bear to the external senses.—See Reid, *Power of H. M.*, chap. iii., chap. vi.

² The light of nature not only shines upon the human mind through the medium of a rational faculty but by internal instinct, according to the law of conscience, which is a sparkle of our primitive purity.—Bacon, *Adv. of Learning*, bk. ix. And in this sense chiefly “the soul receives some light for beholding and discerning the perfection of the moral law; though this light be not perfectly clear, but of such a nature as rather to reprehend vice than give a full information of duty; whence religion, both with regard to mysteries and moralities, depends upon divine revelation.”—*Ibid.* On this account Hooker concludes that to make nothing evident of itself, is to take away all possibility of knowing anything; fortifying his observation by the remark of Theophrastus, “They that seek a reason for all things, do utterly destroy all reasoning.” (*Qui rationem in omnibus querunt rationem subvertunt.*)—2 *Rep.* 75.

by reflection upon the tendency of the human actions which excite it, nor is it instilled into our minds by our intercourse with our fellow men. It is a simple element of our nature. It is not the effect of causes, nor is it the consequence of antecedents which are open to human observation.

Conscience or reflection, compared with the other principles of action as they stand together in the nature of man, is without doubt far superior to every other power of the mind, and plainly carries with it marks of authority over all the rest. It commands and forbids, in most common and most important points of conduct, without the labour of reasoning. Its voice is heard by every man, and cannot be disregarded with impunity. Other principles of action may have more strength, but this alone has authority. It is the candle of the Lord lighted up within us to guide our steps. Therefore, to allow no more to this superior principle, or part of our nature, than to others; to let it govern and guide only occasionally, in common with the rest, is not to act conformably to the constitution of man.

Reason and conscience have each had their advocates among moralists, of whom some have chosen to name reason, and others conscience, as the sole and chief guide in moral conduct. Neither reason nor conscience, however, should be exclusively favoured; each of them in its proper place has its distinct function to perform. Butler appears to trust too implicitly to conscience. It must be remembered that reason and conscience are simply informants, and nothing more; that as such, they are not infallible, but that each of them is liable occasionally to be impaired, abused or deceived. When we say that our conscience, or our reason deceives us—what do we mean? We mean that it makes a false representation; either that it suggests the existence of an obligation to do a particular act, when no obligation really exists; or that it represents an act as improper or indifferent, which we are under an obligation to perform. The former is more valuable as a solemn bell to warn us, that we pause and deliberate, than as an assurance of the truth of any particular emotions or direct suggestions which may arise under its appeal. It cannot be blindly consulted as an Urim and Thummim; for it acts more by superintendence than by revelation—rather as a general than as a special providence in our behalf. The latter, on the other hand, gives man a more distinct and definite knowledge, by principles and rules, of the distinction between good and evil in all possible cases, and qualifies him, from the contemplation of human condition, to discover a necessity of living agreeably to some law.¹

9.

The chief guide to moral conduct.

10.

Difference between conscience and reason.

¹ C'est le *sentiment* qui nous donne les premiers avertissements; notre *raison* y ajoute plus de lumière.—Burlemaque. Moral truths, therefore, may be divided into two classes, namely, such as by our conscience are self-evident to every man whose understanding and moral faculty is

11.
Natural law
drawn from
reason.

Natural Law, therefore, is to a great extent to be drawn from man's reason; flowing from the true current of that faculty when unperturbed,¹ for man may be so constituted as instantly to approve certain actions without any reference to their consequences, yet, reason may nevertheless discover that a tendency to produce general happiness, is the essential characteristic of such actions. As then mankind can discover the natural difference between virtue and vice, or between good and evil actions,² it follows as a necessary consequence that it is possible, in the nature of the thing itself, for man, by the use of his reasoning powers, to trace out, and discover the rules of moral duty. Thus, says Seneca,³ "Nobis videtur observatio collegisse, et rerum scepe factarum inter se collatio, per analogiam nostro intellectu et honestum et bonum judicante
Noveramus corporis sanitatem, ex hac cogitavimus esse aliquam et animi. Noveramus corporis vires, ex his collegimus esse et animi robur. Aliqua benigna facta, aliqua humana, aliqua fortia, nos obstupefecerant; hæc cœpimus tanquam perfecta mirari."

12.
Foundation
of our moral
obligation.

It is extremely difficult to say on what our moral obligation is founded. Some say it is founded on our belief that virtue is enjoined by the command of God. "But how," inquires Mr. Dugald Stewart, "does this belief impose an obligation? Only one of two answers can be given:—either that there is a moral fitness that we should conform our will to that of the Author, and the Governor of the universe, or that a rational self-love should enduce, out of prudence, to study every means of rendering ourselves acceptable to the Almighty Arbiter of happiness and misery. On the first supposition, we reason in a circle. We resolve our sense of moral obligation into our sense of religion; and the sense of religion into that of moral obligation."

Others imagine virtue to be a mere matter of prudence, but this system leads us to conclude—1st, that a disbelief of a future state absolves from all moral obligation, excepting so far as virtue may be conducive to our present happiness; and, 2nd, that a being independently and completely happy, cannot have any moral perceptions, or any moral attributes. But farther the notions of rewards and punishment presuppose the notions of right and

ripe; and such as are deduced by reasoning from those that are self-evident. If the first be not discerned without reasoning, the last never can be by any amount of reasoning.

¹ Jus naturale ex ipsa hominis ratione eruendum, idemque adeo ex istius recte se habentis dictamine profluere.—Puf., *De Jure Nat. et Gen.*, lib. ii., cap. iii.

² See *Gen.* iii., 22.

³ *Epis.* cxx.

wrong. They are sanctions of virtue, or additional motives to the practice of it; but they suppose the existence of some previous obligation. "In the last place," continues Mr. Stewart, "if moral obligation be constituted by a regard to our situation in another life, how shall the existence of a future state be proved by the light of nature? or how shall we discover what conduct is acceptable to the Deity? The truth is, that the strongest argument for such a state is deduced from our natural notions of right and wrong, of merit and demerit, and from a comparison between these and the general course of human affairs. It is absurd, therefore, to ask why we are bound to practice virtue. The very notion of virtue implies the notion of obligation. Every being who is conscious of the distinction between right and wrong, carries about with him a law which he is bound to observe, notwithstanding he may be in total ignorance of a future state."¹ Thus moral obligation may be represented as involved in the very exercise of the reasoning faculty. There is, indeed, an obligation, from the nature of the thing, involved in reason—the knowledge of what is best must bind a rational being.

13.
Supremacy of
conscience.

Mr. Smith, though he resolves moral approbation ultimately into a feeling of the mind, represents the supremacy of conscience as a principle, which is equally essential to all these different systems. "Upon whatever we suppose our moral faculties to be founded—whether upon a certain modification of reason, upon an original instinct, called a moral sense, or upon some other principle of our nature, it cannot be doubted that they were given us for the direction of our conduct in this life. They carry along with them the most evident badges of this authority, which denote that they were set up within us to be the supreme arbiters of all our actions, to superintend all our senses, passions, and appetites, and to judge how far each of them was either to be indulged or restrained. It is the peculiar office of these faculties to judge, to bestow censure or applause upon all the other principles of our nature."²

Such actions as in themselves, or of natural consequence, tend to the advancement of the common happiness of man, or to the prevention of a common ill, are morally good; while those actions as in themselves or of natural consequence tend to prevent a common happiness, or to promote a common ill, are morally bad. "Actionem bonam," says Pufendorf,³ "dicimus,

14.
Tendency of
actions to
moral good or
moral bad.

¹ What renders obnoxious to punishment is not the fore-knowledge of it, but merely the violating a known obligation.—Butler. Stewart's *Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, pt. ii. art. iii.

² *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, pt. vi. sec. iii., intro.; Dr. Clarke's *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, prop. 1.

³ *De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, Lib. 1, cap. vii., sec. 3, *de actionum moralium qualitativibus*.

quæ cum lege congruit ; malam, quæ ab eadem discrepat. Scilicet formalis ratio bonitatis et malitice actionum consistit in habitudine, sev relatione determinativa ad normam directivam, quam dicimus legem (eam semper heic intelligimus necessitantem, non permittentem, et, si humana sit, juri divino non repugnantem) ; quatenus enim ex præscripto normæ proficiscitur, et juxta eam instituitur actio præeretica, ita ut ad eandem exacte congruat, bona dicitur. Quatenus contra præscriptum normæ suscipitur, aut ab ipsa discrepat, mala, et uno vocabulo peccatum nuncupatur."

The law of nature enjoins all those actions which are morally good, and forbids all those which are morally bad.¹ The former becoming, from this fact, duties, and the latter, crimes.

15.
Power of
applying the
law of nature
to particular
cases, not in
all men.

It is not contended that the law of nature is *known* to all men of their own knowledge; that is to say that all men are capable of deducing it artificially from primary principles ; nor is this by any means requisite, for were we to admit the necessity of this deductive knowledge in every man, those would arise without number, who would contend that as, by their reason, they were unable to deduce the law of nature from the suggestions of reason (and to render a law obligatory, the knowledge of it must be imparted to the subject), they were not bound by its precepts. But a popular and simple knowledge is alone sufficient to give a law an obligatory power.² Of this law we may truly say, "her voice is the harmony of the world ;" it is the same in one part of the globe as another, the same to-day as in the beginning of time. "Nec vero aut per senatum, aut per populum solvi hæc lege possumus ;" and with the ancient poet Hesiod we may declare—

"This law did Jove for human race ordain:
The beasts, the fishes, and the feather'd train,
He left to mutual spoil, and mutual prey,
But *Justice* gave to man."—Lib. 1, ver. 275.

¹ "Jus naturale," says Grotius, "est dictatum rectæ rationis, indicans actu alicui, ex ejus convenientiâ aut disconvenientiâ cum ipsâ naturâ rationali inesse moralem turpitudinem, aut necessitatem moralem, ac consequenter ab auctore naturæ. Deo talem actum aut vetari aut præcipi. Actus de quibus tale exstat dictatum, debiti sunt aut illiciti per se, atque ideo à Deo necessario præcepti aut vetiti intelliguntur."—*De Jur. Bel. ac Pac.*, Lib. 1, cap. 1, sec. 10. St. Chrysostom's definition is that natural law is the instinctive knowledge of good and evil, αὐτοδιδακτος ἡ γνῶσις τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τῶν ὀν τοιούτων. Mr. Heron, however, thinks that as it is important in legislation to avoid intermeddling with the peculiar province of ethics or divinity, the divine law being the province of the theologian, and ethics that of the moral philosopher, the above definition of Grotius can scarcely be adopted as correct. He considers it embraces too much, both moral and legal duty ; and himself defines natural law as that part of our duty which, in reason and equity, is capable of being exacted.

² Nam ut lex obliget, popularis duntaxat et simplex notitia sufficit, neque artificiosa ejusdem demonstratio ac deductio ad hunc finem requiritur.

Right and obligation¹ are correlative terms : one of these ideas necessarily supposes the other, and we cannot conceive a right without a corresponding obligation. 16.
Right and
obligation.

Since then the Supreme Being has endowed us with a mind capable of apprehending that which is conducive to our common welfare, and since the aim and object—the earthly ideal of the good man²—cannot be achieved or attained without the observance of those natural laws, which have been deduced by ratiocination, or which have been revealed by the express word of God ;³ it cannot but be supposed that God has laid an

¹ Obligation, considered in general and in its original sense, may be defined as a restriction of natural liberty, produced by reason, inasmuch as the suggestions which reason gives us, are so many motives which determine us to act in one way as preferable to another. See also Austin's *Jurisprudence*, lec. v., p. 201.

² Oh ! happiness ! our being's end and aim—

Good, pleasure, ease, content ! whate'er thy name ;
That something still which prompts th' eternal sigh,
For which we bear to live, or dare to die,
Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies,
O'erlooked, seen double by the fool and wise !

Pope's *Essay on Man*, epist. iv. 1.

See Horace, *Carm.* iv. 9, 45.

³ See Austin's *Jurisprudence*, lect. ii. There are many more, especially among the modern ethical writers, who deny the existence of a "moral sense," and support the theory or hypothesis of *utility*. According to this theory, the laws of God, which are not revealed or promulgated, must be gathered by man from the goodness of God, and from the *tendency of human actions*. From these latter we must gather our duties, or remain in ignorance of them. The hypothesis is briefly this : "Inasmuch as the goodness of God is boundless and impartial, he designs the greatest happiness of all his sentient creatures ; he wills that the aggregate of their enjoyments shall find no nearer limit than that which is inevitably set to it by their finite and imperfect nature. From the probable effects of our actions on the greatest happiness of all, or from the tendencies of human actions to increase or diminish that aggregate, we may infer the laws which he has given, but has not expressed or revealed." According to the theory of utility, the principle of general utility is the index to God's commands, and is therefore the proximate measure of all human conduct. We are bound by the awful sanction with which his commands are armed to adjust our conduct to rules formed on that proximate measure. Though benevolence be nothing but a name for provident regard to self, we are moved by regard to self, when we think of these awful sanctions, to pursue the generally useful, and to forbear from the generally pernicious. Others support a compound hypothesis, making the moral sense our index to some of the tacit commands of the Deity, but the principle of general utility our index to others. With regard to actions of a few classes, the moral sentiments of most, though not of all men, have been alike, while with regard to actions of other classes, their moral sentiments have differed through every shade or degree, from slight diversity to direct opposition. With respect to actions of the former class, there is ground for supposing the existence of a moral sense ; but with reference to the latter, the existence of the moral sense may fairly be doubted, Hume supposed that some of our moral sentiments sprung from a *perception of utility*, and he also appears to imagine that others are not to be analyzed, or belong exclusively to the province of *taste*.—See Austin's *Province of Jurisprudence*.

obligation on man, of obeying these laws, as a means expressly ordained by the Almighty himself, for the advancement of that end, and without which means that result could not be attained.¹ Man, therefore, is under an indispensable obligation of conforming his conduct to the Divine will, whether the knowledge of that will be arrived at from the contemplation of human condition, or be delivered by a particular revelation.² The noblest reward of virtue is virtue itself; the most severe punishment of vice is vice itself, and as Virgil excellently observes, "good actions are rewarded, as bad ones also are punished, by the consciousness that attends them—

"Quæ vobis, quæ digna, viri, pro laudibus, istis,
Præmia posse rear solvi! Pulcherrima primum,
Dii moresque dabunt vestri."—*Æneid ix.*, 252.

17.
Internal and
external obli-
gation.

In short, the law of nature at the same time binds us by an internal and external obligation, which produces the highest degree of moral necessity, and reduces our liberty to the very strongest subjection, without destroying it. "J'entends par obligation interne," says Mr. Burlemaque³, "celle qui est uniquement produite par notre propre raison, considérée comme la règle primitive de notre conduite, et en conséquence de ce qu'une action a en elle-même de bon ou de mauvais. Pour l'obligation externe, ce sera celle qui vient de la volonté de quelque être, dont on se reconnoît dépendant, et qui commande ou défend certaines choses, sous la menace de quelque peine. A quoi il faut ajouter que tant s'en fait que ces deux obligations soient opposées entr'elles qu'au contraire elles s'accordent parfaitement. Car comme l'obligation externe peut donner une nouvelle force à l'obligation interne, aussi toute la force de l'obligation externe dépend en dernier ressort, de l'obligation interne; et c'est de l'accord et du concours de ces deux obligations, que résulte le plus haut degré de nécessité morale, le lien le plus fort ou le motif le plus propre à faire impression sur l'homme, pour le déterminer à suivre constamment certaines Règles de conduite et à ne s'en écarter jamais; en un mot, c'est par là que se forme l'obligation la plus parfaite."

18.
Sociability of
man.

"Εἰς ἀνὴρ, οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ."

Man, according to Aristotle,⁴ is naturally a social animal,

¹ "Good men," says Euripides, "do at least obtain what their virtue hath deserved. But evil men shall never arrive at any tolerable degree of happiness." See also Montaigne's *Essays*, bk. iii., ch. 11.

² Most of the ancients acknowledged the authority of natural law, and derived it rightly from God. See *Lactantius*, lib. vi., cap. viii., citing Cicero *De Repub.*

³ *Princep du Droit Naturel*, pt. i., chap. vi., sec. 13.

⁴ *Polit.*, bk. iii., c. vi., and bk. i., c. ii.; vide Seneca *De Benef.*, lib. vii., cap. 1, and epist. xcv.; Diogenes Laertius, lib. vii., sec. 123; and St. Augustine *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iii., cap. xiv.

and, therefore, even when he does not require the assistance of others, he will certainly desire to live with them. We are led by a natural and instinctive desire to associate with our species.¹ As, says Pope :—

Heaven forming each on other to depend,
A master, or a servant, or a friend,
Bids each on other for assistance call,
Till one man's weakness grows the strength of all :
Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
The common interest, or endear the tie.

Essay on Man, ep. ii., 249.

Without the companionship of man he would be little better than an animal of the lower creation. It is society which forms and moulds our feelings, strengthens our desires, and creates and develops the individual man. Even those who deduce our moral sentiments from social influences may not be far from right. The incessant and controlling influence of man on man may have been the cause of the origin of the sentiment of moral responsibility. One of the great inducements to the union of man in society must have been mutual assistance and protection ; for out of society he could neither preserve his life nor attain any real or substantial happiness. Nothing but the assistance of our fellow-creatures is able to preserve us from innumerable evils, or render our life easy and happy. In society, man finds a remedy for the greater number of his wants, and an occasion for exercising most of his faculties ; it is in society only that he is capable of exercising those pleasurable sensations of benevolence, friendship, compassion, and generosity.²

God, in the nature of each being founds
Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds ;
But as he fram'd the whole, the whole to bless,
On mutual wants builds mutual happiness ;
So from the just eternal order ran,
And creature link'd to creature, man to man.

Pope's *Essay on Man*, epist. iii., 109.

As nature created him for social life, she fitted him for the station she intended. In all cases she made his natural wants greater than his individual powers. No one man is capable, without the aid of society, of supplying his own wants ; and those wants acting upon every individual, impel the whole of them into society as naturally as gravitation acts to a centre.³

19.
Seneca's
picture of
society.

¹ See Stewart's *Philosophy of the Active Powers*, bk. i., ch. ii., sec. 11.
Thus God and nature link'd the general frame,
And bade self-love and social be the same.

² Cicero, *de Offic*, lib. i., cap. 7. Men are the defence of men, cities of cities, as the hand rules the hand, and the fingers wash the fingers. All safety is in confederacy. Pliny's *N. H.*, lib. ix., cap. xlv.

³ Paine's *Rights of Man*, pt. ii., ch. i.

An excellent picture of the use of society is drawn by Seneca.¹ "On what," says he, "does our security depend, but on the services we render one another? It is this commerce of benefits that makes life easy, and enables us to defend ourselves against any sudden insults or attacks. What would be the state of mankind were every one to live apart. So many men, so many victims to other animals, an easy prey—in short, feebleness itself. In fact, other animals have strength sufficient to defend themselves: those that are wild and wandering, and whose ferocity does not permit them to herd together, are born, as it were, with arms; whereas man is on all sides encompassed with weakness, having neither arms, nor teeth, nor claws to render him formidable. But the strength he wants by himself he finds when united with his equals. Nature, to make amends, has endowed him with two things, which give him a considerable force and superiority, where otherwise he would be much inferior; I mean reason and sociability, whereby he who alone could make no resistance, becomes master of the whole. Society gives him an empire over other animals. Society is the cause that, not satisfied with the element on which he was born, he extends his command over the sea. It is the same union that supplies him with remedies in his diseases, assistance in his old age, and comfort in his pains and anxieties; it is this that enables him, as it were, to bid defiance to fortune. Take away society, and you destroy the union of mankind on which the preservation and the whole happiness of life depends."

20
Causes of the
coalition of
man in civil
past.

We may here remark that various have been the motives assigned as the cause of the entering by man into society. Some have urged "a social principle," some "a sense of impotency and weakness," while others with equal energy have asserted "a desire of knowledge;" but it would be as irrational to refer the origin of society to one elementary principle as to attempt to refer most of the operations of the human mind and heart to a single source, or to derive from one spring of action effects depending on a complication of causes.

¹ Quo alio tuti sumus, quam quod mutuis juvamus officiis? Hoc uno instructor vita contraque incursiones subitas munitur est beneficiorum commercio. Fac nos singulos, quid sumus? præda animalium et victimæ, ac imbecillissimus et facillimus sanguis. Quoniam cæteris animalibus in tutelam sui satis virium est: quæcunque vaga nascuntur, et actura vitam segregem, armata sunt. Hominem imbellia cingit; non unguium vis, non dentium, terribilem cæteris fecit. Nudum et infirmum societas munit. Duas res dedit, quæ illum obnoxium cæteris, validissimum facerent, rationem et societatem. Itaque, qui par esse nulli posset, si seduceretur, rerum potitur. Societas illi dominium omnium animalium dedit: societas terribis genitum, in alienæ naturæ transmisit imperium, et dominari etiam in mari jussit. Hæc morborum impetus arcuit, senectuti adminicula prospexit, solatia contra dolores dedit. Hæc fortes nos facit, quod licet contra fortunam advocare. Hanc tolle, et imitatem generis humani, qua vita sustinetur, scindes.—Seneca *de Benef.*, lib. iv., cap 18; *vide de Consol. ad Marciam*, cap. xi.

This fruitful source of error, the not taking an extended view of the subject, and seeking for its solution in the operation of a multiplicity of causes, has generally proceeded from an overweening zeal in support of some favourite theory. "This desire to refer an effect," observes Mr. Hoffman,¹ "originating in complex causes, to a simple principle, appears almost innate, for it will be found, on examining various theories in physics and morals, that scarcely any of their authors have been content to rear their system on the resulting effect of concurring causes, but have imagined that their argument loses the character of theory and the charm of novelty, if they solve their problem by reference to all the circumstances which may possibly combine to produce a single result. This notion of simplifying the composite machinery of nature, and of attributing to one cause what may have arisen from an infinite number of minute operations, has no doubt been the cause and perpetuation of most of the visionary systems which have been the reproach of learning and philosophy in all ages. We know that the human mind is composed of faculties extremely implex and delicate in their operations, but in which the most wonderful and undeviating harmony is preserved. All its parts have a dependence on each other strictly reciprocal, and no spring of this admirable piece of mechanism can be set in motion without in some degree exercising all the others, however minute and insignificant they may appear to be in the great whole."

The necessity for the establishment of *civil society* is pretty obvious. Constituted as man is, the moral obligations of a state of nature could not possibly be sufficient to maintain harmony and order. To prevent might from trampling upon right, to protect and succour the weak from the oppression of the strong, something more than a moral government would be found indispensable. The law of nature regards mankind as one great society, and in this view, lays upon them an obligation not to hurt one another, but to promote the welfare of each other by every means in their power.

21.
The establishment of civil society.

If, therefore, mankind had acted up to this most perfect and simple law, the best regulated artificial state would have been less adapted to their preservation and happiness than the primitive and original condition. "But unhappily," as Isocrates observes, "it is a natural misfortune which we all lie under, that we more frequently transgress than perform our duty."

The non-observance of the laws of nature was the more venial, considering that they, being but known to man as he used his reason, were necessarily imperfectly comprehended by the greater proportion of mankind, who listen rather to the prejudices of passion than to the dictates of reason. Man's insuffi-

22.
Observations concerning the inefficiency of natural law.

¹ *Legal Outlines.*

cient knowledge of the laws rendered them incapable of producing that happiness and contentment which might naturally have been expected, had they been known and observed by all. Again, in this state of nature we find no traces of a judge,¹ properly so called, who has power to interfere in differences, and to force persons at variance to submit to his opinion. On a dispute arising between two parties, the one could not, in his own cause, pass such a sentence as would place the recipient of it under an obligation, for he might entertain a different opinion, and act accordingly. A different opinion in all probability he would hold, for, as Sallust says, "No mortal ever thinks an injury against himself small, but usually greater even than it really is."² If a dispute could not be adjusted by the parties themselves, there was no other method than to take the opinion of some indifferent person. This mode of determining civil differences was imperfect; for what if the parties did not agree upon an arbiter? Or what if one of them proved refractory, after the chosen arbiter had given his opinion? Where was the authority to punish the violation of the laws? There is but little difference between living without definite laws and living in a state where laws cannot be enforced. Laws, as we know, derive their greatest force from their coercive power, which by exemplary punishment intimidate the wicked, and balance the superior force of pleasure and passion.³

23.
Power of
punishment in
a state of
nature, and in
whom vested.

In the liberty of nature one has certainly a remedy against injuries. The aggrieved party may make use of force, if necessary, either to defend or redress himself, for whoever violates the law of nature, by so doing demonstrates that he despises those maxims of reason and equity, which God has prescribed for the common safety, and thus becomes an enemy to mankind.⁴

As every man has a right to protect the society of which he is a member, he may, by following the light of quiet and impassionate reason, inflict on such a person what punishment he thinks most likely to prevent a recurrence of the injury, and, by his example, to deter others from the commission of a similar offence. If any should doubt that it was in the scope of every

¹ Hobbes *De Cive*, cap. i., sec. 9; Puf. *De Jure Nat. et Gen.*, lib. ii., cap. ii., sec. 3. *Aliquis non debet esse judex in propria causa quia non potest esse judex et pars.*—Co., Lit. 141; 12 Co., 113.; 12 Co., 13.

² *Catalina*, cap. li. Neque cuiquam mortalium injuriæ suæ parvæ videntur. Multi eas gravius æquo habuere. Seneca says, "Regis quisque intra se animum habet, ut licentiam sibi dari velit in alterum, in se nolit alteri."—*De Ira*, lib. ii., cap. xxxi.

³ This was the secret of Solon's boast of the mighty things he wrought "by linking force in equal yoke with law."—Plut. in *Solon*.

⁴ *Vide* Cicero *De Repub.*, lib. iii.; *apud* Lactant *Instit. Divine*, lib. 6, cap. 8; Burl. *Droit Nat.*, pt. ii., ch. v., sec. 11.

individual, in the independency of nature, to vindicate the law by the punishment of those who were guilty, let them ask themselves what would have been the value of natural law if, in the state of nature, no body had the power to put it in execution, and punish those who wilfully infringed it; and let them recall to mind the voice of nature in that bitter remorse of Cain—"Every one that findeth me shall slay me."¹ He must surely have feared the punishment which he had justly incurred, and that from the hands of "every one."

Mankind in general, and the injured party in particular, have an interest in restraining such injustice as they all may experience at some future time, if not successfully checked. "It is for the common good," says Dr. Rutherford,² "that whoever will not listen to the dictates of reason, and obey the law of nature, in consideration of its ordinary sanctions, should be compelled to do his duty, or be prevented from transgressing it, either by being made to feel such pain and inconvenience, in consequence of the mischief which he has done, as will incline him to behave better, or by being deprived of the opportunities or of the power to do otherwise. From this beneficial end of punishment we have shown that the law of nature allows of punishment, or leaves all mankind at liberty to inflict it; and it is impossible that all mankind should be at liberty to inflict punishment, and yet that it should at the same time be unlawful for any of them to inflict it."

These were a few of the inconveniences existing in the state of nature, and from the excessive liberty and independence which mankind enjoyed, they were hurried into perpetual trouble. An absolute necessity therefore arose for their quitting this state, and of seeking a remedy against the evils attendant upon it. The remedy they discovered in the establishment of civil society and a sovereign authority.³

As men were originally actuated to unite themselves in society,⁴ with a design of having their several rights and obligations ascertained by a coalescent or common understanding, and with a view likewise of forming a joint or common force, so as to act therewith for their security, it cannot be supposed that they consorted without designing at the same time to establish

24.

The establishment of political authority.

¹ Gen. ch. iv., 14 and 15, where it is stated that the Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any finding him should kill him.

² *Instit. of Nat. Law*, bk. 1, ch. xviii., sec. 8.

³ *Burlem. Droit Polit.*, pt. 1, ch. iii., sec. 9.

⁴ *Desire of Society*. Stewart's *Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, by Sir William Hamilton, vol. 1, p. 6. "Society," remarks Aristotle, 'is first founded that men may live, but continued that they may live happily. For which reason every state is the work of nature, since the first social ties are such; for to this they all tend as to one end, and the nature of a thing is judged by its tendency.'

such powers as it would be necessary to have in existence for the attainment of the purposes they had in contemplation. The natural consequence, therefore, of men forming such civil society is, the establishment of a public authority to order and direct what ought to be done by each, in relation to the ends of the association. Each member of the community, by the very fact of his becoming a constituent part of such political or civil association, subjects himself to the authority of the entire body, in everything that relates to the common welfare, and the authority of all over each, must consequently belong to the body politic, or the state;¹ and the state, in exercising its will, does so either through a single person or a council, according as the supreme command has been conferred. This political authority is the sovereignty. When a people confer the sovereignty on any one person, they invest him with their understanding and will, and make over to him the obligations and rights inherent to them as a body; consequently the sovereign or conductor of the state, becoming the subject in which reside the obligations and rights relative to government, in him is to be found the moral person, who without absolutely ceasing to exist in the nation, acts thenceforwards only in and by him. "Telle est l'origine du caractère représentatif," says Vattel,² "que l'on attribue au souverain. Il représente sa nation dans toutes les affaires qu'il peut avoir comme souverain. Ce n'est point avilir la dignité du plus grand monarque, que de lui attribuer ce caractère représentatif; au contraire, rien ne la relève avec plus d'éclat; par là le monarque réunit en sa personne toute la majesté qu'appartient au corps entier de la nation."

25.
To what must
be referred
the force of
laws in civil
courts.

However infamous it may be to break the laws of God and Nature, which are of universal obligation,³ and whatever the degree of punishment one deserves for so doing, unless the civil power has determined the breach of such laws, an offence punishable by the civil courts of the country, the punishment must

¹ Hobbes defines a civil state as "a compound moral person whose will, united and tied together by those covenants which before passed among the multitude, is deemed the will of all; to the end that it may use and apply the strength and riches of private persons towards maintaining the common peace and security. "Populus sive civitas est unum quid, unum habens voluntatem, et cui una actio tribui possit." Puf. *De Jurs Nat.* &c., lib. vii. cap. ii. sec. 14; *ibid.*, cap. iv. secs. 2 and 12. A state is the collective body of such persons, sufficient in themselves for all the purposes of life. Arist. *Polit.* bk. iii. c. 1. In the same spirit Cicero defines a state as "concilium coetusque hominum jure sociati." A *civitas* or *πόλις*, is properly a political community, possessed of an internal principle of unity of its own, sovereign and independent.

² *Les Droit des Gens*, liv. 1, chap. iv. sec. 40; see liv. i. sec. 188; liv. ii. secs. 17, 35, 38, 39, 41, 44, 47, 55; liv. iv. sec. 56.

³ Summa ratio est, quæ pro religione facit; Co. Lit. 341, 5 Co. 14. "Omnium legum est inanis censura," says S. Augustine, "nisi divinæ Legis imaginem gerat." *Deivitate Dei*. lib. 9.

be left to Divine Justice solely ; for it is the civil power that alone gives them the force of laws in civil courts.¹ And, although it will be found that most of those acts which the law declares to be criminal, are likewise wicked or sinful in a moral or religious view ; yet it is because of their tendency to do temporal injury to society, and not because of their abstract wickedness or sinfulness, that human law interposes to prevent them. Our moral condition may be ameliorated and improved by human law, for our social welfare here on earth must ever be intimately connected with our moral condition.

Moreover, the heavenly wisdom flows often impure through earthly channels, and the divine rule itself provides for human modifications of the abstract, adapting it to particular circumstances, views, and wants. And, whether the modifications accord with the original right or not, they are alike permitted as laws ; being in the one case acts of well-doing, in the other of evil-doing.²

An American writer³ calls upon us to know that beneath, above, and around the rules of mere human invention, and the rules of original justice thus specially recognised and approved by man, woven into their very texture also, are the doctrines which an abstract science can draw from nature herself ; and to remember that the abstract doctrines fill the vacuum where particular rules are not. The rules are uncreated substance, fashioned by man, yet not brought into existence by him ; they are moulded from the original mass of things given for human use.

The civil government having in view the security of its members from injuries, has provided with extreme care for their defence and protection. It was to attain this security and safety that man parted with that excessive portion of his liberty which encroached on the liberty of his fellow man, and which proved but an annoyance and injury to him when exhibited in others. "Quel meilleur usage," remarks Burlemaque,⁴ "les hommes pouvoient ils faire de leur liberté, que de renoncer à tout ce qu'elle avoit de dangereux pour eux, et de n'en conserver qu'autant qu'il en falloit pour se procurer un solide bonheur."

However, to secure this safety something more is requisite than could have been obtained in a state of nature. Covenants

26.
The gradual
development
of punish-
ment.

¹ Society dares not leave the human will in the same absolute freedom in which God has left it ; but to the indirect sanctions of duty has added the direct sanctions of municipal law. If an act be made directly contrary to the law of God ; as, for instance, if it be enacted that no one shall give alms to any object in never so necessitous a condition, such an act is void. Doct. and Stud., bk. 1, chap. 6. Noy's Maxims, 1.

² Bishop's Criminal Law.

³ Mr. Bishop.

⁴ *Droit. Polit.* liv. 1, ch. iii. sec. 22.

and promises, by word or writing, are not sufficient for this purpose, and experience has too frequently shown of what slender force are the most solemn oaths,¹ or the most powerful influences of duty, when the fear of punishment is removed, for *si meliores sunt quos ducit amor, plures sunt quos corrigit timor*.² The observance, therefore, of the Law of Nature, and those particular laws which have been enacted for the benefit of any state, is enforced by the fear of punishment, and the knowledge of the power of inflicting that which is feared.

"This power of inflicting punishment on those who transgress the commands of the sovereign, is presumed to be then conferred, when particular men yield up the use of their own strength to the service of the community, by which they oblige themselves to execute justice on delinquents, when the sovereign demands their assistance in this particular; or, at least, not to aid and defend those who are to suffer. But for a man to oblige himself to undergo punishment without reluctance or resistance, is a void engagement, and such as cannot hold good, on account of that natural aversion which we bear to all things destructive of our safety and our life."

Notwithstanding that the great object for which men entered into civil societies was the security of their lives and property; yet for the preservation of civil government it was found necessary that the sovereign should have some power over the lives of his subjects. First, indirectly, for the defence of the commonwealth from evils and dangers; and secondly, directly, for the punishment of crime. The first right is usually admitted without hesitation, yet the latter is frequently contested. We propose solely to examine the right of the sovereignty, which is commonly denominated the *Power of Life and of Death*.

27. Punishment in its general acceptation is, *malum passionis quod*
Definition of punishment. *infigitur ob malum actionis*; the evil that we suffer for the evil that we do;³ or it is some evil inflicted by authority, in a compulsive way, upon view of antecedent transgression. It is defined by Bentham as "an evil resulting to an individual from the direct intention of another, on account of some act that appears to have been done or omitted."⁴

¹ *Non est arctius vinculum inter homines quàm jusjurandum.* Jenk. Cent. 126.

² Co. Lit. 392.

³ Grotius *De Jure Bel. ac Pac.* lib. 11, cap. xx. sec. 1; Puf. *De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. viii., cap. i.i., sec. 4. "Punishment," says Hobbes, "is an evil inflicted by public authority on him that has done or omitted that which is judged by the same authority to be a transgression of the law, to the end that the will of man may thereby be the better disposed to obedience." *Leviath.*, chap. xxviii.

⁴ *Rationale of Punishment*, bk. 1, ch. 1.

It is contended by some civilians that when a sovereign inflicts punishment on his subjects, he does so by virtue of their own consent; because, by submitting to this authority, they have promised to acquiesce in everything he may do with respect to them; and in particular, a subject who voluntarily determines to commit a crime, consents thereby to suffer the punishment allotted to such crime, which punishment is well known to him.¹ This imaginary consent is an unnecessary fiction, and leads to an absurdity in the case of a capital crime. The right of the sovereign to punish malefactors derives its force, not from any fanciful acquiescence on their part, but from that right which every individual originally possessed in the state of nature to punish the crimes committed against himself, yielded up and transferred to the sovereign.²

28.
By virtue of
what autho-
rity punish-
ment inflicted

Let us inquire what is the occasion of the supposed non-resistance covenant. Would it ever come into operation? Is it probable that a man having broken a covenant of greater importance, and far more serious in its consequence, would, for the sake of observing the hypothetical non-resistance covenant, deliver himself into the hands of justice in order to incur punishment for the offence he had committed; or, having been condemned to death by the judge, should feel under an obligation of submitting to it cheerfully, and not attempting his escape, nor in anywise evading the punishment which has been justly assigned to his crime? Few would treat their condemnation in such a philosophical and noble, though mistaken, spirit as did Socrates, who, when admonished by Crito to escape from prison, replied that that would be to break the laws of his country, which every good subject was bound to obey; that every man ought to yield to the sentence the government passes upon him, and not return the injury upon the State, or pretend to show it has been unjust.³

Again, if such covenant in reality exists, he who delivers himself into the hands of justice, should not be punished in such a high degree as the man who, for a time, evades the execution of the punishment of his crime; for the former has broken but one covenant, while the latter, two. Titius makes the obligation of the criminal with respect to punishment to consist only in our not doing him any wrong in punishing him, and in his not complaining of our usage. Barbeyrac, while admitting that the public good and the power of him who holds the mighty sword of justice in his hand, do not require that a criminal should go merrily to suffer the punishment that is inflicted on him, or that he should not endeavour to make his

¹ Burl. *Droit Polit.*, lib. 1, chap. iv., sec. 4.

² *Ibid*, sec. 5.

³ Plato in *Criton*.

escape, provided he can do it without doing any mischief to anybody, considers it as just, without dispute, that when the criminal has been taken and condemned upon a thorough hearing of the cause in form of law, if he finds no way to escape, either by breaking open the prison or some other stratagem, he should suffer the punishment without murmuring or having recourse to any unlawful means of getting away or opposing the magistrate in the lawful exercise of his power. Neither ought he to resist, or defend himself against those who endeavour to hinder him from making his escape, as he would have a right to do against an unjust aggressor or magistrate of justice, whom, supposing them to be convinced of his innocence, he finds manifestly endeavouring to destroy him, and cannot avoid being unjustly condemned, if once he falls into the hands of judges that are exasperated and prejudiced against him. Both Pufendorf and Hobbes differ slightly on this point; the former remarking that it is false reasoning to infer that because the law produces an obligation, therefore every man that breaks it is obliged voluntarily to deliver himself up to be punished by the civil sword; and the latter, in his book *De Cive*,¹ referring to the penal law, observes that it is mandatory, and speaks only to the public ministers, that is to say, there is no particular clause in the law which commands the criminal to go voluntarily to the place of execution, but there is a particular injunction to the magistrate to take care that malefactors be executed.

29.
Distinction
between law
and compacts.

The error appears to arise from not distinguishing properly between law and compacts or agreements. Surely one can consent to the establishment of a power, which may perhaps afterwards be exercised against one of the consenting members to the creation of that power. From not rightly comprehending this fact, it is, that some have endeavoured to prove that criminals are obliged by their own consent to suffer punishment, because the penal laws are made by the consent of the subject; that is, that the legislative authority is derived originally from the consent and agreement of the people.

30.
The right of
the sovereign
to punish de-
fined.

It is clear that the right in the sovereign of punishing crimes, is no other than that natural right which human society and every individual possessed originally, to execute the law of nature yielded and transferred to him, that by means of this authority he may insure the welfare and secure the prosperity of his people. Many raise the objection, that in the state of nature, one man had no authority or power over the life of another; and that they could not therefore surrender into the hands of the state a power which they possessed not themselves. This argument is used by a majority of the writers on the abolition of death punishment, and is the

¹ Cap. 14, sec. 7.

ground on which they base their assertion, that the power of life and death is not vested in the state.¹ Mr. Philip thus raises the objection: "By what authority does any man or any community of men assume power over their fellows? By common agreement—by what is called the social compact, and by it alone; by it, he delegated to others certain portions of his individual rights; in accepting the control of the laws he sacrificed a portion of his liberty—in submitting to taxation to a certain extent, he conceded a portion of his property, and thus by the formation of communities, and the establishment of civil government he was secured from the anarchy of a state of nature. These, for such a purpose, were most wise and salutary sacrifices; but he could go no further, he could not surrender any power over that over which he has no power himself."

In this conclusion, however, we cannot concur. Even admitting that which Mr. Philip contends, that in the state of nature one man had no power to take the life of another for any crime committed, it does not follow that from the nonentity of the power in the distinct individuals in the state of nature, that power could not be in existence when the civil authority had been formed. For, as a moral quality (under which term government can be classed) may be produced in another person, by the concurrence of those who had it not truly and properly in themselves before, so as they may be rightly deemed the productive cause of the said quality; so a body of men may have a right resulting from such a composition, which previously no one of the individuals had possessed. "In natural bodies," says Pufendorf,² "the mixture and temperament of several simples forms a compound in which we often perceive such qualities as cannot be found in any of the ingredients that compose the mixture; so bodies politic, which are compounded of a number of men, may have a right resulting from such a composition which no one of the particulars was formerly possessed of, which right, derived from the union, is lodged in the governors of such bodies." As many voices joining in chorus produce a harmony which no single person could himself produce.³

¹ *Vacation Thoughts on Capital Punishment*, p. 41.

² " quemedmodum in naturalibus ex commixtione et et temperatione plurimum simplicium provenire potest compositum quid, cui tales adsint qualitates, quæ in nullo simplicium mixtionem ingredientium deprehenduntur; ita et corpora moralia, ex pluribus hominibus constantia, aliquod jus habere possunt, ex ipsa illa conjunctione resultans, quod formaliter penes neminem singulorum fuit; quale jus ex ejusmodi velut coalitione ortum per rectores istorum corporum exercetur."—*De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. viii., cap. iii., sec. 1.

³ This demonstrates the falsity of the reasoning in Socrates when he encourages Alcibiades not to fear the ve turing himself in an assembly of the people, by telling him, "If you despise them man by man, you ought likewise to despise them when gathered in a multitude."—*Ælian*.

Thus the head of the body politic, or the sovereign, may have a power of punishment over the various members of the community, which they before had not possessed even over themselves.

31.
Second division of the subject.

Having, we trust, demonstrated that the power of life and death is vested in the sovereignty, or head of the community, let us now consider if it be advisable to exercise this power—whether by exerting this power, we achieve the ends most desirable to attain—and lastly, whether some other mode of punishment could not be devised, whereby the true ends of punishment might more effectually be accomplished.

32.
The true end of punishment

We will first investigate the true end of punishment. The primary end of punishment is the safety and tranquility of society, the obviating the danger of like mischief in future.

Hobbes has laid it down as a law of nature that in revenges or punishments, men ought not to look at the greatness of the evil past, but the greatness of the good to follow; wherefore we are forbidden to inflict punishment with any other design than for the correction of the offender, or the admonition of others. As Plato, and after him, Seneca observed, “No wise man punishes an offender because he has offended, but that he may not offend again; for what is once done cannot be recalled, but what is to come may be prevented. Therefore, all punishments have regard to the future, and he that punishes should not be angry, but provident,¹ *Nemo prudens punit ut præterita revocentur sed ut futura præventiantur.*²

33.
Threefold.

The ends of punishment may be classed as threefold.³ First, the safety of society at large; secondly, the safety and recompense to the person who has suffered by the crime; and thirdly, the reformation of the criminal himself. In the words of Grotius,⁴ “Punishment either respects the good of the person punished, or of the person injured, or of every man indifferently.” The last of these aims at the reformation of the person punished, and is called by philosophers, sometimes reformation, sometimes

¹ Plato *De leg.*, lib. ix. and xi. *Protagoras*. *Nemo prudens punit, quia peccatum est, sed ne peccetur*; revocari enim præterita non possunt, futura prohibentur; et quos volet nequitiae male cedentis exempla fieri, palam recidet, non tantum ut pereant ipsi, sed ut alios pereundo deterreant.—Seneca *de Irâ*, lib. 1, cap. xvi. Grotius *De Jure Bel.*, &c., lib. 11, cap. xx., sec. 4. Puf. *De Jure Nat.* &c., lib. viii., cap. iii., sec. 7. “For if one hand hurt another,” says Cassiodore, “that which is hurt will not rise up in revenge against the other; no more should one man revenge himself upon another, unless it be for the prevention of some greater evil.”

² *Buls.* 173.

³ Plato, in his *Gorgias*, mentions but two ends, namely, amendment and example. Aristotle mentions satisfaction as one of the ends of punishment, but he omits example.—*Rhet.* 1 c. 10. See St. Chrysostom upon 1 Cor. xi. 32.

⁴ *De Jure Bel.* lib. 11., cap. 22, sec. 6, *vide Seneca de Clem.*, lib. 1, cap. 22.

satisfaction, and sometimes admonition. Paulus calls it a punishment ordained for reformation, and Plato, to teach us prudence. The second at the security of the injured party from further molestation, and, if possible, at the satisfaction for the wrong committed. The first, *ut unius poena metus sit multorum*—that the punishment of one may strike a terror to many.

Now we must descend from our general and universal aspect to a view more particular and definite. Consequently, to treat only of those offences to which, in this country, are attached the penalty of death. The highest degree of perfection which can be expected in any penal code, is that of preventing the offence. This prevention divides itself into two branches: Particular prevention, which applies to the delinquent himself; and general prevention, which is applicable to all the members of the community, without exception. "With respect to the given individual," remarks Bentham,¹ "the recurrence of an offence may be provided against in three ways:

34.
Prevention of crime the highest degree of perfection in a penal code

"1. By taking from him the physical power of offending.

"2. By taking away the desire of offending.

"3. By making him afraid of offending.

In the first case, the individual can no more commit the offence; in the second, he no longer desires to commit it; in the third, he may still wish to commit it, but no longer dares to do it. In the first case there is a physical incapacity; in the second, a moral reformation; in the third, there is an intimidation, a terror of the law."

"La peine est trop rigoureuse," says Burlemaque,² "si l'on peut par des moyens plus doux obtenir les fins que l'on se propose en punissant, et elle est au contraire trop modérée lorsqu'elle n'est pas assez considérable pour produire ces effets et que les méchans s'en moquent bien loin de la redouter."

The design of punishment, as we have already stated, should be the prevention of evil. This end it is sought to compass by machinery calculated to reform, deter, or, at the worst, disable the wrongdoer. Its general object is that of raising, by the punishment of criminals, an appropriate counteracting motive sufficient to overbalance and hold in check the specific motive which has been the inducement to the crime. "When injuries cannot be prevented without the punishment of the evildoer, the infliction of punishment is just and necessary; but so soon as the culprit is brought under such restraint as renders him incapable of doing further injury, the ends of public justice, so far as they can be promoted by his sufferings, are attained, and the further infliction of pain becomes unnecessary severity. That

¹ *Rationale of Punishment*, bk. 1, ch. iii.

² *Princ. Du Droit. P. lit.*, pt. iii., ch. iv., sec. 38.

punishment, or part of punishment, which has not for its object the prevention of injuries, is unnecessary so far as the public safety is concerned."

Self-protection is at once the foundation and end of the power which society exercises of punishing its members. So true is this, that if a case could be supposed, in which it would be perfectly certain that an act, however atrocious, would never be repeated by the same or any other person, there would be no motive for punishing it. Never can vengeance be an object of punishment even in the slightest degree. If punishment is a medicine, society is restricted to the least possible amount by which the disorder can be removed. Not only does the right terminate there, but the excess must reproduce disease.

35.
Effect of
lenity of penal
law on the
public mind.

Experience shows that in those countries remarkable for the lenity of the penal laws, the spirit of the inhabitants is as much affected by them as in other countries by severer penalties. Besides, as the author of "*L'Esprit des Loix*"¹ well observes, by severe punishments the spring of government is weakened; the imagination grows accustomed to the severe as well as to the milder punishments, and as the fear of the latter diminishes they are obliged in every case to have recourse to the other. "Robberies on the highway," says he, "were grown common in some countries; in order to remedy this evil, they invented the punishment of breaking upon the wheel, the terror of which put a stop for a while to this mischievous practice. But soon after robberies on the highways were become as common as ever."

36.
Golden rule of
punishment.

Those who estimate the life of a fellow creature so slightly as to deprive him of it, cannot be expected to regard their own in a much higher degree. When a criminal is put to death, it is not to revenge the wrong of society, or of any individual; "it is not to recall past time and to undo what is already done," but merely to prevent the offender from repeating the crime, and to deter others from its commission by the terror of the punishment. It is well stated and universally admitted that the degree of the punishment and the consequences of a crime ought to be so contrived as to have the greatest possible effect on others, with the least possible pain to the delinquent. Is this rule sufficiently borne in mind in capital punishments?

The offending party is cut off in the midst of his wickedness, he is conceded no time to exhibit any amendment, he may possibly through fear of death express a certain degree of repentance; yet, no opportunity is afforded of putting it to the test. It will, no doubt, be by some argued that it is for the benefit of the criminal, or, at least, for the community, that he be thus cut off on the outset of his criminal career, and prevented from the perpetration of further enormities. When an incorrigible person

¹ Montesquieu, bk. vi, ch. 12.

suffers death, say they, greater security cannot be given that he will offend no more; for as Seneca says, "death is the best remedy for an incorrigible disposition, and it is the safest way for him to leave the world whose life will neither be reclaimed nor rectified."¹

But, let us ask ourselves whether the ends of punishment could not be obtained by any other means? If by means less severe than death, such means should be adopted,² for if it be possible to attain the same ends by a less stringent punishment, whatever is in excess of such punishment is mere revenge. Would not the proper ends of punishment in capital offences be achieved by partial solitary confinement and hard labour? A man would then not only have the opportunity of repenting, but of manifesting by his labour in repairing the injury, to some extent, which he had committed, that his contrition was sincere. And further, as a natural consequence, of his not being allowed in future to enter society, no opportunity would be afforded of again interfering with the tranquility of the community.

Reformation is lost sight of in adopting capital punishment, but ought it to be entirely disregarded? "May not even great crimes be committed by persons whose minds are not so corrupted," inquires Mr. Livingstone,³ "as to preclude the hope of this effect. They are sometimes produced by a single error. Often are the consequences of a concatenation of circumstances never likely again to occur, and are very frequently the effect of a momentary hallucination which, though not sufficient to excuse, ought sometimes to palliate, the guilt; yet the operation of these several causes, the evident gradation in the degrees of guilt which they establish, are levelled before this destructive punishment. The man, who, urged by an irresistible impulse of nature, sacrifices the base seducer who has destroyed his domestic happiness; he who, having been calumniated, insulted, and dishonoured, at the risk of his own life takes that of the slanderer, are, in the eye of this harsh law, equally deserving of death with the vile assassin who murders for hire or poisons for revenge, and the youth whose weakness is the commission of a first offence has yielded to the artful insinuations or overbearing influence of a veteran in crime, must perish on the same scaffold with the hardened and irreclaimable instigator of his crime."

37.
If highest effect be produced by a lesser severity of punishment it should be adopted.

38.
Reformation considered.

¹ Si ex toto ejus sanitas desperata fuerit, eadem manu beneficium omnibus dabo, illi reddam: quando ingeniis talibus vitæ exitus remedium est; optimumque est obire ei, qui ad se nunquam rediturus est.—*De Benef.*, lib. vii., cap. xx. *De Irá*, lib. i., cap. 16. "As it is safer to apply caustic to a swelling than leave it to itself," says an ancient writer, "so it is better for a wicked man to die than live;" or, as Plato has it, "when a man is never innocent but in his sleep, it is better he should die than live." *De leg.*, lib. 9.

² See Montaigne's *Essays*, bk. 1, ch. ii.

³ Penal Code.

39.
Explanation
of mode of
punishment
proposed.

Before entering into a disquisition on the subject of imprisonment for life, and comparing the punishment at the present time awarded to criminals of the highest degree of guilt, with that which it is proposed to substitute, let us explain the plan of punishment suggested.

40.
Imprisonment
with solitude
and hard
labour.

We should confine the culprit in a prison of the nature of the one we are about to describe for the period of his natural life. The imprisonment should be accompanied with solitude and darkness, and a certain amount of useful labour to some definite end; for these auxiliaries are most subservient to reformation. Put the criminal without the pale of society, give him but one benefit—protection, and that bestowed in consideration only of the fruit of his labour and industry. Debar him of every comfort he acquired by his union in society. He has rendered himself unworthy of such an association by violating the covenants which in that state he was under an obligation of preserving. Give him an opportunity of retrieving the injury to some extent which he has accomplished, and the person most aggrieved an opportunity of benefitting by his punishment. If all the ends of punishment could be attained together, it would be the very perfection of criminal jurisprudence; consequently the nearer the punishment we can devise approaches this perfection of jurisprudence, the greater will be the justice and propriety of such castigation. The Danes have a proverb that a dead man is good for nothing; and that it is much more advisable to reap some benefit from malefactors than to deprive them of life.

41.
Reflections on
Solitary confinement.

Some persons have an idea that solitary confinement is by no means so "severe" a punishment as it is in reality. Possibly they may have acquired an inclination for solitude themselves from having perused the work of Zimmermann or some less original and forcible author. But does not the illustrious writer we have referred to tell us that solitude is that state in which the soul freely resigns itself to its own reflections, and that the mind surrenders itself in retirement to the unrestrained enjoyment of its own ideas, and adopts without limitation or restraint the sentiments which the taste, the temper, the inclination, and the genius of its possessor inspires? How sweet the meditation of the murderer! How delightful the unrestrained enjoyment of his own ideas! How pleasing and enjoyable to him the darkness, in which his imaginative mind can re-enact with vivid force those scenes through which he passed in his downward career! Does not Zimmerman himself testify that the man who cannot hold a friendly correspondence with his mind, and who dreads the idea of meditation, looks with an equal eye on *solitude* and *death*.

O solitude! where are the charms
That sages have seen in thy face?

Nothing is more sad and disagreeable than solitude.¹ "It is more according to nature," says Cicero,² "for a man to undergo all sorts of labours and troubles for the service and the conversation (if it were possible) of the whole world, after the example of Hercules, whom the gratitude of men placed for his virtues among the gods;³ than to live in solitude, and not only free from cares, but even wallowing in pleasures and plenty, with all the advantages of strength and beauty over and above. This it is that makes all great and glorious spirits prefer the former kind of life to the latter." In solitude the criminal would be far from the enticing allurements of his fellow sinners; the silent language of conscience—that still small voice—would show to him the imperfection, the wickedness of his character, and the difficulties he had yet to surmount before he could obtain the excellency of which human nature is capable. There is no doubt that the malefactor would then see the error of his ways, and do all in the power of man towards the reparation of his wrong.

Solitude has a far greater tendency to promote the reformation of the criminal and produce penitence than any acute punishment. He is abstracted from those emotions of friendship and enmity which the association with his fellow creatures inspires. He is abstracted from all external impressions but such as can be afforded him by the few and identical objects with which he is daily surrounded, and from "all ideas which, by virtue of the principle of association, any impressions are calculated to suggest." Bentham has, in his usual forcible style, thus depicted the working of the imagination in a person placed in such a position. "By darkness," says he, "the number of the

42.
Reformatory
tendency of
solitude.

¹ Cicero *De Fin., Bon. and Mal.*, lib. iii., cap. xx. "No man would be willing to lead a life of solitude, though in an infinity of delights and pleasures."

² *Magis est secundum naturam, pro omnibus gentibus (si fieri possit), conservandis, aut juvandis maximos labores, molestiasque suscipere, imitantem Herculem illum, quem hominum fama beneficiorum memor, in concilio coelestium collocavit, quam vivere in solitudine, non modo sine ullis molestiis, sed etiam in maximis voluptatibus, abundantem omnibus copiis, ut excellas etiam pulchritudine et viribus.*—Cicero *De Off.*, lib. iii., chap. v. And in his first book, chap. xlv., he has the following passage:—"Nec verum est, quod dicitur a quibusdam, propter necessitatem viæ, quod ea quæ natura disideraret, consequi sine aliis, atque efficere non possemus, idcirco istam esse cum hominibus communitatem et societatem; quod si omnia nobis, quæ ad victum cultumque pertinent, quasi virgula divina, ut ajunt, suppeditarentur tum optimo quisque ingenio, negotiis omnibus omissis, totum se in cognitione, et scientia collocaret. Non est ita, nam et solitudinem fugeret, et socium studii quæreret, tum docere, tum discere vellet, tum audire, tum dicere."

³ Horace adopts the same illustration in the following passage:—

"Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori:

Cælo Musa beat. Sic Jovis interest

Optates epulis impiger Hercules."

—Lib. iv., Carm. 8, ver. 28-30.

impressions he is open to is still further reduced by the striking off all those which even the few objects in question are calculated to produce upon the sense of sight. The mind of the patient is by this means reduced, as it were, to a gloomy void, leaving him destitute of all support but from his own internal resources, and producing the most lively impression of his own weakness.

"In this void,——the most natural of all will be to retrace the events of his past life, the bad advice he received, his first deviations from rectitude, which have led to the commission of the offence for which he is at the time undergoing punishment : a crime, all the pleasures derived from which have been already reaped, and of which all that remains is the melancholy suffering that he endures. He will recall to his recollection those days of innocence and security which were formerly his lot, and which, contrasted with the wretchedness, will present themselves to his imagination with an increased and factitious degree of splendour. His penitent reflections will naturally be directed to the errors of which he has been guilty ; if he has a wife, or children, or near relations, the affection he once entertained for them may be renewed by the recollection of the misery that he has occasioned them.

"Another advantage attendant upon this situation, is, that it is peculiarly fitted to dispose a man to listen with attention and humility to the admonitions and exhortations of religion. Left in this state of destitution in respect of all external pleasures, religious instructions are calculated to take the stronger hold of his mind. Oppressed by the state of wretchedness in which he finds himself, and by the unlooked for or unknown events that have led to the detection of his crime, the more he reflects upon them the more firmly will he be convinced of the existence of a providence which has watched over his actions, and defeated his best concerted contrivances. The same God that punishes him, may also save him ; and thenceforward the promises of eternal bliss or torment will more anxiously engage his attention—promises of happiness in another state of being, in case of repentance, and denunciations of torments prepared for the guilty in the regions of eternal night, of which his present situation seems a prelude and a foretaste, will fix his regard. In a frame of mind such as this, to turn a deaf ear to the admonitions and consolations afforded by religion, a man must be very different from the ordinary caste of men. Darkness, too, has in circumstances like this, a peculiar tendency to dispose men to conceive, and in a manner to feel the presence of invisible agents. Whatever may be the reason, the fact is notorious and undisputed. When the external senses are restrained from action, the imagination is more active, and produces a numerous race of ideal beings. In a state of solitude, infantine superstitions, ghosts, and spectres recur to the imagination. This, of

itself, forms a sufficient reason for not prolonging this species of punishment which may overthrow the powers of the mind and produce incurable melancholy. The first impressions will, however, always be beneficial. If, at such a time, a minister of religion, qualified to avail himself of these impressions, is introduced to the offender thus humiliated and cast down, the success of his endeavours will be almost certain, "because in this state of abandonment he will appear as the friend of the unfortunate, and as his peculiar benefactor."¹

It will be urged by some that the criminal has sufficient time for repentance previous to his execution, and besides, that he took the life of his fellow creature without warning, and possibly without so much time for repentance as he himself receives. But ought the law to imitate the example it condemns? Ought the judge to imitate the criminal in his wickedness? Ought a solemn act of justice to be similar in kind to an act of enormity? It is our duty neither to be partial nor prejudiced, and least of all to be vindictive.² It is true that no man is so suddenly taken away, but that a certain time is allowed him to make his peace with God; yet he makes no reparation which can be of any use to the injured party. Grotius is of opinion that, instead of repenting, he might fall back to his accustomed wicked courses, and that the saying of Seneca might be fitly applied: "Quod unum bonum tibi superest, representabimus, mortem." And again: "Quo uno modo possunt, disinant esse mali." And he adds: "Talibus ingeniis vitæ exitus remedium est, optimumque est abire ei qui ad se numquam rediturus est." But in what way would this harm the community? The prisoner would still be kept in confinement, and made to work not only for his own support, but for the maintenance of the poor widow or orphan children who perhaps by his hand had been rendered destitute.

We would punish him for his sin, make him labour to repair in some degree his wrong, and prevent him from offending again; but there we should stop. The degree of his sin depends upon the malignity of his heart, which is impenetrable to his earthly judges.³ We have taken precaution against his offending again; have set him to work, that by the fruit of his labour he may support those who otherwise might be the immediate sufferers; and for his further punishment we should leave it in the hands of the Almighty. It is not the province of earthly legislators to judge of a criminal's demerits in the sight of God. We have only to protect ourselves; to restrain those so inclined

43.
Considerations as to the repentance of the criminal.

¹ *Rationale of Punishment*, bk. ii. ch. vi.

² *Neque studere, neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet.* Sallust, *Cat.*, cap. 51.

³ *Cogitationis poenam nemo meretur.* 2 Just. Jur. civ. 658. Wharton's *Legal Maxims*, 208. That is of his earthly judges.

44.
Deterring
effect of
perpetual
confinement.

from injuring each other, and at the same time to prevent a recurrence of a similar evil action in the offending member; to deter others from committing a like offence, by the sufficiency of the punishment inflicted.

Some will argue that the fear of perpetual confinement will not have such a deterring effect as that of death. But this is a popular delusion. What is the fear of death to the greater number of murderers? Few have any belief at all, and still fewer faith in a future existence. They are usually without any concern about a future state, or what awaits them beyond the grave. It cannot be that they fear a momentary pain, or compare it in any way with a long life of misery, passed in solitude, hard labour, and confinement. Virgil, in his description of the infernal regions, places labour and death together; they are both alike dreadful in their mien,—alike distant from Elysium:

45.
Considera-
tions respect-
ing the punish-
ment of death.

“Terribiles visa formæ! Lethumque laborque.”

When the last moment is considered, penal death is often less painful than natural death, and, so far from being an evil, presents a balance of good.

Bacon is right when he tells us that, “death is no such terrible enemy, when man has so many attendants about him, that can win the combat of him. Revenge triumphs over it, love slights it, honour aspireth to it, grief flieth to it, fear pre-occupieth it. Nay, we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, pity, which is the tenderest of affections, provoked many to die out of mere compassion for their sovereign and as the truest sort of followers.” It is altogether contrary to experience to say, that the fear of death has the strongest control over the actions of men. We know that the human heart is full of passions stronger than this fear; and that, so far from it being possible to rest the security of states upon the fear of death in the breasts of its members, their only imaginable security is the power which is in those breasts to triumph over it.

Can we imagine that the fear of a remote and uncertain death will stay the hand of the infuriate wretch who, at a single blow, is about to gratify the strongest passion of his soul in the destruction of his deadly enemy? Will it turn aside the purpose of the secret assassin who meditates the removal of the only obstacle to his enjoyment of wealth and honours? Is it able to master the strongest passions and counteract the most powerful motives, while it is too weak to prevent the indulgence of the slightest criminal inclination?¹

However, it must be candidly admitted that this is the greatest difficulty to be surmounted in recommending the substitution of a punishment short of death, for the one at present in existence. No doubt the prospect of death, especially of an

¹ See Livingstone's *Criminal Code*, p. 23.

ignominious death, must have a great power over the minds of most men ; but it is liable to be counteracted by other influences, which reduces its power very sensibly. The almost instinctive fear of death which a man experiences at parting with his life, doubtless arises from the animal principle of *self-preservation* and *love of life*.

“How deep implanted in the breast of man
The dread of death.”

Even where the hope and belief of immortality are eradicated from the mind by habits of dissipation or of profligacy, and where sensual enjoyments are regarded as the sole constituents of happiness, a strong and powerful dread of death seldom fails to prevail.

“Perhaps, however,” observes Mr. Dugald Stewart,¹ “even in this wretched attachment to life which has been frequently discovered by profligates under the greatest pressure of bodily sufferings, and when their minds seem to have been completely relieved by habits of scepticism from all prospect of future punishment, we may trace the secret workings of that instinctive horror at annihilation which is probably inseparable from the human constitution.” This recalls to our recollection those lines of Shakespeare—

“The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That age, ache, penury and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death.”

This apprehension, in the case of the criminal, commences from the moment he has committed the murder ; it is redoubled when he is apprehended. It increases at every stage of the process which renders his conviction the more assured, and is at its height in the interval between sentence and execution :²—

“Man makes a death which Nature never made ;
Then on the point of his own fancy falls,
And feels a thousand deaths in fearing one.”

We must be careful, in judging of the effect of the punishment on a criminal as a preventative, to distinguish between what he appears to suffer when the punishment is at hand, and that which he probably experienced at the time when he meditated the crime, or was about to commit it. Obviously the argument used by many, that, as the criminal is so desolate and utterly struck down when on the point of death, he must feel the severity of the punishment in a greater degree than an imprisonment for life, is based on a false hypothesis ; for this may be accounted for by the fact that he has learned, during his awaited execution, the knowledge of a future existence, and has arrived

46.
Rule for judging of the true effect of punishment on the criminal mind.

¹ *Philosophy of the Moral Powers*, bk. iii., ch. iv.

² Bentham's *Rationale of Punishment*, bk. ii. ch. xii.

at length at a true sense of the magnitude of his wickedness. We cannot see the troubles and pains attendant upon a confinement for life collected into one moment, for could we do so, how slight would be the pain of death compared to it! Many of those malefactors who are so utterly stricken on the scaffold at the moment of death, would not unlikely have previously considered that perpetual imprisonment was an evil far more to be dreaded than death; and it is solely what a man contemplates previous to his criminal act that can in any wise become useful to him by way of preventive.

But it may be contended that the very conception of controlling men's passions and crimes by fear is in itself delusive; for in most cases, and with its utmost strength, it will be found an inefficacious power to control human action. It would seem as if lawgivers had forgotten that the great control of our propensities to transgression is not in the law, but in that whole system of moral powers and restraints, whatever they may be, which bind society together; that if they indeed had to wage war with the passions let loose, the utmost human power would at once be swept away, and that the power of punishment is but a part of a system to which it bears a very small proportion.

47. -
Nature of the
confinement
proposed.

The confinement proposed must be solitary, that is to say, chiefly so; for experience has shown that the human mind cannot long withstand the dreadful effects of this punishment. A lengthened solitary confinement would prove so terrible to the mind, so disastrous to the individual's nature, that few could escape the ravages of insanity.

The convicts ought so far as possible to be collected in one place under strict inspection, and there made to work. Hard labour should be strictly and severely enforced, and no criminal allowed to converse with another while thus employed. This latter point is very important; for the contagious influence of jails is well known: many a criminal on the point of repentance, and desirous of atoning for his enormities, might be deterred by his more hardened companions, and thwarted and prevented from so doing. Instead of amending, he would grow more depraved and debased. Instead of his moral condition being ameliorated, it would become worse. As remarked by a late writer on the subject of imprisonment,¹ the ill effects which in the instance of indelible infamy is only problematical, is in the instance of this species of hardship, certain; it obliterates the sense of shame in the mind of the sufferer; in other words, it produces insensibility to the force of the moral sanction. Reflection would be excluded, and the offenders would become

¹ Jeremy Bentham.

fortified against shame ; for shame is the fear of the disapprobation of those with whom we are associated.

“ But how,” inquires Bentham,¹ “ could disapprobation of criminality display itself among a throng of criminals ? Who is forward to condemn himself ?—who is there that would not seek to make friends rather than enemies of those with whom he is obliged to live ? The only public men care about is that in which they live. Men thus sequestered form a public of their own ; their language and their manners assimilate, a *lex loci* is formed by tacit consent, which has the most abandoned for its authors ; for to such a society, the most abandoned are the most assuming, and in every society the most assuming set the lead. The public thus composed sits in judgment over the public without doors, and repeals its laws. The more numerous this local public, the louder its clamour, and the greater the facility it finds of drowning whatever memory may be left of the voice of that public which is absent and out of view.”

The interchange of criminal ideas between these malefactors would have the effect of checking and impeding the return of those better sentiments which, under the system of punishment we propose, would most assuredly follow, and would be the means of a certain nature of enjoyment which would be diametrically opposed to the object and aim of our correction.

48.
Non-inter-
change of
criminal ideas.

The advantage of their being congregated together during the stated hours of labour, would be two fold :—First, their management would be more easy, more systematic, more beneficial, and less expensive. Secondly, this association or gathering together would prevent in a great measure the evil consequences of solitary confinement to which we have already referred. Why should not a man find amusement in his work, what should hinder him ? Are not most of our amusements a species of labour ? Are not all female amusements work ? all manly exercises hard labour ?

For the prevention of these evil consequences a minister of the persuasion to which he belongs should be required to visit, at the request of the criminal, and empowered to visit at his own discretion, any of those sick or in health, who may stand in need of his spiritual assistance ; so that his visit interfered not with their stated labour. Further than this, and with the exception of a medical attendant, no one should be admitted to converse or associate with them. *Quantum etenim distant a morte silentia vite ?*

Their treatment ought to be such as to make their confinement an actual punishment. The labour in most cases should be real hard labour, and such labour as would be useful and sufficiently productive to yield the fruit for which their labour is demanded.

49.
Treatment of
the criminal.

¹ *Panopticon*, pt. ii., sec. 4.

circumstances. Those who have exercised a particular trade in society should be made to continue the exercise of such trade, if possible, in prison; while others, who have not turned their attention previously to any particular employment, should be instructed in some useful and profitable trade—such, for instance, as shoemaking, weaving, and tailoring, beating hemp, sawing and polishing marble, picking oakum, wool, cotton, and hair; carding wool for hatters, sawing wood, &c. The female convicts should be employed at sewing, washing, &c.

A refusal to work, or any improper behaviour, should be punished by a close confinement and by a curtailment of diet. This would be amply sufficient to deter a convict from a second breach of discipline. In his cheerless cell he would spend many anxious hours, confined to the reflections inseparable from guilty minds, without employment, nothing to amuse him, in a state of suspense and uncertainty how long he would have to atone for his offence—he would soon come to the determination that of the two evils it was advisable to choose the less.

Their food, though wholesome, should be coarse; it should be sufficient in quantity, according to established rules. No prisoner should be allowed beyond the prison allotment. The confinement should be of sufficient duration, that the criminal might feel the effect of solitude as a punishment, and the exercise permitted of ample duration to sustain him in a good state of health. Escape should be rendered impossible, and any fixed or stated hope of a pardon utterly destroyed. The convict should be regarded as a being essentially dead to the community; that is to say, dead to society as far as his capacity of ever again doing evil to a member of the community, but a living memento to his followers in crime; that the punishment of a murderer is not the suffering of an instant, but the experience of a protracted life of wretchedness and misery!

*“Ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc,
Novis ut usque suppetas laboribus.”*

50.

Effect of the
punishment
suggested on
the criminal
mind.

That not because his victim has undergone pain he must suffer in a similar abrupt manner, but that because by his cruel and barbarous act his enemy has been taken to his account; he (the perpetrator of the crime) must, before his departure, toil and labour to repair the mischief he has wrought, not only to the community at large, but to the particular individuals most seriously wronged.

The malefactor may have conceived that the punishment inflicted by law would extend but to inflict on him what he has already inflicted on his fellow creature; but when he discovers that, though taken out of society himself—debarred of all its privileges and comforts—he has to assume the ubiety, as it were, of the object of his crime, in supporting by his toil those who

had been previously dependent upon his victim, he will find out that his punishment is not inadequate to the offence.

At present the community lose two members—the victim and the murderer; but in the case already stated, the murderer is made to do not only his own duty to the community, but also to a certain extent that of the individual he has rendered incapable of doing it himself. The effect on his companions in crime would be most beneficial; the *continual* example of a man deprived of liberty, the life of labour, even the knowledge of the *object* of his toil, the fact of his toiling for those he has endeavoured to render desolate, would have a most effectual influence on those who possibly were ready to incur the chance of the punishment as at present inflicted.

51.
Advantage
accruing to
community by
means of this
punishment.

Pardons should seldom be granted, and only under peculiar circumstances,¹ for as long as hope remains the position of the convict would not be sufficiently calamitous; he would not feel assured that his sentence was for life. Over the prison doors should be affixed those lines which the poet Dante placed over the gates of the region of woe—

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate
All hope abandon, ye who enter here!²

By these means the true ends of punishment would be attained. The safety of the commonwealth would be assured, the criminal would have no further power of doing harm, and the example afforded would be certainly greater than the punishment of death; for sudden and violent impressions act forcibly, but not long, while severe and protracted ones act continuously, and are not speedily forgotten.

“It is not the intenseness of the pain,” says Beccaria, “that has the greatest effect on the human mind, but its continuance, for our sensibility is more easily and more powerfully affected by weak but repeated impressions, than by violent, but momentary impulse. The power of habit is universal over every sensible being. As it is by that we learn to speak, to walk, and to satisfy our necessities, so the ideas of morality are stamped on our minds by repeated impressions. The death of a criminal is

¹ *Venia facillitas incentivum est delinquendi.* 3 Inst. 236.

² *Canto III.* The celebrated inscription is translated by Cary as follows:—

“Through me you pass into the city of woe
Through me you pass into eternal pain:
Through me among the people lost for aye.
Justice the founder of my fabric moved:
To rear me was the task of power divine,
Supremest wisdom, and primeval love.
Before me things create were none, save things
Eternal, and eternal I endure!
All hope abandon ye who enter here.”

a terrible but momentary spectacle, and, therefore, a less efficacious method of deterring others, than the continual example of a man deprived of his liberty, condemned as a beast of burden, to repair by his labour the injury he hath done to society. 'If I commit such a crime,' says the spectator to himself, 'I shall be reduced to that miserable condition for the rest of my life.' A much more powerful preventative than the fear of death, which men always behold in distant obscurity."

"The terrors of death make so slight an impression that it hath not force enough to withstand the forgetfulness natural to mankind, even in the most essential things, especially when assisted by the passions. Violent impressions surprise us, but their effect is momentary; they are fit to produce those revolutions which instantly transform a common man into a Lacedæmonian or a Persian; but in a free and quiet government they ought to be rather frequent than stormy."¹

Many can look upon death with fortitude, either from hardness of heart or intrepidity; some from vanity, and others from a desperate resolution "that death to the miserable is ease;"² but all that fortitude, vanity, and resolution would not enable them to withstand the despair which would seize upon them during a life of slavery and imprisonment.

We would not support a punishment for a term, but a confinement for life. The former, however, has been tried, and found most successful in Pennsylvania. Mr. Lowne's remarks, in summing up the benefit which society derives from their penal laws as then in operation, as compared with those which had previously existed, may, in a limited extent, be applied to the change of the nature we propose. "During their (the convicts') continuance in prison," says he, "they learn many things which operate as a check upon the commission of new crimes. They learn the difficulty of evading justice, and that, as the laws are now mild, they will be strictly put in execution. They now see that juries are not unwilling to convict, and that pardons are not granted till they discover some appearance of amendment. The penalty, though not severe, is attended with many unpleasant circumstances, and many of them deem the constant return of the same labour, and of coarse fare, as more intolerable than a sharp but momentary punishment. They know that a second conviction would consign them to the solitary cells, and deprive them of the most distant hopes of pardon. These cells are objects of *real terror* to them all; and those who have

¹ Recal Shakespeare's lines in *Romeo and Juliet* :—

"These violent delights have violent ends,
And in their triumph die; like fire and powder,
Which, as they kiss, consume."—Act ii.

² Seneca.

experienced confinement in them discover, by their subsequent conduct, how strong an impression it has made on their minds. They know that mercy abused will not be repeated, and neither change of name nor disguise will enable them to escape the vigilant attention with which they are examined. These reflections, or reflections like these, have had their weight, for out of near two hundred persons who, at different times, have been recommended to and pardoned by the governor, only four have been returned—three from Philadelphia, reconvicted of larceny, and one from a neighbouring county. As several of those thus discharged were old offenders, there was some reason to fear that they would not long behave as honest citizens; but if they have returned to their old courses, they have chosen to run the risk of being hanged in other states rather than encounter the certainty of being confined in the penitentiary cells of this. We may therefore conclude that the plan adopted has had a good effect on these, for it is a fact well known that many of them were heretofore frequently at the bar of public justice, and had often received the punishment of their crimes under the former laws.

“Our streets now meet with no interruption from those characters that formerly rendered it dangerous to walk out of an evening. Our roads in the vicinity of the city, so constantly infested with robbers, are seldom disturbed by those dangerous characters. The few instances that have occurred of the latter, last fall, were soon stopped. The perpetrators proved to be strangers, quartered near the city, on their way to the westward. Our houses, stores, and vessels, so perpetually disturbed and robbed, no longer experience those alarming evils. We lay down in peace, we sleep in security.”¹

“There have been but two instances of burglaries in this city and county for near two years. Pickpockets, formerly such pests to society, are now unknown. Not one instance has occurred of a person being convicted of this offence for two years past. The number of persons convicted at the several courts have constantly decreased. Thirty and upwards, at a session, have frequently been added to the criminal list. At this time, when both city and county courts are but a few days distant, there are but *five for trial*! Such have been our measures, such is the state of things, and such the effect. If any one can assign other causes for them than are here adduced, they must

¹ “Nullis polluitur castra domus stupris,
Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
Laudantur simili prole puerperæ,
Culpam poena premit comes.”

have other opportunities—other means of information than I am acquainted with.”¹

53.
Considerations as to the expense of the maintenance of criminals.

The plan which has answered so well the intentions and objects of its framers in Pennsylvania, is objected to for numerous reasons in this country. The expense, it is said, would be so great, the want of suitable labour so serious, and the want of accommodation so extreme as to render it perfectly incompatible with the adequateness of our prison economy. But to these hasty and superficial objections, let us inquire if we are justified in hanging our fellow creatures in order to avoid the expense of preparing a proper place of confinement, or for fear of interfering with our prison economy. Is labour at such a fearful discount? Is it possible that in a well organised prison the occupants could not be supplied with sufficient work, at least to support themselves.

From a report of the Directors of Convict Prisons, dated May, 1867, it appears that there was an average of 2,857 men daily, whose total earnings during the year had been £88,648, 2s. 4d. The total expenditure during the year at Chatham Prison had been £33,074, 6s. 2d., and the value of their work £33,718, 17s. 8d., so that the labour of the convicts more than covered the expenditure. The results were the more satisfactory as the works were greatly hindered by a very wet summer and very severe winter.

At the International Prison Congress held in London a short time back, General Pillsbury stated that in Connecticut the prison, besides paying its own expenses, produced a sum of 100,000 dols.; and that at Albany, where he himself presided, 200,000 dols.

54.
Object of the labour of the convicts.

In this prison there should be an individual specially engaged to provide a sufficient quantity of stock and materials, working tools, and implements for the constant employment of the prisoners. He should deliver out their work, and receive it from them by weight or measure, as the case may be, in order that waste *by the prisoners may be prevented*; and by every laudable means in his power should make their labour as profitable as possible. Accounts should be kept of the expense of clothing and subsistence of the convicts, and the sum realised by the fruit of their labour, should, after deducting the same, be paid over towards a common fund for the support and assistance of those who, by the prisoners' crimes, have been rendered destitute.

55.
Suggestions as to the property of felons

To this fund should be added all property confiscated by felons of the highest degree of guilt. The property, which until lately was forfeited to the crown, should be paid to this common fund, from which, as a matter of concession and not of absolute

¹ *An Inquiry how far the Punishment of death is necessary in Pennsylvania*, p. 93.

ight, should be paid to the injured parties (such parties having been nominated by the judge at the trial), a certain compensation. As the law until a few years back stood, the sovereign who had, through the community, received but a theoretical injury, took and swept away the whole fund out of which any compensation might have been afforded; while the party who received a practical injury, and sustained severe damage, remained without redress. The natural justice of forfeiture is founded on the consideration that he who has violated his compact with society, has thereby broken the bounds by which they are connected, and has thenceforward no right to the advantages which may be said to accrue to him purely as a member of the community. On attainder for murder, the criminal, therefore, until lately, forfeited to the crown not only the profits of his freehold estates during life, but also (in the case of lands held by him in fee-simple though not with regard to those held in tail) the lands themselves for a year and a day, with power to the crown of committing upon them what waste it pleased, subject to which temporary forfeiture they escheated to the lord of the fee, by reason of the tenant's corruption of blood. All goods and chattels (both real and personal) were likewise forfeited to the crown.

Blackstone observes with truth (book iv. chap. 1) that if the Crown takes everything, there remains nothing for anybody else. "As the public crime," says he, "is not otherwise avenged than by forfeiture of life and property, it is impossible *afterwards* to make any reparation for the private wrong."

56.

Blackstone's observations on this subject.

57.

The law as to forfeiture in cases of felony has been materially amended by the 33 and 34 Vict., c. 23, and forfeiture for treason and felony virtually abolished. By the 3rd section of this Act it is provided that any person convicted of treason or felony may be condemned in the costs or expenses of his prosecution and conviction, and that such costs and expenses may be ordered by the court to be paid out of any money taken from such person on his apprehension, or may be enforced at the instance of any person liable to pay, or who may have paid, the same, in the same manner as the payment of costs ordered to be paid by the judgment or order of any court in any civil action or proceeding may be enforced. The fourth section empowers the court to award, on the conviction of any person for felony, a sum not exceeding one hundred pounds, by way of satisfaction or compensation for any *loss of property* suffered by the applicant through or by means of the said felony.

The new law of forfeiture.

By virtue of this Act the Crown may appoint an administrator, in whom all the real and personal property, including choses in action of the convict, shall vest, and who shall have absolute power to let, mortgage, sell, and convey, such property as he may think fit. Such administrator is further empowered to

pay out of the convict's property all costs and expenses which the convict may have been condemned to pay, and also all expenses incurred by the convict in his defence, and all debts and liabilities of such convict. Under the 15th section he may make "satisfaction or compensation for any *loss of property* or other injury alleged to have been suffered by any person through or by means of any alleged criminal or fraudulent act of such convict, and may make allowances out of the property for the support of his family. By the 18th section the property is to be preserved for the ultimate benefit of the convict, and to revert to him or his representative on the completion of his sentence, his pardon, or death.

This is certainly a step in the right direction, an improvement on the law as it originally stood; yet the same considerations which would urge us to thus deal with the property of felons generally do not exist in the case of a man guilty of the crime of murder. It has for ages been considered (and rightly, we submit) that forfeiture of property is a terrible punishment, and one which exerts a powerful restraint upon the actions of a criminal.

This forfeiture, whereby the criminal's posterity suffer, is grounded on the consideration that, affecting passions and natural affections are a greater restraint upon a man than merely the dread of personal punishment, and will interest his dependants and relations to keep him from offending; according to that fine sentiment of Cicero, "*nec vero me fugit quam sit acerbum, parentum scelera filiorum poenis lui; sed hoc præclare legibus comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicæ redderet.*"¹

Where the crime of murder has been perpetrated, it is impossible that a sufficient compensation can be paid in specie; yet surely the relatives of the victim of the murderer, especially those who were dependent upon him, have as great, if not a greater, claim upon the Crown for a certain compensation as the representatives of the criminal. By the above Act it will be perceived that no provision is made for the benefit of the former, and that satisfaction or compensation is merely to be made for any loss of property or other injury alleged to have been suffered by any person through or by means of any alleged criminal or fraudulent act of the convict, which, excepting in cases which happily are very rare, where gain has been the object, or has accrued to the convict from the criminal act,

¹ *Ad Brutum*, Ep. 12. And therefore, Aulus Cascellius, a Roman lawyer in the time of the triumvirate, used to boast that he had two reasons for despising the power of the tyrants, his old age, and his want of children; for children are pledges to the prince of the father's obedience. (Blackstone's *Com.*, bk. iv., chap. 29.)

would exclusively apply to cases of a nature of which the punishment awarded is less than capital.

But, in cases of murder, is it necessary or right that the party sustaining the greatest indirect injury should be without some sort of satisfaction. As we shall presently show, we consider the government under an obligation to make some satisfaction to such party for the injury or damage he or she may have sustained; and for this purpose we propose the establishment of the general fund already referred to, to which shall be paid all the property, both real and personal, forfeited by felons of the highest degree, and from which shall be paid a sufficient compensation or satisfaction to the party most grievously injured.

The compensation or material satisfaction to the party most severely damaged is an advantage foreign to capital punishment, for in the vast majority of cases the felon is a man of but little property, and, independent of his labour *in futuro*, would probably add but little to the common fund whence would be payable this compensative or satisfactory sum. In how many cases is the hard working-man, struggling to maintain his wife and children, cut off by the hand of the assassin, and his widow and orphans left to vie and strive with surrounding poverty, and to fight the uphill battle of life by themselves. It is almost a claim which a destitute family in this position has upon the community. The widow, by marriage, an institution recognised and upheld by the government of the country, has so linked herself with her husband as to become one with him in the eye of the law,—*vir et uxor consentur in lege una persona*,¹—they have both sustained the existing government, with that aid and assistance which was demanded and required of them, and yet the very equivalent they were to receive from it—protection and security, has proved a mere nullity. Now, had they failed in any part or particular of their duty to the government, even though no fault of theirs, they would have been liable to the extent to which they had failed. Is it then unreasonable to ask why, the government having failed to afford that protection and security, which was the essence of the bond of union, should not be answerable to the injured party?

If every individual be bound to society, society is equally bound to him, by a contract, which from its nature equally binds both parties. This obligation, which descends from the throne to the cottage, and equally binds the highest and lowest of mankind, should be punctually observed by both parties. Where there is a right there is necessarily an obligation, and where there is a breach of an obligation there should be some

58.

Compensation
or satisfaction
to the ag-
grieved party.

59.

Reciprocal ob-
ligations
existing be-
tween society
and its mem-
bers.

¹ Jenk. Cent., 27; Co. Litt., 112; Litt., sec. 168; 1 Bl. Com., 442; Gilb. Ten., 108.; 1 Roper's Husband and Wife, 1.

satisfaction for it. We allude not to a theoretical expiation, which of course must be supremely satisfactory to a starving or destitute individual, but to a practical compensation.

That private revenge and malice should not be encouraged, and that man should not be judge in his own cause, the punishment of the offender was transferred to the sovereignty.¹

"For when each angry man aveng'd his cause,
Judge to himself, and unrestrain'd by laws;
The world grew weary of that brutal strife,
When force the limits gave to each precarious life."

Lucretius, lib. v., ver. 1147, &c.

The criminal has atoned for his offence to the government; should not government ameliorate the condition of the aggrieved individual?

60.
Reformatory
effect of
punishment
suggested on
the convict.

The effect of making the convict work for the subject which he has attempted to render destitute, could not but have a favourable influence on him. To be placed in the position of the party he has deprived of life, as far as labour is concerned—to work for the objects for which during life he had toiled—will, it is imagined, be a punishment of far greater severity and apprehension, than to be aware that his punishment would be no more than, possibly not so severe as, the sufferings of the poor unprepared victim he has dispatched to his Creator. It has long since been observed that a man after he is hanged is good for nothing, and that punishment invented for the good of society, ought to be useful to society. Of what use is the dying struggle or the lifeless form of an unfortunate wretch to any one. In the earliest cases of fines for crimes on record, there is not a word of the public; the whole of the fine is given to the private party injured. We mention this circumstance to show that in former times, the private injury solely was considered, while in later times the public wrong only is regarded. This change has been gradually brought about, or the injustice of it would be more obvious. We contend that neither the one nor the other should be lost sight of. Are they not both equally offences? In the Salic laws there is a long list of crimes, and of their pecuniary equipollent without any fine or atonement to the community at large. This atonement or penalty to the public is of later date, and is founded, as we have already admitted, on a just principle; though from the gradual extinguishment of the compensation to the private party, a great hardship

¹ "It has been ordained by the wisdom of our ancestors," says Demosthenes, in his oration against Conon, "that all injuries should be redressed by law, and not by every private man's passion and caprice. So speaks Quintilian. Private revenge is not only unlawful, but an enemy to peace: for there are laws, judges and courts whereunto we may appeal, unless there be any who are ashamed to vindicate themselves by law."

has been occasioned. In the tables of compositions for crimes among the Burgundians, Alemauni, and Longobards, there is constantly superadded a fine or *fredum* to the king. And in the laws of Canute,¹ "If murder be committed in a church, a full compensation shall be paid to Jesus Christ, another full compensation to the king, and a third to the relations of the deceased;" from which we learn that, even in those days, both injuries were deemed worthy of compensation.²

Our mode of correcting the offender has the triple advantage of tending towards the reformation of the criminal, the amelioration of the condition of the injured, and the example it affords by deterring others. We have considered the two former points of superiority; now let us investigate the latter—the example afforded to others.

The effect of the example on others must of necessity depend on their conception of the severity of it, or rather on the degree in which they estimate the punishment worthy of avoidance. There is no doubt but that the value of the punishment we propose is not less than what is sufficient to outweigh that of the profit of the offence; and by the profit of the crime, Bentham understands not only pecuniary profit, but every advantage, real or apparent, which has operated as a motive to the commission of it. "The profit of the crime," says he, "is the force which urges a man to delinquency; the pain of the punishment is the force employed to restrain him from it. If the first of these forces be the greater, the crime will be committed; if the second, the crime will not be committed. If, then, a man having reaped the profit of a crime, and undergone the punishment, finds the former more than equivalent to the latter, he will go on offending for ever; there is nothing to restrain him. If those also who behold him reckon that the balance of gain is in favour of the delinquent, the punishment will be useless for the purposes of example."³

The punishment being for life, none of those evil consequences could arise which might be attendant on a shorter period being prescribed. From the rule, that the evil which the criminal is

61
Extent to
which punish-
ment should
be inflicted.

62.
Considera-
tions respect-
ing the *lex*
talionis

¹ Lambarde's *Collection of Laws*, 2.

² As to fines to the public; see 1 Bl. Com., c. 7; 3 *ibid.*, c. 8; 2 Hawk., Pl. of the Crown, c. 2, sec. 3; Sir Thomas Smith's Com. of Eng. bk. 2, c. 10.; 3 Rep., 12 a; 8 Rep., 59 b, 60 a; 11 Rep. 53 b; Year Book; Pasch. 2 Henry 5, fol. 5, 6; fol. 26; Fitzh. Abr. *Inpris.*, fol. 14; Noy's Maxims, 179 n., 9th edition.

³ Vide Hobbes, *De Cive*, cap. 13, sec. 16; *Leviath.*, cap. 27; Cumber-land *De Legibus Nat.*, cap. 5 sec. 39.

made to suffer should be equal to the evil which he has committed, many have favoured a penalty strictly relative.¹

“——— Neque enim lex æquior ulla est.
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.”²

The penalty of an eye for a eye, and a tooth for a tooth, of burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe, is mightily extolled by them. Bodinus,³ denies that this law was ever in force among the Jews, and considers the expression in Exodus xxi., 23, and Leviticus xxiv., 20, are merely proverbial, implying no more than that the punishment ought to be proportioned to the offence. However, this may be, there are many cases when a retaliative punishment could not be adopted. How could the forgery of a will, or treason, be punished by retaliation? Could an incendiary, who has no houses, or but little goods of his own, be made to suffer the same evil which he has brought upon those whose houses or whose goods of great value he has maliciously burned? Finally, in what way would they punish an adulterer, who has no wife of his own; or even supposing him to be possessed of one, would they for the purpose of correcting one crime perpetrate another?

As we have had occasion previously to mention, it is somewhat doubtful whether the punishment of perpetual imprisonment would be such an exemplary punishment, and make such an impression, as that of death.

63.
Rule for judging the determining effect of the punishment on the criminal.

To rightly argue upon this question, we must place ourselves in the position of those upon whom the prescribed punishment more usually falls, and ask ourselves what impression the different punishments would make upon us. It is absolutely necessary, to imagine ourselves in their position, for life does not offer the same attraction to the beggar and the king, nor to persons in poverty or distress, as to those in opulence and wealth. It may sound all very well and no doubt is very gratifying, to the pauper to be informed by the minister in his Sunday sermon that those in affluence have, with all their wealth, as much care, if not more, than themselves; yet their different cares and anxieties usually arise from opposite causes,—on the one hand a superfluity of riches,—on the other, a

¹ This opinion is commonly ascribed to the Pythagoreans, who defined punishment as a suffering like the like.—Puf. *De Jure Nat et Gent.*, Lib. viii., cap. iii., sec. 27; Grotius *De Jure Bel ac Pac.*, lib. ii., cap. xx., sec. 32. “What a man designs for a punishment to another,” says Seneca, “is often by a very just method of punishment changed into his own.”

² Ovid *Artis Amatoria*, Lib. I, v. 655. If the nature of revenge be considered, a man is best revenged when his injuries are punished in the same way they were committed.—Quint. *Declam.* ii.

³ *De Repub.*, lib. vi., last chapter. But see Josephus, *Antiquities*, lib. iv., cap. 8.

deficiency of the common necessities of life. It is not difficult to discover to which class life offers the greater attractions !

Death to the former class undoubtedly furnishes more cause for sorrow than to the latter. The fact of his being a malefactor would almost appear conclusive evidence of a man's slight regard for life

64.

The punishments of death and perpetual confinement with hard labour contrasted, having regard to the general character of felons

"Inured to danger's direst form,
Tornado and earthquake, flood and storm,
Death hath he seen by sudden blow,
By wasting plague, by torture slow.
By mine, or breach, by steel or ball—
Knew all his shapes, and scorned them all."

The felon is generally a man of loose and dissipated habits, addicted to idleness, and influenced by ungovernable passions. To such persons what can appear a greater punishment than being placed under a rigid system of discipline, and forced to live temperately, to labour, and in solitude. "What" asks a writer early in the present century,¹ "can be so calculated to change their habits, and promote their reformation? What appears the most dreadful to their apprehension, though the most salutary for them, is most likely to deter them from the commission of crimes. The thought of death and eternity do not affect the slaves of vices as they do the virtuous, otherwise they would not proceed in their vicious courses. No man becomes a villain at once. It is as the thoughts of God and eternity are banished from the mind, and the dictates of conscience are disregarded, that the heart becomes hardened, and men are prepared for the commission of greater crimes."

Referring to this class a learned writer has thus observed "The more their habitual state of existence is independent, wandering, and hostile to steady and laborious industry, the more they will be terrified by a state of passive submission and of laborious confinement, a mode of life in the highest degree repugnant to their natural inclinations."¹

To apply the punishment of death to these degraded and wretched creatures, who do not set much value upon life, from being constantly surrounded by circumstances that render death less formidable ; and to whom confinement and hard labour is more terrifying, is certainly a mistake.

The most powerful restraint upon crimes consists not in the severity, but in the certainty of the punishment ; for excessive severity hinders the due execution of the laws. When punishment becomes immoderate, and disproportionate to the crime, the public will frequently prefer impunity to it. Thus the statute 1 Mar. St. 1, cap. 1, recites in its preamble, "that the

65.

The restraint imposed by severity of punishment contrasted with that imposed by certainty.

¹ *Letters on Capital Punishment* by Beccaria Anglicus, let. ii.

² *Bentham Rationale of Punishment*, bk. ii. ch. xii.

state of every king consists more assuredly in the love of the subjects towards their prince, than in the dread of laws made with rigorous pains; and that laws made for the preservation of the commonwealth without great penalties are more often obeyed and kept, than laws made with extreme punishments." Observing on this maxim, Sir Samuel Romilly remarks, "that its truth is so evident that if it were possible that punishment as the consequence of guilt, could be reduced to an absolute certainty, a very slight penalty would be sufficient to prevent almost every species of crime, except those which arise from sudden gusts of ungovernable passion." As Sir William Meredith observes, "What men know they must endure, they fear; what they think they can escape they despise." *Spes impunitatis continuum affectum tribuit delinquendi*.¹

The prospect of escaping detection, and the hopes of an acquittal² or pardon blunt the operation, and defeat the expectation of the legislature. The laws are eluded, pardons are multiplied, offences are overlooked, testimony is excluded, and juries, to avoid an excess of severity, often fall into an excess of indulgence.³ "Any over-great penalty," observes Lord Bacon, "besides the acerbity of it, deadens the execution of the law."

This is more especially the case at the present time; juries are unwilling to convict, and will sometimes forget their oaths, and either, *except in the most barefaced circumstances, acquit the guilty, or mitigate the nature of the offence.*

66.

The experience of an old practitioner in the criminal courts.

Mr. Harmer, a solicitor, who gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1819, and who stated that on a moderate computation, he was engaged for 100 prisoners annually, and that, in his professional practice at the Old Bailey, he had communicated with above two thousand, adds, "The instances, I may say, are innumerable, within my own observation, of jurymen giving verdicts in capital cases in favour of the prisoner directly contrary to the evidence. I have seen acquittals in forgery where the verdict astonished everyone in court, because the guilt appeared unequivocal, and the acquittal could only be attributed to a strong feeling of sympathy and humanity in the jury to save a fellow creature from certain death. The old professed thieves are aware of this sympathy, and are desirous of being tried rather on capital indictments than otherwise. It frequently happened to myself, in my communications with them, that they have expressed a wish that they might be indicted capitally, because there was a greater chance of escape."⁴ Mr. Phillips states a glaring case, which he says will suffice as

¹ 3 Inst, 236.

² Berner, *Abschaffung der Todesstrafe*, p. 15.

³ Bentham's *Theory of Legislation*.

⁴ *Evidence*, May 8th, 1819.

well as hundreds, though, if necessary, a hundred might be furnished. "A man was tried at Carnarvon for forgery to a large amount on the Bank of England; the evidence of the guilt of the prisoner was as satisfactory as possible, and brought the charge clearly home to him; the jury, however, acquitted him. The next day he was tried on another indictment for forgery; the evidence in this case was as conclusive as in the former, yet the jury again acquitted the prisoner. The judge addressed him in these remarkable words: 'Prisoner at the bar, although you have been acquitted by a jury of your countrymen of the crime of forgery, I am as convinced of your guilt as that two and two make four.' The judge was Chief Baron Richards. Soon afterwards," says the the writer, "I met one of the jury, and expressed my surprise at the acquittal. 'Why,' answered he, 'neither my fellow jurymen nor myself had the least doubt of the prisoner's guilt, but we were unwilling to bring in a verdict of guilty, because we were aware the prisoner would have been punished with death, a penalty which we conceived to be too severe for the offence.'"¹ This was the effect produced on the jury before the abolition of capital punishment in cases of forgery. Since the mitigation of the punishment for this offence, there has been no increase in the number of offenders. "All experience," says Mr. Lennard,² "shows that the repeal of capital punishments has led to an increase of convictions and a diminution of crime."

The obvious conclusion to which these facts tend, would equally be applicable to cases of murder; for the chances of the escape of a murderer, is, in these days, very fair indeed. Under these circumstances, the hardened offender overlooks the multitude that suffer; he boldly engages in some desperate attempt on his fellow creature, and if unexpectedly the hand of justice overtakes him, he deems himself peculiarly unfortunate in falling at last a sacrifice to those laws which habit has taught him to violate with impunity. Death punishment has the disadvantage of diminishing the repressive power of the legal menace.

67.

Ill-effects of the severity of the punishment, with instances.

From a list of capital convictions from the year 1840 to 1857, given by Mr. Philip, and transcribed from the records of the Central Criminal Court, it appears that in *all* cases not amounting to murder the sentences were commuted. In those of actual murder, amounting to forty-five, twenty-four were executed, nineteen transported, one was pardoned, and one imprisoned for a year in Newgate.

Mr. Ewart instances the case of two criminals, Battersly and

¹ Correspondence of *Morning Herald*, April, 1830, cited Philip's *Vacation Thoughts on Capital Punishments*, p. 18.

² *Parliamentary Debates*, 1834.

Wilkinson, who were tried at York in 1851. The proof of murder was, to all common apprehension, clear. The judge told the jury that it was difficult to believe that the death was caused by manslaughter; yet the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter. Again, in 1852, Thomas Bare was proved, by the strongest evidence, to have murdered his wife; he even acknowledged that he deserved to be executed, yet he was acquitted by the jury. The *Times* of that date thus concludes a leading article:—"If there be such a crime as murder, this is murder, and murder of no common atrocity!" It adds, "That in cases involving capital punishments, the judge, jury, Home Secretary, and public, contend to mitigate the crime of murder;" and after other examples, he concludes—"I can produce instances of jurors having stated that they would have found the prisoners guilty, as they were bound to do; but when they learned from the judge that the penalty would be death, they resolved on an acquittal." It appeared from a Parliamentary Return for the year ending in December, 1870, that during that decade there were 242 convictions for murder, and that 129 persons were hanged—the sentence in 113 cases being commuted. Mr. Henley, in referring to statistics on this subject in a late debate before the House, stated that our criminal returns showed that from 1836 to 1840, both inclusive, the number of persons committed for murder in England and Wales was 191. In the five years from 1866 to 1870—he had not received the criminal statistics for 1871—the number was 324. This was strange evidence as to the deterrent effect of hanging. The increase in the number of committals for murder in the latter period was in the ratio of 69 per cent., whereas the increase in population was only 37 per cent. Nor did this increase apply in the same degree to other classes of crime, because, taking five heads of crime (excluding larcenies), the number of such offences in 1834-40 was 25,000; while in 1866-70 it was 29,000, showing an increase of only 25 per cent. It might be said that the increased number of criminals for murder was due to the increased vigilance of the police. But from 1836-40, when, as he had said, there were 324 trials for murder, the Police Returns showed that 630 murders had been committed; while the Coroners' Inquests showed 1,274. These facts did not indicate that the police were very effective; nor did the fact that, out of 630 reported murders, 324 persons were tried, and only 107 found guilty—in round numbers, one person in every two. What a chance, therefore, a murderer must feel that he had of escaping punishment! He would turn now to other crimes for which the punishment was less severe than it had formerly been. In 1836-40, 670 persons were tried for horse stealing; in 1866-70, only 534. In the former period 454 persons were tried for forgery; in 1866-70 there were 800; and, considering the increase of population,

and of written instruments bearing value, it was marvellous that the increase had not been infinitely greater. He had shown that in trials for murder, two persons were acquitted for one found guilty. But, taking all crimes, including murder, the convictions were 73, and the acquittals only 27 per cent.

All parties concerned appear to exert themselves to the utmost in order to avoid arriving at a verdict involving this last penalty. Hence, many a criminal who would certainly be condemned were another punishment threatened, escapes chastisement altogether.¹ Our own feelings will tell us, without either reasoning or experience, that a doubt which would save a culprit from the gallows would not save him from perpetual confinement. Might not the certainty of this latter punishment have a greater deterring effect, and make a stronger impression than the threat of the former, lessened by the hope of impunity? Beccaria thinks it would, "for," says he, "it is the nature of mankind to be terrified at the approach of the smallest inevitable evil, whilst hope, the best gift of heaven, hath the power of dispelling the apprehension of a greater, especially if supported by examples of impunity, which weakness or avarice too frequently afford."

"How few of the worst offences in our penal code," says Mr. Neate,² "would ever be committed if the criminal were assured beforehand of a very moderate punishment—say, for instance, a year's imprisonment? and in how many cases even the certainty of conviction, without punishment, would be sufficient to deter? It is indeed only in those cases where conviction would not deprive the criminal of the fruit of his crime, that any punishment at all is required for the purpose, at least of prevention; and the cases are few indeed, among the greater crimes at least, in which conviction and forfeiture would not take away from the criminal the whole, or at least, the great part of the object which he sought. The exceptions are only in these offences which are committed out of revenge or unprovoked hatred, or for the gratification of our immediate passion, or the satisfaction of a pressing want, which latter is rarely, if ever, the cause of one of the greater crimes."

Nothing is so necessary, as we have shown, as that the punishment should be certain; and there can be no greater evil than the feeling that whatever sentence may be passed by the judge on the trial is liable to be reversed by another. The object of punishment is to deter from crime, but if the idea should grow up in people's minds that a sentence is not to be

68.

The appeal in capital cases to the Home Secretary considered.

¹ "I admit," says Mr. Austin, "that something might be done by a judicious investigation of punishments, and by removing that frequent inclination to abet the escape of a criminal, which springs from their repulsive severity."—*Province of Jurisprudence*, Lect. iii, p. 134.

² *Capital Punishment*, ch. ix., p. 57.

carried out, the effect of that sentence, with all its attendant solemnity, is indefinitely diminished.

In the present day almost every man found guilty of the crime of murder receives a double trial; the latter of a character very far from conducing to the respect in which the administration of the law should be held. When a trial in open court terminates in a conviction of the prisoner, the judge passes, with extreme solemnity, sentence of death. From this sentence, however, there is an appeal to the Home Secretary, to whom application is made more or less urgently, according to the nature of the crime and the circumstances attending it, by those interested in the fate of the convict. These applications are made in private, and statements received by the Secretary of State, some on oath, but many not, and memorials are sent round in the neighbourhood in which the prisoner has lived, or where he is known, people of all classes being asked to join in praying for a remission of the sentence. It is not in human nature to refuse, and accordingly a great mass of materials, some in the nature of a prayer, some of explanation, and some of excuse, find their way to the Home Secretary, upon whom is cast the difficult duty of investigating these statements, and coming to a conclusion upon them. The appeal is a most one-sided affair, and calculated merely to bring justice into disrepute; but we are erring—it is not termed *justice*, it is designated *mercy*. How many memorials or statements are made in opposition to those praying a remission of the sentence? Possibly the only evidence on which the Home Secretary has to rely, in opposition to that offered by the friends of the convict, is that produced at the trial. It may be urged that, as this has been considered to justify the conviction before the judge and jury, it will be sufficient to sustain the conviction before the Home Secretary. The error, however, is apparent; many statements, possibly, far from reliable, which have been refused in evidence at the trial, are doubtless received or taken by the Home Secretary; besides which, the evidence offered him in the many memorials presented to him is frequently collected after the trial, and not only does not undergo that legal and impartial sifting to which that which has been adduced on the trial has been subjected, but is usually collected expressly for, and solely with the object of, obtaining the convict's reprieve.

It is a curious feature connected with the feelings of human nature, that before the person is convicted the sympathy is entirely with the victim; but as soon as he is convicted, it passes over to the prisoner, at least in a great number of cases. Consequently, everything that can be said in his favour is brought before the Home Secretary. The inquiry, moreover, is private, and there are no public means of knowing what is going on, so that facts which might be brought forward to contradict the

allegations of the prisoner's friends are not offered, because those who could do so do not know the importance or necessity of them.

Speaking of the growth of the system, Lord Penzance, in moving for a return of the criminal sentences which had been wholly remitted, or reduced, or varied by the Crown under the advice of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, during the last three years, in April, 1869, said :—" It is like the growth of the power of courts of equity in consequence of the binding rule of law, and arose from the impossibility, according to law, of having any further inquiry, no matter how strong the facts are which may be adduced after the jury have pronounced their verdict. The total absence of any reasonable method of inquiry has forced mankind into the extravagant and absurd system of correcting justice through the prerogative of mercy. Bad as it is in practice, it is equally vicious in theory. If justice has not been done, it is obvious that it should be done ; but it should be done in the name of justice, and not in the name of mercy. Mercy begins where justice ends; and this is a system of eking out imperfect justice by irregular mercy. It sins against all the regulations which ought to control us. The great vice is its want of publicity. As a second inquiry, it must be worse than the first, for it is private and is one-sided ; whereas the first inquiry was in the face of day, and both sides were heard. Even, however, if it be more successful than the first in eliciting the truth, it has this incurable vice—that it does not appear so to the world. Now it is as necessary in the handling of matters connected with justice that people should feel that justice is done, as that justice should be done, and in this method of correcting the results of a public trial, everything being done in private, there will always, however just the conclusion may be, be those who are not contented with it. They will be discontented, because what they have read or heard in court cannot fail to have impressed their minds strongly in one direction or the other ; whereas, what is done by the Secretary of State is under the sole guarantee of his high and impartial character, and the respect accorded to his judgment. The effect of the system is to weaken the effect of sentences passed in court."

69.
Lord Pen-
zance's
opinion on this
subject.

Capital punishments are prejudicial to society from the example of barbarity afforded, and they multiply crimes instead of preventing them ; for the minds of men, as a fluid rises to the same height with that which surrounds it, grow hardened and callous. The demoralising effect produced by the spectacle is now certainly removed, yet the knowledge of the butchery within the confines of a prison still produces an ill effect on the criminal mind. The change is, doubtless, for the better, for the public had become too familiarized with the execution of the capital sentence to regard it as an example ; it had degenerated

70.
Demoralising
effect of capi-
tal punish-
ment.

into a spectacle, which had to be frequently repeated to satisfy the ferocious taste it had engendered.

The severity of a punishment, though it may suddenly check, does not, in the end, diminish the number of offenders,¹ and we may rest assured that the source of all human corruption lies in the impunity of the criminal, not in the moderation of the punishment.² *Impunitas semper ad deteriora invitat.*³

71.
The inefficacy
of capital
punishment
proved by the
ancients.

The inefficiency and needlessness of capital punishment has, moreover, been proved by experience; not only can we refer to ancient times in proof of this assertion, but in modern times States can be pointed out which, having adopted milder punishments, testify in favour of the abolition of that of death.

We are informed that Sabacoa, King of Egypt, commuted all capital punishments into some servile works, that were profitable to the Commonwealth, and obtained much success.⁴ Amysis, another King of Egypt, punished no criminal with death during his reign, but according to the degree of every man's offence condemned him to carry a quantity of earth or rubbish into the city to which he belonged; and by this method the ground on which the cities stood was raised higher, and thereby secured against the inconvenience occasioned by the overflowing of the Nile.⁵

The laws of the Roman kings, and the twelve tables of the decemviri, were full of cruel punishments; the *Lex Porcia*,⁶ which exempted all citizens from sentence of death, silently abrogated them all. In this period the republic flourished; under the emperors severe punishments were revived, and then the empire fell.⁷

¹ See Montesq. *L'Esprit des Loix*, bk. xiv., chap. 15. In 1752, the parliament passed an act for the better preventing the horrid crime of murder; by which, in order "to add further terror to the punishment of death," it was directed that the body of the criminal should be delivered at Surgeon's Hall, to be dissected and anatomized. This expedient, it is said, carried some terror with it at first, but we are assured that this prejudice is now pretty well worn off.—Wenderb. *View*, p. 78. This is confirmed by Sir S. T. Jansen, who, on comparing the annual average of convictions for 23 years previous and subsequent to that statute, found that the number of murders had not at all decreased.—Lowne's *Note to Bradford's Inquiry*, p. 52.

² Montesq. *L'Esp. des Loix*, bk. vi., ch. 12.

³ 5 Rep., 109. *Impunitas continuum affectum tribuit delinquenti*, 4 Rep., 45.

⁴ Sir Thos. More's *Utop.*, lib. 1.

⁵ Herod *Enterp.*, Diodor. Sic., lib. i. cap. 5.

⁶ "Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur, quod gravis poena, si quis verberasset necassetque civem Romanum sanxit."—Livy x. 9. It was made in the 454th year of Rome.

⁷ Montq., bk. vi., sec. 15; *vide* Livy, lib. 1; Stephen's *Com.*, vol. 4., p. 104, 5th ed.

The Valerian law prohibited the magistrates from using any violent methods against a citizen, who had appealed to the people; it inflicted no other punishment on the person who infringed it than that of being reputed a dishonest man. *Nihil ultra quam improbe factum adiecit.*

"The purest treasure mortal times afford
Is spotless reputation. That away,
Men are but gilded loam, or painted clay."

Strabo relates the like of some nations inhabiting the district of Mount Caucasus, where "they put no man to death, however great their offence." They, no doubt, considered the condemnation of conscience sufficient punishment.

"*Exemplo quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
Displicet auctori: prima est haec ultio, quod se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
Gratia fallacis prætoris vicerit urnam.*

Juven. Sat. 13, ver. 1.

"As a check or deterring motive," says Mr. Austin,¹ "as an inducement to abstain from crime, the fear of public disapprobation, with its countless train of evils, is scarcely less effectual than the fear of legal punishment. To the purpose of forming the moral character, of rooting in the soul a prompt aversion from crime, it is infinitely more effectual." An enlightened people, it has been well said, is even a better auxiliary to the judge than an army of policemen.

Grotius informs us that when some ranting donatists had killed two Catholic priests, most barbarously putting out the eyes, and cutting off the fingers of one of them, St. Augustine besought Count Marcellinus not to punish them by the strict rule of retaliation, but that he would suffer them to live, and to enjoy their limbs, restraining them from similar outrages, either by some hard and profitable employment, or by reclaiming them from their madness with some smarting punishment. "For this also," saith he, "is called a condemnation, and who understands not this to be as well a benefit as a punishment, whereby neither are the reins let loose to licentious cruelty, nor that wholesome physic withheld, that should work malefactors to repentance." And he adds, "that a house of correction strikes more terror to an idle rogue than the gallows, and to be chained to an oar, than death itself."²

Did the hanging of 72,000 persons for robbery alone by the eighth Henry tend to diminish that crime? Did the hanging of 500 criminals annually by Queen Elizabeth have such an effect? or did the hanging of 30 men a year by the Bank of

¹ *Jurisprudence*, Lec. iii., p. 134.

² Grotius, *Rights of Peace and War*, bk. ii., ch. xx., sec. 12, ed. 1681, p. 373.

England for forgery prove effectual to stay the current of that offence? No! It is notorious this severity was ineffectual—that forgery, when punishable with death, multiplied enormously; and yet now we seldom hear of a man forging a bank-note. Experience shows that invariably in those cases in which the punishment has been ameliorated the number of offences has decreased. Of the large number of capital offences we have of late years abolished by making the punishment secondary, there has been no increase either in number or atrocity; and it is but a reasonable inference that that which has checked other crimes would have an equal if not a greater effect in checking the crime of murder. Every amelioration of the penal laws has been attended by a lessening of the crime against which the laws were directed. Out of twelve of the Royal Commissioners who specially investigated the subject of capital punishment, four declared themselves in favour of the abolition, and one other (Lord O'Hagan) with a reservation. It is true that the majority of the judges are against the abolition, yet they are not unanimous; and an eminent Irish judge has declared that a judge has no better opportunity of forming an opinion on the subject than any other person. Indeed, those who are professionally connected with a system are often least sensible to its defects; and in the case of the judges, it must not be forgotten that they have uniformly resisted any amelioration of the penal code. At a time when our criminal code was notoriously the most barbarous of any civilized nation, there being no less than 230 capital offences, some of which had certainly come down from remote and barbarous times, but many of which had been actually created in the reign of Geo. III., and Sir Samuel Romilly proposed merely to abolish the punishment of death for stealing property to the value of 5s. from a shop, Lord Ellenborough and Lord Eldon unanimously declared that it was not safe to abolish capital punishment even for that trifling offence.

72.
Instanced by modern examples.

In Tuscany, in the whole interval between the abolition of death-punishment in the Grand Duchy by the Emperor Leopold, while Grand Duke, and the re-establishment of it, the average number of crimes was considerably less than those after that same re-establishment. It appears that when the Grand Duke ascended to the Ducal throne, he found in Tuscany the most abandoned people of all Italy, filled with robbers and assassins. Everywhere, for a series of years previous to the government of this excellent Prince, were seen gallows, wheels, and tortures of every kind; and the robberies and murders were not at all less frequent. He had read and admired the work of the Marquis of Beccaria, and determined to try the effects of his plan. He put a stop to all capital punishment, even for the greatest of crimes; and the consequences have convinced the world of the conduciveness of the abolition to good.

The galleys, and slavery for a certain term of years, or for life, in proportion to the offence, have accomplished what an army of hangmen with their hoods, wheels, and gibbets, could not.¹ We are informed that during a considerable period the prisons were empty, and no complaints for atrocious offences occurred; and the Emperor himself, after an experiment of twenty years, declares "that the mitigation of punishments, joined to a most scrupulous attention to prevent crimes, and also great dispatch in the trial, together with a certainty and suddenness of punishment to real delinquents, had, instead of increasing the number of crimes, considerably diminished that of the smaller ones, and rendered those of an *atrocious nature very rare.*"

The unfortunate events in this country, which took place in 1849 led to the conclusion that the punishment of death was necessary. Accordingly, it was reintroduced by a law of the 16th November, 1852.² This caused a deal of indignation, and when in 1857, the political revolution had taken place, the government of Sardinia was obliged to abolish death-punishment by the decree of January 10th, 1860.

With regard to Russia:—Was she in a worse condition with reference to her criminals during the reign of the Empress Elizabeth than under her more sanguinary predecessors? Yet, during her whole reign, not one criminal was executed. Her example was followed with much success by Catherine II., for crimes were by no means multiplied by this humanity; on the contrary, that country became much more civilized, and its people rested as secure in their persons and property as they were under the bloody code which had previously prevailed.

In 1848, the National Assembly of Frankfort laid it down that the principle of abolition of capital punishment should be one of the fundamental laws of the nation, excepting only those cases in which military law renders it indispensable, or naval law allows it to exist for the suppression of mutiny.³ However, the punishment was re-enacted in many of the German States after a very short interval. Oldenburg, Anhalt, and Nassau alone have not re-introduced it. In Hamburg, Dr. Gallois brought forward a motion in favour of abolition, and a commission of inquiry was appointed, the majority voted against the motion, and gave for a reason that death-punishment was in accordance with the religious views of the German nation—that by abolishing the penalty the just proportion between crime and punishment was destroyed.⁴

¹ Lee's *Memoirs*, p. 53.

² See Puccioni, *Il Codice Penale*, l., p. 126; cited Macrae Moir, *Capital Pun.*, p. 72.

³ Macrae Moir, *Capital Punishment*, p. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

Death-punishment has been entirely abolished in Michigan, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Michigan led the way so long ago as 1846, and according to a statement which has lately been published, and which is supported by the written opinions of the State Prison Inspector, and of two agents of the State Prison, the experience of four and twenty years proves that the number of convictions for murder is now greater than when the crime was punished with death, while the crime itself has not increased. Rhode Island followed the example of Michigan in 1852; and the testimony of governors, judges, state attorneys, and prison warders, is all to the effect, that the greater certainty of conviction and of enforcement of the sentence has diminished the number of murders. In Wisconsin, which abolished hanging in 1853, murders have since decreased 40 per cent. in proportion to the population. In Portugal the capital sentence has been abolished in almost every case. It had been suspended for many years, and the returns show that, during ten years, crime in that nation has materially diminished. In fact, during that period, homicide decreased from 12 to 5 per cent.¹

73.
Objection to
capital
punishment
on the ground
of its irremis-
sibility.

Another great objection to capital punishment is the fact of its not being remissible. Error is possible in all judgments. No infallible system of jurisprudence has been yet established—no test yet applied rendering the evidence of the witnesses “equally conclusive for proving a fact, an action, or an intention, as a mathematical proof for a given proposition.” Until men acquire new faculties, and are enabled to decide upon innocence or guilt without the aid of fallible and corruptible human evidence, so long will the risk be incurred of condemning the innocent.

74.
Value of cir-
cumstantial
evidence.

How frequently has an innocent being undergone the last penalty through the fact of too much reliance being placed on circumstantial evidence. Mr. Justice Buller once thus stated the doctrine of this species of evidence.² “A presumption which necessarily arises from circumstances, is very often more convincing and more satisfactory than any other kind of evidence. It is not within the reach and compass of human abilities to invent a train of circumstances which shall be so connected together as to amount to a proof of guilt, without affording opportunities of contradicting a great part, if not all, of these circumstances.” Circumstances certainly cannot lie, but the witness as to the fact constituting such circumstances may. At

¹ Report of the C. P. Commission, by Mr. Serjeant Woolrych.

² Where the facts proved are not precise facts in issue, and the jury are to come to a conclusion upon the facts in issue, by an act of reasoning from those other proved facts, the evidence in such cases is said to be presumptive.—See Lord Mansfield in the Douglas case; and Adam Stuart's Third Letter to Lord Mansfield, and also 16 Parly. Histy., 518-532.

most, it is a very strong presumption, for even though the circumstances be truly stated, yet may the application of them be wholly fallacious.

Man can hardly say with confidence that he is certain of anything, the proof of which lies on human testimony. Would it not better become us, so liable to error and deception, so to punish, that, were we to prove hereafter to have been mistaken, we might afford some compensation, however slight, to the injured party? Life is the gift of God alone; we cannot recall that soul we have once loosened from its earthly bondage, nor rectify the injustice we have perpetrated.

Life is His gift, from whom whate'er life needs,
And every good and perfect gift proceeds :
Bestow'd on man, like all that we partake,
Royally, freely, for His bounty's sake.
Transient, indeed, as is the fleeting hour,
And yet the seed of an immortal flower,
Design'd in honour of His endless love,
To fill with fragrance his abode above :
No trifle, howsoever short it seem,
And, howsoever shadowy, no dream ;
Its value what no thought can ascertain,
Nor all an angel's eloquence explain.

Liberty and property may be restored, but the spark of life once extinguished, is gone, gone for ever !

What numbers of cases similar to that instanced by the late Mr. O'Connell, in a speech delivered at Exeter Hall, could be adduced ! "I defended," said he, "three brothers of the name of Cremen within the last ten years ; they were indicted for murder, the evidence was most satisfactory, the judge had a leaning in favour of the Crown prosecution, and he almost compelled the jury to convict them. I sat at the window as they passed by ; sentence of death had been pronounced upon them. There was a large military guard taking them back to gaol, positively forbidden to allow any communication with the three unfortunate youths. But their mother was there ; and she, armed with the strength of her affection, broke through the guard. I saw her clasp her eldest son, who was but twenty-two years of age. I saw her hang on the second, who was not twenty. I saw her faint when she clung to the neck of the youngest boy, who was but eighteen ; and I ask what recompense could be made for such agony ? They were executed, and *they were innocent !*"

75.
Instances of
the innocent
having suffered the
penalty of
death.

Sir Fitzroy Kelly declared in the Commons that he found seventeen cases in the present century of accused men having been sentenced to death, though their innocence had been subsequently established and rendered as manifest as that of any

man now living; of these, eight were hanged, and one was within four hours of his execution when the pardon arrived.¹

Mr. Dymond relates several cases in which persons have been unjustly convicted. He narrates among others, that at Aber-gavenny thirteen persons were charged with uttering a forged Bank of England note. A person named Christian, sent down specially from the Bank, swore to the forgery. They were convicted, and ordered for execution. It happened that someone in the town submitted a note, which he knew to be genuine, for Christian's examination. The latter pronounced it also to be forged. This occurrence becoming known, the notes were sent up to London for scrutiny. *They were pronounced genuine*, just in time to save the lives of the persons condemned. Another was the case of a man convicted at Lincoln for cattle stealing. He was hanged. A publican, who watched the execution of the sentence from his own inn window, subsequently confessed himself to be the criminal, and declared the man who had suffered to be entirely innocent.

A short time back we had a case somewhat similar, and can we contemplate the consequences if the punishment, as it formerly existed, had been inflicted.

On the 28th March, 1868, a young man named James Bell was convicted at the Middlesex Sessions, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude for sheep stealing. The evidence given on that occasion was to the effect that the prisoner was a cattle drover in the service of a Mr. Goodge, who was employed by Messrs. Elmore & Co., meat salesmen in Pewter-Platter Yard, to drive fifty-eight lambs to their slaughter-houses on the 27th February. On their arrival, Bell suggested to his master that the lambs should be counted, adding, "lest some should be taken away in the night." They were accordingly counted, and on the following morning 12 had been stolen. It was afterward stated by three policemen that they saw the prisoner driving some lambs from the direction of the yard to the Islington market at six o'clock the same morning, and he was given into custody. At the station house he asked a boy to tell his mother that he was "nicked" for the sheep. At the trial, his father, mother, and brother-in-law were called, and stated that the prisoner was in bed at the time he was sworn to have been driving the sheep. The jury disbelieved the *alibi*, and the prisoner was sentenced to five years' penal servitude by the assistant judge (Sir William Bodkin). Immediately after the sentence, Mr. Guerrier, a salesman, believing there had been a miscarriage of justice, interested himself in the case, and spared no endeavours to get at the truth. Through his exertions, and those of the relations of the prisoner Bell, they learned that he was perfectly innocent

¹ Philip's *Vacation Thoughts on Cap. Pun.*, p. 78.

of the charge, and that the real culprits were Thomas Daley and Edwin Winder, who had since been convicted of sheep stealing, and Frederick Winder, the brother of the last named. On the 28th August following, Frederick Winder was brought before Mr. Serjeant Cox at the Middlesex Sessions, charged with stealing thirty-nine sheep, the property of Henry Cook. The convicts Daley and Edwin Winder were then made witnesses against him, and they proved conclusively that they were the real thieves, and that Bell had nothing whatever to do with the robbery. The mistake had arisen through Bell being very like Daley, and through the witnesses for the *alibi* prevaricating in some essential particulars. Bell was at once liberated after having served six months' imprisonment, and Messrs. Elmore, the prosecutors, took him into their service. The judge sentenced Winder to fourteen years penal servitude—it being proved that he had been a sheep-stealer for years.

Bentham, in a note to his "Rationale of Punishment," has referred to another momentous objection. We give it in his own words:—"There is an evil resulting from the employment of death as a punishment which may be properly noticed here. It destroys one source of testimonial proof. The archives of crime are, in a measure, lodged in the bosoms of criminals. At their death, all the recollections which they possess relative to their own crimes and those of others, perish. Their death is an act of impunity for all those who might have been detected by their testimony, whilst innocence must continue oppressed, and the right can never be established, because a necessary witness is subtracted. Whilst a criminal process is going forward, the accomplices of the accused flee and hide themselves. It is an interval of anxiety and tribulation; the sword of justice appears suspended over their heads. When his career is terminated, it is for them an act of jubilee and pardon; they have a new bond of security, and they can walk erect. The fidelity of the deceased is exalted among his companions as a virtue, and received among them for the instruction of their young disciples, with praises for his heroism. In the confines of a prison, this heroism would be submitted to a more dangerous proof than the interrogatories of the tribunals. Left to himself, separated from his companions, a criminal ceases to possess this feeling of honour, which unites him to them. It needs only a moment of repentance to snatch from him those discoveries which he only can make; and without his repentance, what is more natural than a feeling of vengeance against those who caused him to lose his liberty, and who, though equally culpable with himself, yet continue in the enjoyment of liberty! He need only listen to his interest, and purchase, by some useful information, some relaxation of the rigor of his imprisonment."

76.

Objection to death punishment on the ground that it destroys a great source of testimonial proof.

From this irremissibility of capital punishment arises

another objection, for it may be used by men in power to gratify their passions by means of a corruptible judge. "In such cases," says Bentham, "the iniquity covered with the robe of justice may escape, if not all suspicion, at the least the possibility of proof. Capital punishment, too, affords to the prosecution as well as to the judge an advantage that in all other modes is wanting. I mean greater security against detection by stifling by death all danger of discovery arising from the delinquent at least; while he lives, to whatever state of misery he may be reduced, the oppressed may meet with some fortunate event by which his innocence may be proved, and he may become his own avenger. A judicial assassination justified in the eyes of the public by a false accusation with almost complete certainty assures the triumph of those who have been guilty of it. In a crime of an inferior degree, they would have had everything to fear; but the death of the victim seals their security."

77.
Refutation
of the argu-
ments drawn
from Scrip-
ture.

The only argument adduced in support of the punishment of death, which has not yet been referred to, is that drawn from scripture. It is said by some that the question has been decided by an authority, beyond the reach of human reason; for there is an express divine command exacting life for life: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."¹ Of course, in such a case, there is nothing to consider but the command.²

78.
The binding
nature of the
Mosaic laws.

With reference to the particular laws enjoined by the Jews, we may reasonably refuse their binding nature on those people and nations whose constitution and tempers differ so widely from them. Unless it can be shown that Christ has sanctioned these Jewish laws, or they are of a moral nature, they certainly are not obligatory on Christians. Not only has he sanctioned nothing on the subject of putting criminals to death, but he has prohibited the rendering, even, evil for evil. "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the *death* of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and *live*." In vain might we search the gospel for anything to countenance the *lex talionis*, or to authorise us rendering evil for evil to any man. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." Matt. v. 38, 39.

Non quod iniqua est justa ultio, sed quod ei præstet patientia.³

¹ Gen. ix. 6. See Ex. xxi. 12, 14; Lev. xxiv. 17; Matt. xxvi. 52; Rev. xiii. 10.

² What truth in the words of Shakespeare—

"In religion,
What damned error but some sober brow
Will bless it and approve it with a text!"

³ Clem. *Constitut.*

This revenge, by way of retaliation, St. Augustine calls the justice of the unrighteous: not that the vengeance which the law decrees is unjust, but that our thirst after revenge is sinful, which better befits a judge to order, than a wise man to exact for his own satisfaction only.¹ The Jewish polity both in its ceremonies and judicial aspect, framed for the exigences of a turbulent, vindictive, and idolatrous race, exhibits in glowing colour the infinite wisdom of God, and was admirably calculated to attain the objects for which it was intended. It also possesses a fund of rich and precious instruction, and, received in a proper light, cannot fail to excite one's admiring gratitude.

Charity was, however, very confined and little practised by that people. They extended it not beyond the limits of their own sect or party; but under the gospel dispensation, the attributes of the Deity are more clearly revealed, the duty of charity more carefully defined, and more widely extended. As our Saviour observes in his sermon on the mount, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."² How is this lofty and dignified teaching to be reconciled with the Jewish spirit of retaliation? Can the mild benevolence of Christ's precepts, the meekness of his spirit, the philanthropy that breathed in all his words and directed all his actions, be consentaneous to, or consistent with, the retaliative system on which the punishment of death is founded?

Even up to the fifth century we are informed by Schlegel that it was the current opinion that Christians could not bear a part in the execution of criminals.³

This probably was the occasion of the introduction of "sanctuaries" among the early Christian nations.⁴ Thus, by the laws of the Visigoths (l. 6, tit. 5, sec. 16), "If a murderer flyeth to the altar, the priest shall deliver him to the relations

¹ Augustine *Ps.* 108; Zach. vii. 10; viii. 17, cited Grotius *De Jure Bel. &c.*, lib. 11, cap. xx., sec. 9.

² Mat. v. 48. "Which words," says Bacon, "are more than human '*Nec vox hominem sonat*'" (*Æneid* i. 332) and go beyond the light of nature," Adv. of Learning, bk. ix. See Rom. xii. 17, 18, 19; Eccles. xxviii. 1, 2, 3.

³ Note to Mosheim's *Histy.* vol. i. p. 466, and see Milman's *Church Histy.* vol. ii. p. 82., and vol. iii. p. 457.

⁴ In early times the person who fled to an altar was held to be under the immediate protection of the Deity, and therefore inviolable. Instance the Jew laying hold of the horns of the altar; and see Hom. *Odyssey* xxii. 367; Virgil *Æneid* lib. 2, 512, 523, "*hæc ara tuebitur omnes.*"

of the deceased, upon giving oath that, in prosecuting their revenge, *they will not put him to death.*" By the laws of King Ina (L. 5 Lambard's collection) it was enacted, "That if any guilty of a capital crime fly to the church, *his life shall be saved, but he must pay a composition.*"

79. The expiative or propitiative nature of the Mosaic code. The great object of all the sacrifices and ceremonies enjoined by the Mosaic code was propitiation or atonement, typical of the sacrifice which was finally to be offered up by Christ himself. The notion of making atonement was common to all heathen nations. They considered it a propitiatory offering to their deity. The irascibility of the deity of primitive nations is universally known and acknowledged; and probably, from his being a creation of man's own imagination, partook much of his attributes. A violence offered to a natural law was considered an offence against the creator of it, made in consequence of his wrathful and irritable nature, capable only of being propitiated by an offering. What offering, then, so acceptable as the offender himself?

When, therefore, a culprit was put to death, he typically expiated his crime—the punishment assumed as direct an aspect of expiatory sacrifice as the offering of a bull or of a goat for sin. "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an *atonement* for your souls; *for it is the blood that maketh any atonement for the soul.*"¹

80. Further arguments against the applicability of the passage cited in support of the death penalty. Before dismissing the consideration of the Mosaic laws, permit us to ask why this particular law is selected from those of the Jews as having a more binding force upon us than others to which we might refer. Are the following laws in force, and would any desire so to see them: "Every one that curseth his father or his mother shall be surely put to death; he hath cursed his father or his mother: his blood shall be upon him;" "And the man that committeth adultery with another man's wife, even he that committeth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death." (See Leviticus xx., 9-12-14, 18-27; xxiv., 16. Num. xv., 36. Deut. xxi., 18-21.) As we do not consider ourselves bound by these last-quoted laws, which were obligatory under the Mosaic dispensation, there is no reason why that particular one punishing murderers with death should have any influence upon us in determining this question. What was productive of good under the Jewish theocracy might yet nurture immorality and vice under the Christian dispensation. "We have no right," says Lord Brougham, "to shed a criminal's blood because he has shed the blood of another man; we have no right in *reason* to do this; we have no warrant from *religion*. It is doubtless a great evil for a man to be murdered; but that,

¹ Lev. xvii. 11.

in reason, is no argument for inflicting death upon the murderer."¹

However, it may be contended that the scripture argument is not so much based on the binding force of the Mosaic laws as on that injunction to Noah in Genesis ix., 5—6: "And surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. *Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,*"² for in the image of God made he man."

Selden³ expressly affirms that the Jewish Rabbis did not consider this passage to be a law of such force as to be always obligatory on a magistrate in cases of murder, but as an express indication of God's hatred to that crime, from the severity of the penalty he annexed to it, which it might be lawful for man, according to the posture of affairs, and variety of circumstances in the public government of the State, either to limit or inflict;

The Jews themselves limited it, for they did not inflict death upon any of their own nation who killed a proselyte of the gate, or any other Gentile. The patriarch Jacob evidently did not consider himself bound by the permission to Noah, for if he had so regarded himself, why did he not put his two sons to death for slaying a number of defenceless and innocent people at Shalem, a city of Shechem?⁴

Was either Moses or David punished with death? yet both were murderers.⁵ These instances might be multiplied without difficulty. In the antediluvian world we have but the record of two murders; were either of the perpetrators of these punished with death? Cain, the first unhappy example of the fatal effects of unbridled envy and revenge, though the murderer of his own brother, was not doomed to death by the Almighty, but was condemned to wander a wretched fugitive and vagabond on the earth; and heavy judgment was threatened to *any* who should kill him. The second instance was that of Lamech,⁶ but

¹ Lord's *Debates*, Sept. 6, 1831.

² The passage translated literally runs thus:—Shedding man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed. In the Septuagint translation the pronoun is distinguished as in the English translation. *Whoso sheddeth, &c.*, "Ο ἐμχέων αἷμα ἀνθρώπου, ἀντὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἐκχυθήσεται." Luther's translation accords with ours:—"Wer Menschen Blut vergießt." The Latin Vulgate has the same translation. *Quicumque effudit humanum sanguinem, fudetur sanguis illius.* Calmet has the following translation; the words in capitals are his own addition:—"Quiconque aura repandu le sang humain, SERA PUNI par l'effusion de son propre sang."

³ Lib. iv. cap. 1.

⁴ Gen. xxxiv. 25, &c.

⁵ Exod. ii. 11—15. 2 Saml. xi. 14, &c., see xii. 5. Ille crucem sceleris tulit pretium, hic diadema.

⁶ Gen. iv. 23.

we have no account of his life having been forfeited for the offence.

Moreover, have we not limited the command, if such it be, by admitting extenuating circumstances? The words are, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood;" now how can those who contend that we have no power to abolish capital punishment, justify the exemption of manslaughter from the penalty thereby denounced? "If we may control the words of God by the terms of an Act of Parliament," remarks Mr. Neate; "if we may qualify their meaning according to the maxims of English law and the glosses of English lawyers, what part is there then that we can surely mark out and reserve as sacred and indefeasible?" Again, as simply the shedding of blood is spoken of, whether the blood be shed in war or peace, or by accident, the punishment must still be applicable.

81.
Explanation
of the passage
under exami-
nation.

The words, however, in question, are nothing more than an indication to Noah—a sort of prediction that those who shed the blood of their fellow creatures would expose their own lives, and generally have their own blood shed—more a declaration than a law; for God seems rather to announce in it, that he will execute vengeance upon men, either by men or by some other severe method, if they happen to escape the arm of human justice; according to the words of the Psalmist, "Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days." (Ps. iv. 23; Acts xxviii. 4). Another reason for regarding the words in this light is the fact of *shall* in the Hebrew being a sign of the future tense, and consequently in this case merely indicative. A similar passage occurs in the New Testament (Matt. xxvi. 52):—"All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," but no person supposes that all who take the sword ought to die by the sword of the public executioner. It simply signifies that they are in danger of perishing by the hand of others who use the sword, from the very nature of their profession. Did our Lord command St. Peter to deny him when he said, "Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice;" or when he said, "The brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son; and children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death."

How great is the inconsistency of those who base their objection to the abolition of the death-punishment on this passage under consideration? Have they never cast their eye but a few lines out of this much scrutinised passage? Are they not aware that this command, as they are pleased to style it, came not alone; it came in company with another. In the verse immediately preceding the one in question, is this: "But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat."¹ Yet with one consent the opposers disregard this pre-

¹ Gen. ix. 4.

cept, while they maintain the binding character of the one by which it is followed: "These sticklers for condign punishment," who hurl forth their anathemas of infidelity and rationalism at all who differ from them, "make no scruple of eating game with the blood in it, even when asserting the other part of the Noahic command! an inconsistency which they would do well to explain before they strain a text against mercy for the irrevocable doom of a fellow man."¹

Supposing the existing condition of society in former times required this last penalty, it does not follow by any means that it is now necessary. *Pænæ potius molliendæ quàm exasperandæ sunt.*² It surely would not be deemed essential for the safety of the community in the present day to stone a man to death for having gathered some sticks on the Sabbath day (Num. xv. 32—36), or because a youth was stubborn and rebellious to his father and mother, he should be put to death in a most ignominious manner (Deut. xxi. 18—21).

If the peace and well-being of society depended on the infliction of capital punishment, and if persons and property could not otherwise be preserved, not a single argument ought to be advanced against its continuance, for *salus populi suprema lex* is a maxim which should ever be deeply engraved on the hearts of all those who not only desire the welfare of the community at large, but have any regard for their own particular comfort and security.

However, the necessity does not exist. Punishments in different countries should be accommodated to the constitutions, manners, customs, and state of civilisation of the various nations. "In moderate governments," observes Montesquieu,³ "the love of one's country, shame, and fear of blame, are restraining motives, capable of preventing a multitude of crimes. Here the greatest punishment of a bad action is conviction. The civil laws have, therefore, a softer way of correcting, and do not require so much force and severity. In those States a good legislator is less bent upon punishing than preventing crimes; he is more attentive to inspire good morals than to inflict punishments." "In moderate governments, a good legislator may make use of everything by way of punishment."

On this subject there is an observation in Pufendorf well

¹ *A plea for the Abol. of Cap. Pun.*, by the Rev. T. Pyne, A.M.

² 3 Inst. 220, Jenk. Cent., 29.

³ *Esprit des Loix*, liv. vi. ch. 9.

⁴ Ex his igitur manifeste arbitror constare, non dari in foro civili justitiam aliquam vindicativam, quæ certis delictis certam poenæ mensuram, per naturam definitam, utique infligi jubeat; sed veram poenarum humanarum mensuram esse utilitatem reipsam et prout fines poenarum commodissime videntur proventuri, ita eas per prudentiam summ imperii intendi vel remitti; ita tamen ut insignis circa easdem latitudo

worth considering. He says there is no vindictive justice in the civil court which determines what degrees of punishment ought to be inflicted on particular crimes by any decision of nature. But the true measure of all human punishment must be taken from the utility of the commonwealth ; and according as the ends of punishment seem most easy to be attained, the punishment may either be enhanced or alleviated, according to the discretion of the government, yet still so that the method of punishment may admit of greater latitude ; and therefore, as it would be too severe to inflict a penalty when the ends of punishment may be attained by gentler methods, so the punishment is much too easy when it has not sharpness enough to produce the ends designed by it, and consequently to restrain the violence of the subject, or settle the internal security of the commonwealth, or, in short, where it is a punishment that delinquents themselves despise."

84.

The experience of Earl Russell as to the expediency of capital punishment.

Now, is it not evident that the ends of punishment might in this country be attained by the correction proposed, instead of resorting to capital punishment. Hear what a man who has carefully studied the subject, and who brings to bear on it the light of his vast and extensive experience (no other man do I allude to than Earl Russell) has to say on this point : " For my own part I do not doubt for a moment either the right of a community to inflict the punishment of death, or the expediency of exercising that right in certain states of society. But when I turn from that abstract right and that abstract expediency to our own state of society—when I consider how difficult it is for any judge to separate the case which requires inflexible justice from that which admits the force of mitigating circumstances—how invidious the task of the Secretary of State in dispensing the mercy of the Crown—how critical the comments made by the public—how soon the object of general horror becomes the theme of sympathy and pity—how narrow and how limited the examples given by this condign and awful punishment—how brutal the scene of the execution—I come to the conclusion that nothing would be lost to justice, nothing lost in the preservation of innocent life, if the punishment of death were altogether abolished. In that case a sentence of a long term of separate confinement, followed by another term of hard labour and hard fare, would cease to be considered as an extension of mercy. If the sentence of the judges were to that effect, there would scarcely ever be a petition for remission of punishment in cases of murder sent to the Home Office. The guilty,

occurrat. Igitur justo major illa poena erit, ubi fines poenarum molliori via obtineri poterant : justo mitior, cui non satis acrimoniae et efficaciae inest ad producendos eosdem fines, adeoque ad reprimendam civium malitiam, atque internam civitatis securitatem procurandam.—Lib. viii. cap. iii. sec. 24.

unpitied, would have time and opportunity to turn repentant to the Throne of Mercy."

It is no argument in favour of capital punishment that it has existed in all nations, and through all times; for if opposed to truth, prescription is urged but in vain. *Quod ab initio non valét in tractu temporis non convalescet.* As is remarked by an Italian writer, "The history of mankind is an immense sea of errors on which a few obscure truths may here and there be found."

85.

Quod ab initio non valet in tractu temporis non convalescet.

The laws of Draco were more ancient than those of Solon, but it does not follow they were better. The present state of society is far different from what it has ever yet been. Many laws which answered well, nay, were even absolutely necessary a century ago, would not be acceptable under the present condition of society. We reform our manners as the age progresses; surely our laws cannot be expected to remain unaltered. Improvements and changes may be made in our system of punishments, without any of our fundamental principles being violated. We have better means of ascertaining what is more fit for prevention than those who lived ages before us; the experience of our ancestors cannot be regarded as naught. Have we not altered and modified some, and abolished many unjust and barbarous laws; why should we now pause, and say we have arrived at a state of civilization rendering any further improvement in our penal code unnecessary? Knowledge and civilization have for ages been progressive. The laws have gradually become milder; and it will be found that as our state of refinement increases, so will the severity of our punishments admit of decrease. Humanity has kept even pace with the progress of civilization. In their anxiety to protect the life, liberty, and property of the whole community from aggression, legislators have ceased to be altogether unmindful of the life liberty and happiness of the offenders themselves. The divine attribute of mercy has been brought to temper justice, and sanguinary laws are found to be as unnecessary as they are hated. We are already awakening to the fact that prevention is better than cure, and that inspiring good morals by sound education is a greater preventive to crime than the infliction of the severest punishments. Montesquieu records the remark of a Chinese author, that the more the severity of punishments was increased in their empire, the nearer they were to a revolution, and this was because punishments were augmented in proportion as the public morals were corrupted.¹ In almost all the governments of Europe, punishments have increased or diminished in proportion as those governments favoured or discouraged liberty.²

¹ Vide Montesqu., liv. vi. ch. 9.

² *Crescente malitiâ, crescere debet et pœna.*—2 Inst. 479. *Ex frequenti delicto augetur pœna.*—Ibid.

86.

Death punish-
ment contrary
to natural feel-
ings of hu-
manity.

The infliction of death on a fellow creature is contrary to the natural feelings of humanity ; our inclination prompts us rather to seek the reformation of an offender than his destruction—"that he may turn from his wickedness and live." However base the character of another may be, we by no means wish to be the instrument of evil to him. Lactantius has censured Cicero for describing a good man as one who does good to whomsoever he can, but hurts none, unless provoked by some injury¹ (*Is vir bonus est qui prodest quibus possit, noceat nemini nisi lacessitus injuriâ*), thus, "Oh, what a plain and excellent sentence is here spoiled by the addition of two words!" And St. Ambrose, reciting the same sentence of Cicero, says that it wanted the authority of the Holy Gospel to confirm it, for we are there taught that to return an injury is no less evil than to inflict one.

Who could stand by and see even a criminal deprived of his existence—possibly an inexperienced and unenlightened young man, who, thanks to our educational system, or rather want of system, has received little or no instruction either religious or moral²—consigned into the hands of his Creator, without feeling some compassion for him. Shall "insensibility (as it has been beautifully observed) sleep in the lap of luxury," and not awake at the voice of wretchedness?

87.

The example
of publicity
abrogated.

The spectacle of the execution is now withdrawn from us,³ but the compassion for the wretched creature still exists in the minds of those benevolent people who would far rather have the criminal consigned to some punishment short of death, though not less fearful, that he might have an opportunity of repenting and atoning to some extent for his enormities, than that he should be butchered like an ox, in the interior of a prison-house. An Act of Parliament could take away the publicity of the deed, but not compassion from the hearts of the benevolent.⁴

Publicity has always been considered a necessary attendant upon every judicial act, and the evil which may arise from the

¹ See Cic. Off. lib. 1. cap. vii. "*Dictat autem ratio homini*," says Grotius. (*De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, lib. 2, cap. xx., sec. 4), "*nihil agendum quo noceatur homini alteri, nisi id bonum aliquod habeat propositum. In solo autem inimici dolore, ita nude spectato, nullum est bonum nisi falsum et imaginarium.*"

² The Chaplain of Newgate states that when in his official capacity he was preparing for her fate a woman condemned to death, he spoke of Christ, she asked the question, "Was he not a leader of a great band of robbers?"

³ 31 & 32-Vict. c. 24.

⁴ Sympathy is a part of our nature, and we have two distinct inducements to consult the general good: namely, the same provident regard to our welfare or happiness, and also a disinterested regard to the welfare or happiness of others. If sympathy were not a portion of our nature, our motives to consult the general good would be more defective than

substitution of private executions is not yet fully comprehended.¹ Doubt soon takes the place of mystery, for suspicion is easily excited in the popular mind, so naturally is it biased against anything like mystery in a judicial proceeding arising from an offence against themselves.

In conclusion, let us earnestly hope that the time is not far distant when the execution of the law (which by reason of its barbarity, and the demoralising effect produced on the popular mind, is compelled to be conducted in private) may become the medium, while sufficiently correcting the offender, of affording a moral and virtuous lesson to those habitual criminals to whom a warning is so truly essential and expedient—when the punishment for the highest degree of guilt may be converted from a ruthless butchery in prison to one the very suggestion of which may raise those dormant sentiments of humanity in the popular mind, which perhaps have become inert from accustomary apathy; to exclaim, in the words of the great orator: “Hanc tollite ex civitate, Iudices; hanc pati nolite diutius in hac republicâ versari quæ non modo id habet in se mali, quod tot cives atrocissime sustulit, verum etiam hominibus lenissimis ademit misericordiam consuetudine incommodorum.”

88.
Concluding
observations.

FINIS.

they are. This sympathy is totally different from moral approbation or disapprobation, and instead of always coinciding with moral sentiments often runs counter to them, as (*e.g.*) that large sympathy with every sentient being, or at least with every human being, which is called humanity or benevolence, and inclines us to sympathize with the sufferings of the culprit whose punishment we approve. See Austin's *Jurisprudence*, Lec. iv. p. 169.

¹ Dr. Winslow's *Journal of Psychological Medicine*, London, 1858, p. 81. It appears to have been considered essential that criminals should be punished in public. “When criminals are executed,” says Quintilian, “the most public places are chosen, where there will be the greatest number of spectators, and so the most, for the fear of punishment to work upon them. *Declam.* 274. The more public the punishments are the greater effect will they produce upon the reformation of others. Seneca *de Irâ*, lib. 3, cap. xix. This is the opinion likewise of Pufendorf. (*De Jure Nat. et Gent.*, lib. viii., cap. xiv., sec. 12.) Herodotus tells us that the Lacedæmonians had a custom, contrary to the rest of the world, of punishing their criminals in the night; thinking, perhaps, that darkness might add to the terror of the punishment. Herod. *Melpom. vice* Val. Max. L., 2, c. ix. sec. 3. The legislators of Prussia, Wurtemberg, Hamburg, Attenburg, the kingdoms of Saxony and Baden, have adopted executions in a secluded space in the presence of trustworthy witnesses. Macrae Moir *Capital Punishment*, p. 60.

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And to Common and Commercial Forms, arranged in alphabetical order, with sub-divisions of an analytical nature; together with an Appendix containing an Abstract of the Stamp Act, 1870, with a Schedule of Duties; the Regulations relative to, and to Stamp Duties payable on, Probates of Wills, Letters of Administration, Legacies and Successions.

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EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS.

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BY WALTER ARTHUR COPINGER,

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, ESQUIRE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

Author of "The Law of Copyright in Works of Literature and Art," and "Index to Precedents in Conveyancing."

London:—STEVENS & HAYNES, Bell Yard, Temple Bar.

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EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS.

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[REPRINTED FROM THE PAPERS OF THE MANCHESTER LITERARY CLUB.
VOLUME VI.]

The English Gipsies under the Tudors.

By HENRY T. CROFTON.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE MANCHESTER LITERARY CLUB,
JANUARY 12, 1880.

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1880.





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VOLUME VI. 1880.]

ANNALS OF THE ENGLISH GIPSIES UNDER THE TUDORS.

BY HENRY T. CROFTON.

[Read January 12, 1880.]

IN a former paper ("Gipsy Life in Lancashire and Cheshire," in the *Papers of the Manchester Literary Club* for 1877, vol. iii., p. 33) I stated that the records of the Gipsies in England have yet to be collected. They lie scattered piecemeal in many a rare book and out-of-the-way corner. The following is an attempt to patch together the ragged history of these irrepressible nomads, during the reign of the Tudors. I have divided it into three sections, the first dealing with their immigration; the second, the legislative efforts to suppress or regulate them; and the third telling the tale of their sufferings under those statutes.

I.—THEIR IMMIGRATION.

It is at present by no means certain when the Gipsies made their first appearance in England. According to the views of Mr. Kilgour, as expressed in several letters to *Notes and Queries* (London: Fifth Series, vol. iii.) in 1876, Gipsies have been in these islands from prehistoric ages. His chief reasons seem to be that they are called *Tinklers* in Scotland, and Ipswich used to be spelt *Gippeswic*. He also believes that Hungary derives its name from *Zingari*! *Tinkler* can be traced back to about the year 1200. *Tinker* and *Tinkler* were not uncommon titles at that time. Between the years 1165 and 1214, *James "Tinkler"* held land in the town of Perth (*Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, Edinburgh, 1843); in 1265, "*Editha le Tynekere*" lived at Wallingford, in

Berkshire (*Hist. MSS. Com. 6th Report*, 1878); in 1273, a "Tincker" and "William de Tyneker" lived in Huntingdonshire (Lower's *Patronym. Brit. from Hund. Rot.*); and before 1294, "Ralph Tincler" had a house at Morpeth, in Northumberland (*Hist. MSS. Com. 6th Report*, 1878). All these seem to have had fixed abodes, and not to have been of the same itinerant class, with which we now associate all tinkers, and which used to require the epithet "wandering" to distinguish them. The fact is that the prehistoric period of English Gipsy existence is very soon reached. All is surmise beyond the year 1500, though it is by no means improbable that the race sent scouts across the channel from France before even 1440, which is the date suggested by M. Paul Bataillard (*De l'Apparition des Bohémiens en Europe*, Paris, 1844, p. 53).

On August 17, 1427, a number of Gipsies, who said they were from Lower Egypt, visited Paris, and lodged at St. Denis until the 8th of September, when they departed in the direction of Pontoise, which lay northward of Paris, and therefore in a direction, which, if pursued, would have led them possibly to the coast, from which they would have had a distant view of these shores. It should be remembered, too, that at this time the English, in spite of Joan of Arc's warning, were ruling in the French capital; and, therefore, there is the greater likelihood that these wanderers would pay England a visit, and the facilities for their transport would be abundant. No record, however, of any such visit has yet been found, and this Gipsy band was apparently only the advance guard of the main body of Gipsies who spread over Western Europe about the year 1434.*

Mr. Borrow, the well-known Romany Rye, states (*Lavolil* 212) that they first came to England "about the year 1480;" but he does not give any authority for the date, which, it may be remarked, is exactly half a century before 1530, when they were banished from England, by an Act of Parliament, which will be discussed in the second section.

If external causes are sought for their ultimate invasion of England, it is found that in 1492 the Gipsies were expelled from Spain, which would probably result in an increased number roaming about and ravaging France, as would likewise be the

* As shown by M. Bataillard (*op. cit.*).

case eight years later, when they were expelled from the German Empire. France, however, was not long content to bear this burden, and on the 27th of July, 1504, the wanderers were told to seek a home elsewhere (Bataillard, *Nouvelles recherches*, &c., Paris, 1849, p. 38).

It was then that England was most likely to be invaded by this dark, mysterious race; and this probability is confirmed, and the circumstantial chain completed, when the known records relating to them in this country are examined.

It is curious that all the notices which are supposed to relate to Gipsies in Great Britain prior to 1510 are from Scotland.

Simson, in his *History of the Gipsies* (London, 1865, p. 99), calls attention to a tradition recorded in Crawford's *Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1716, p. 238), from the baronage MS. of Sir George McKenzie (b. 1639, d. 1691), that a company of Saracens or Gipsies from Ireland infested the country of Galloway, in Scotland, before the death of James II., which took place in 1460, and after the death of Sir Patrick Maclellan in 1452, and that the king promised the barony of Bombie to whomsoever should disperse them and bring in their captain dead or alive. The laird of Bombie's son, a Maclellan, won the reward by killing the captain, and taking his head on a sword to the king. Thereafter Maclellan took for his crest a Moor's head, and for a motto, "Think on." Mr. Simson adds: "In the reign of James II. away putting of sorners [forcible obtruders] fancied fools, vagabonds, out-liers, masterful beggars, bairds [strolling rhymers], and such like runners about, is more than once enforced by acts of Parliament" (Glen-dook's *Scots' Acts of Parliament*). In 1449, c. 9, "overliers and masterful beggars" are described as going about the country with "horses, hunds, and other goods" (Marwick, *Sketch of History of High Constables of Edinburgh*. 1865. Edinburgh, p. 35), a fact which acquires a further value when compared with the statement of Krantz, that the first Gipsies (*venaticos canes pro more nobilitatis alunt*) kept hunting dogs like the nobility.

Before they were unmasked these people used to affect all kinds of titles from distant countries, and it is therefore supposed that certain items in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland for the years 1492 and 1502 refer to Gipsies. The items are given in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1833, vol. iii., p. 591), thus :

1492. Jul. 17:—Item to Peter Ker to passe to The King [James IV.] to the Hwnthall to get the Letteris subscrivit to *The King of Rowmais* iiij s.

Jul. 19:—Item to *The King of Rowmais* messenger at the Kingis command xx li.

1502. Maij 10:—Item to *The Erle of Grece* be the Kingis command xiiij s.

Jun. 28:—Item to ane *Knycht of Grece* be the Kingis command vij lib.

It is not impossible that these items refer to Gipsies who still call themselves *Romany*, and whose leaders frequently took the title of dukes, counts, or earls of Little Egypt, both in Scotland and abroad, where we read of Michael, Duke of Egypt (Crusius, *Annal. Svecic.* P. iii., p. 384); André, Duke of Egypt, in 1422 (Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Scrip.* T. xviii., p. 611); “Lord Panuel, Duke of Little Egypt, and Baron of Hirschhom in the same land,” who died in 1445 at Steinbach; and “Lord John, Earl of Little Egypt,” who died in 1498 at Pfevz (Crusius, *op. cit.*, pp. 384, 401).

The regions of guesswork are now left behind, and we have henceforward to deal with what more actually falls within the title of this paper; but Scotch records must still be drawn upon for a time, and it must be premised that “Gipsy” is an abbreviation of “Egyptian,” dating back to 1526 at least, when Skelton published his *Garland of Laurel*, of which line 1455 reads:

By Mary Gipey, quod scripsi, scripsi,

alluding to Sancta Maria *Ægyptiaca*.

The first record which undoubtedly refers to Gipsies in Great Britain is quoted by Pitcairn (*op. cit.*) from the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, as follows:

1505, Apr. 22. Item to the Egyptianis be the Kingis command, vij lib.

We hear further of these strangers in July, 1505, when King James the Fourth wrote to the King of Denmark a remarkable letter, which is quoted by Pitcairn (*op. cit.*, 592; also Pinkerton, *History of Scotland*, quarto, London, 1797, ii., 444; *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1817, i., 167; Simson, *op. cit.*, 99; Dyrland, *Tatere og Natmands folk*, Copenhagen, 1872, p. 290). This letter, according to the draft preserved in Scotland (MS. Reg. 13, B. ii.), which differs slightly from the original in the Danish archives, may be translated thus:

Most illustrious:—Anthony Gawin, Earl of Little Egypt, and others of his retinue, an afflicted miserable race, whilst desirous of making a pilgrimage through the Christian world, by command, as he says, of the Apostolic See, roaming after their fashion, recently reached the confines of our Kingdom, and

on account of his misfortunes and the wretchedness of his people implored us for pity's sake to allow him to cross our boundaries unhurt, and freely to travel about with his property and such followers as he has. He easily obtains what the hard lot of miserable men demands. Having thus sojourned here for a few months in good and catholic manner (as we have been informed) he is preparing for a voyage to Denmark, to thee, King and Uncle. But, being about to cross the sea, he requests letters from us assuring your Highness of these circumstances, and commending his tribe's calamity to your Royal munificence. However we believe that the fate, customs, and race of the wandering Egyptians are better known to thee than to us, since Egypt is nearer to thy realm, and this sort of men is more frequently met with in thy kingdom.

The name of this distinguished stranger, Anthony Gawin, smacks more of "Auld Reeky" than of one who "*jived adré a tan and rokered Romanes*" (lived in a tent and spoke Gipsy) all his life, but the name may have been purposely assumed from an early recognition of the principle which led John Chinaman to send in a successful tender under a Scotch alias.

The Scotch Gipsies of to-day almost all bear Scotch surnames; but in 1540 some of the subjects of "Johnne Faw, Lord and Erle of Litill Egypt," were named Sebastiane Lalow, Anteane Donea, Satona Fango, Nona Finco, Phillip Hatfeyggow, Towla Bailzow, Grasta Neyn, Geleyr Bailzow, Bernard Beige, Demer Matskalla, Notfaw Lawlowr, and Martyne Femine, names which are outlandish enough, and some of them may possibly have been Romany nicknames; *lalo* in that language meaning red, *tullo* fat, *baulo* pig, *grasta* mare, *matchka* cat. *Sebastian*, *Antoine*, *Phillippe*, and *Bernard*, perhaps are reminiscent of France, and *Gelehrte* is German for a scholar, so that *Geleyr Bailzow* may be an early instance of a *learned pig*.

It is not, however, my intention to follow further the history of the Scotch Gipsies, except so far as it incidentally throws light on their English brethren. I leave the history of the Scotch branch to be gathered from Simson's *History*, and to be further dealt with by Mr. F. H. Groome, the author of the article *Gipsies* in vol. x. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, which contains the best synopsis yet published of the various aspects of the subject "Gipsies," and to whom I am indebted for several of the items of this paper.

The first ascertained mention of Gipsies in England proper is quoted in Bright's *Travels in Lower Hungary*, London, 1818, 538; from More's tract (Book iii., ch. xv.), called *A Dyalog of*

Syr Thomas More, Knyght, in which, at the inquiry into the death of Richard Hunne in the Lollard's Tower in 1514, a witness said he knew a woman "an she were with you she would tell you wonders, by God. I have wist her tell many marvellous things ere now. . . . If a thing had been stolen she would have told who had it, and therefore I think she could as well tell who killed Hunne as who stole a horse. . . . I could never see her use any worse way than looking into one's hand." Therewith the Lords laughed and asked, "What is she?" "Forsooth, my Lords," quoth he, "an Egyptian, and she was lodged here at Lambeth, but she is gone over sea now; howbeit I trow she be not in her own country yet, for they say it is a great way hence, and she went over little more than a month ago."

Edward Hall, in his *Chronicle* (published in 1548), under the date of 1510, describes two ladies, at a Court Mummary, as having "their heades rouled in pleasauntes* and typpers, lyke the Egyptians, embroudered with gold;" and, under date 1520, says that "at a state banket there entered into the chamber eight ladies tired, like to the Egipcians, very richly."

On one occasion, between early in 1513 and January 18, 1524, "Gypsions were entertained" by Thomas Earl of Surrey at Tendring Hall, in Stoke by Neyland, in Suffolk (*Works of H. Howard, E. of Surrey*, ed. Nott, Lond., 1815, vol. i., appx., p. 5). I owe my knowledge of this to Mr. Groome.

The next reference to English Gipsies (c. 1517) is contained in Skelton's description of Elynoure Rumminge, quoted by Bright (*op. cit.*, 537), and also in our Papers for 1876 (vol. ii., p. 67).

In October, 1521, William Cholmeley gave to certain "Egyptions" at Thornbury forty shillings [*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*, Henry VIII., vol. 3, pt. i., p. 499 (4)]. The party was probably large, as the gift was worth a considerable sum of money in those days, perhaps ten times the nominal value.

If tradition is trustworthy, the next record places the Gipsy advent about 1528. The tradition is given by S(amuel) R(id), who, in *The Art of Jugling*, &c. (quarto, 1612, Signe. Bb), says:

These kinde of people about an hundred yeares ago, about the twentieth yeare of King Henry the 8 began to gather an head at the first heere about the Southerne parts, and this (as I am informed) and as I can gather was their

* Pleasauntes meant a sort of lawn or gauze.

beginning : Certaine Egyptians banished their cuntry, (belike not for their good conditions), arrived heere in England, who being excellent in quaint tricks and devises, not known heere, at that time, among us, were esteemed, and had in great admiration ; . . . insomuch that many of our English Loyterers joyned with them, and in time learned their crafte and cosening.

(See Hoyland, *Historical Survey of the Gypsies*. York, 1816, p. 75. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Ed. Ellis. London, 1813. Vol. ii., 435). Rid goes on to say that—

The speach which they used was the right Egyptian language, with whom our English men conversing, at least learned their language. These people continuing about the country and practising their cosening art, purchased themselves great credit among the country people and got much by palmistry and telling of fortunes, insomuch they pitifully cosened poor country girls, both of money, silver spoons, and the best of their apparelle, or any goods they could make.

They were led, he says, by Giles Hather, who was termed their King, and a woman of the name of Kit Calot was called Queen ; and “these riding through the country on horseback and in strange attire, had a prettie traine after them” (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*. Ed. Ellis. London, 1813. Vol. ii., 435). Thornbury, in his *Shakespeare's England* (London, 1856, i., 261), says : “Their great chief in Henry VIII.'s time was Cock Lorel, a thief about whom pamphlets are still extant ; then came Ratsee.” These are all mythical impersonations of terms for rogues and women of bad character.

II.—LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS AGAINST THEM.

In a quarter of a century after their expulsion from France they became an intolerable nuisance in England ; and the Act concerning Egipcions was passed in 1530 (22 Henry VIII., cap. 10). It recites that :—

Afore this tyme dyverse and many outlandysse [foreign] People callynge themselves Egyptians, usyng no Crafte nor faicte of Merchaundyce had comen into this Realme and gone from Shire to Shire and Place to Place in greate Company, and used greate subtyll and crafty meanes to deceyve the People, beryng them in Hande [persuading them] that they by Palmestre couldt telle Menne and Womens Fortunes and so many tymes by crafte and subtyltie had deceyved the People of theyr Money and also had comytted many and haynous Felonyes and Robberies to the greate Hurte and Deceyte of the People that they had comyn amonge.

In order to stop further immigration, it was enacted that—

From hensforth no suche Psone be suffred to come within this the Kynge's Realme.

If they did, they were to forfeit all their goods, and to be ordered to quit the realm within fifteen days, and to be imprisoned in default. Further, if "any suche *straunger*" thereafter committed any murder, robbery, or other felony, and, upon being arraigned, he pleaded not guilty, the jury was to be "alltogether of Englysshe-men" instead of half Englishmen and half foreigners, *medietatis linguae*, as they were otherwise entitled to claim under 8 Henry VI. Moreover, all Egyptians then in England were to quit it within sixteen days after the Act was proclaimed, or to be imprisoned and to forfeit their goods; but if any of those goods were claimed as stolen, then they were upon proper proof to be forthwith restored to the owner; and, as an inducement to execute the Act zealously, all Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, or Escheators, who seized the goods of any Egyptians, were to retain half of them as their own, and to account in the Court of Exchequer for the other moiety, and they were not to pay any fees or other charges upon rendering the account. This Act is duly noticed in *L'office et auctoryte des Justices de Peas*, London, 1538.

The Act, however, proved insufficient; and Mr. Hoyland says that in 1535 (27 Henry VIII.) another Act was passed, reciting that they still went about in great numbers from place to place imposing on the people, telling fortunes by palmistry, and committing thefts and highway robberies. They were, therefore, to quit the realm within a month, or to be prosecuted as thieves and rascals, and anyone importing them was to be fined forty pounds (Hoyland, *op. cit.*, p. 79). Of this alleged Act I can find no trace in the statute book. It is true that, in 1530, an Act was passed relating to rogues and vagabonds; and that, in 1535, an amending Act was passed, under which a forty shillings fine was imposed on anyone who caused a rogue's ear to be cut off and did not report the fact! Perhaps Mr. Hoyland meant 1555 (*v. post*).

In 1545, however, the legislature certainly tried again to grapple with the nuisance, and on the 5th of December (37 Henry VIII.) a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords "pro animadversione in Egyptios." It was read on December 7 and 10, and referred to the Chief Justice of the Common Bench. It was read the third time next day, and then sent to the Commons under the title "pro expulsione et supplicio Egyptorum" (*Journal*

of the House of Lords, vol i., pp. 272a, 272b, 273b, 274a). The printed Journal of the House of Commons only begins with 1547, the year of King Henry's death, and, as the Statute Book does not include this edict, it probably failed to pass the Commons, who, in the first year of Edward VI., on November 17 and 23, and December 19, 1547, revived the subject by a Bill "for punishing vagrants and Egyptians." On December 20 it was taken to the Lords, and committed to the Lord Chancellor, and read on the following day (*Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. i.; *Journal of the House of Lords*, i., 310b, 311b); but this Bill likewise proved abortive, and is not found in the Statute Book.

The subject was started afresh immediately a new reign began, and on the 20th, 21st, and 30th November, and 1st December, 1554 (1 Philip and Mary; Commons' Journal, vol. i.), a Bill was before the Commons "*for making the coming of Egyptians into the Realm, Felony.*" It was taken to the Lords on the 1st, and read on the 3rd, 5th, and 10th of December (Lords' Journal, i., 472a, 472b, 473b, 474b), and passed as "*An Act against certain Persons calling themselves Egyptians*" (1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 4). It recites the Act of 1530, but omits all mention of one in 1535 (*anté*), and states that divers of the said Company and such other like Persons had enterprised to come over again using their old accustomed devilish and naughty Practices and Devices with such abominable Living as is not in any Christian Realm to be permitted named or known and that they were not duly punished. It was therefore enacted that after 31st January, 1555, anyone importing Gypsies should forfeit forty pounds; that any Gypsy so imported who remained in England one month should be deemed a felon, and forfeit his life, lands, and goods, being also deprived of the privileges of a mixed jury, of sanctuary, and of benefit of clergy, that is to say, ability to read was to be no bar to the proceedings. All Gypsies then in England or Wales were to depart within twenty days after proclamation of the Act, and any who stayed longer were to forfeit their goods, half to the crown and half to the person who should seize them. If they remained forty days after the proclamation the punishment was the same as for newly-imported Gypsies who stayed a month.

From the next section of the Act it would appear that the penalties had been evaded by obtaining "licenses, letters, or pass-

ports;" but now, after 1st January, 1555, any applicant for such protection was to forfeit forty pounds, and all such licences were to become void.

As at least half a century had elapsed since the immigration began, and many of the Gipsies must have been born in England, the seventh section excepts from these pains and penalties all who within twenty days after proclamation of the Act should "leave that naughty idle and ungodly Life and Company and be placed in the Service of some honest and able inhabitant or honestly exercise himself in some lawful Work or Occupation," but only so long as such good behaviour lasted. Children under thirteen years of age were also excepted, and Gipsies then in prison were allowed to quit the realm in fourteen days after their release.

This Act at first sight seems sufficiently comprehensive; but the Gipsies, or those who defended them when apprehended, discovered a passage for the proverbial coach-and-four; so that, on 20th, 23rd, and 27th February, 1562, we again find the Commons considering a Bill "for the punishment of vagabonds called Egyptians" (Commons' Journal, vol. i.). It was before the Lords on 27th February, and 2nd, 4th, and 6th March (Lords' Journal, i., 596, 597, 598, 599), and passed as "An Act for further Punishment of Vagabonds calling themselves Egyptians" (5 Elizabeth, cap. 20). The Earl of Arundel alone dissented from the measure.

It enacts that after 1st May, 1562, any person, who for a month "at one time or at several times," was in the company of Gipsies, and imitated their Apparel, Speech, or other Behaviour, should, as a felon, suffer death and loss of lands and goods, without the benefits of a jury *medietatis linguæ*, sanctuary, or clergy; but children under fourteen were excepted; and Gipsies then in prison were, within fourteen days from their release, to quit England and Wales, or put themselves to some honest service, or exercise some lawful trade. No natural born subjects, however, were to be compelled to quit England or Wales, but only to leave their naughty ways and in future to labour honestly.

On the 17th of April, 1571, an Act was drafted, but was not passed, that "preists and other popisly affected" lurking "in serving mens or mariners apparaile or otherwyse dysguised" were to be "demed judged and punished as vachabounds

wandering in this realme called or calling theym selves Egipcians" (*State Papers—Domestic—Elizabeth*, vol. lxxvii., No. 60, p. 410).

The well-known Poor Law Act, 39 Elizabeth, cap. 4, which was passed in 1596, contains, in the second section, a curious catalogue of persons, who were to be deemed rogues and vagabonds, including "all tynkers wandering abroade . . . and all such p'sons, not being Fellons, wandering and p'tending themselves to be Egipcians or wandering in the Habite Forme or Attire of counterfayte Egipcians."

These are all the Acts which were specially directed against Gipsies, and they remained in force, though not enforced, until repealed in 1784 by the Act 23 George III., cap. 51.

The Vagrant Act (17 George II., cap. 5) declared that "all persons pretending to be Gypsies, or wandering in the habit and form of Egyptians, or pretending to have skill in palmestry, or pretending to tell fortunes," were to be dealt with as rogues and vagabonds.

In 1822 that Act was repealed by 3 George IV., cap. 40, by section 3 of which "all persons pretending to be Gypsies or to tell fortunes or wandering abroad or lodging under tents or in carts" were to be deemed rogues and vagabonds; and by 3 George IV., cap. 126, sec. 121, any Gipsy encamping on the side of a turnpike road was liable to a penalty of forty shillings. By 5 George IV., cap. 83, section 4, any one pretending to tell fortunes by palmistry, or otherwise to deceive; any one wandering abroad and lodging under any tent or in any cart, not having any visible means of subsistence, and not giving a good account of himself, is liable for the first offence to three months' imprisonment.

Thus the fact of being a Gipsy gradually ceased to be an offence, and the only Acts which now expressly mention Gypsies are the Act just quoted against encamping on a turnpike road, and The Highway Act, 1835 (3 and 4 William IV., cap. 50, sec. 72), which renders any Gipsy pitching a tent or encamping upon a highway liable to be fined forty shillings.

The severer statutes soon fell into disuse, for Sir Matthew Hale, who lived between 1609 and 1676, says in his *Pleas of the Crown* (1778, i., 671): "I have not known these statutes much put in

execution, only about 20 years since, at the assizes at Bury [St. Edmunds], about 13 were condemned and executed for this offence," viz., for being Gipsies. Thomas Pennant, in his *History of Whiteford and Holywell* (1796, 4to, p. 35), records a legend of a similar fate having overtaken eighteen Welsh Gipsies about the same time; and Henry Ellis (*Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, 1st series, vol. ii., p. 100) says: "Some others were executed at Stafford a short time after the Restoration" (1660).

III.—HOW THEY FARED UNDER THESE ACTS.

The first Act was passed in 1530, and in 1531 John Popham was born at Huntworth or Wellington, in Somersetshire. He afterwards rose to be Lord Chief Justice of England; but it is said that while still a child he was stolen by a band of Gipsies, and "for some months," according to Campbell (*Lives of the Chief Justices*, London, 1849, vol i., p. 209), or "for several years," according to Roberts (*Social History of S. Counties*, p. 259), was detained by them. It is alleged that they disfigured him, and burnt on his left arm a cabalistic mark; but their wandering life strengthened his previously weak constitution. All this occurred before he went, at the age of sixteen, to Baliol College, Oxford, whence he removed to the Middle Temple, where for some years he led a disreputable life, for which his gipsying had prepared him.

About December, 1536, "a company of lewd persons, calling themselves Gipcyans," were convicted of "a most shamefull and detestable murder commytted amonges them," but received the king's pardon, in which was "a speciall proviso, inserted by their owne consentes, that, onles they shuld avoyde this his grace's realme by a certeyn daye, . . . yt shuld be lawfull to all his graces offycers to hang them . . . without any further . . . tryal."

This pardon was filed in Chancery; but it seems that the Gipsies, having recovered their liberty, were in no hurry to leave the country, but continued to infest the marshes of Wales. This led to Thomas Crumwell (Lord Privy Seal) writing on December 5, 1537, to "my lorde of Chestre president of the Counsaile of the Marches of Wales," to

Laye diligent espiall throughowte all the partes there aboutes youe and the shires next adjoynyng whether any of the sayd personnes calling themselves

Egipcyans or that hathe heretofore called themselves Egipsyans shall fortune to enter or travayle in the same. And in cace youe shall here or knowe of any suche, be they men or women, that ye shall compell them to repair to the nexte porte of the see to the place where they shalbe taken and eyther wythout delaye uppon the first wynde that may conveye them into any parte of beyond the sees to take shipping and to passe to outward partyes or if they shall in any wise breke that commaundement without any tract to see them executed . . . without sparing uppon any commyssion licence or placarde that they may shewe or aledge for themselves.

(British Museum Cottonian MSS., Tiberius, B. i., fol. 407; Ellis, *Letters on English History*, 1824, first series, vol. ii., No. 137, p. 100; Wright, *History of Ludlow* (second edition), 1852, 8vo, p. 389; Knight's *Popular History of England*, 1857, vol. ii., p. 341).

About Christmas, 1544, a number of Gipsies, who had been imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire, were by the king's command shipped from there and landed in Norway. Shortly afterwards four Gipsies came "from Lenn, thinkinge to have had shippinge here at Bostone as their company had," but "the Constables of the same towne immediatly not onely sett them in the stockes as vagaboundes, but also serched them to their shertes, but nothing cowde be found upon them, not so moche as wolde paie for their mete and drynke, nor none other bagge or baggage but one horse not worthe iiij s," and "here beyng no shipping for them the forseide constables of Bostone did avoyde them owte of the towne as vagaboundes towards the nexte portes, which be Hull and Newcastle." These facts are gathered from a letter of Nicolas Robertson, of Boston, to Thomas, Earl of Essex, Lord Privy Seal, preserved amongst the Records of the Rolls House (Wright, *History of Ludlow*, p. 390). Nicholas Robertson was elected first Mayor of Boston, June 1, 1545 (Thompson's *History of Boston*, folio, Boston, 1856, p. 454ⁿ). Ninety years later, in 1635, the Constables of Leverton, six miles north of Boston, were magnanimous enough to give to eighteen Gipsies the munificent sum of one penny each (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 574).

In 1542, twelve years after the first Act was passed, Dr. Andrew Borde, the original "Merry Andrew," published *The fyrst Boke of the introduction of Knowledge*, and described (ch. 38, pp. 217, 218) the Gipsies of those days as "swarte and disgisyd in theyr apparel contrary to other nacyons;" he adds, "They be lyght fyngerd and vse pyking; they have little maner and euyl loggyng,

and yet they be pleasnt dausers. . . . There mony is brasse and golde." Dancing, in Nautch girl fashion, is still a Gipsy trait in many countries; and, in 1530, "the Egiptianis that dansit before the King (James V. of Scotland) in Halyrudhous" received xl s. (Pitcairn, *op. cit.*, iii., app. p. 592). Borde continues his subject, saying, "yf there be any man that wyl learne parte of theyr speche, Englyshe and Egipt speche foloweth," and gives thirteen sentences, valuable as the earliest known specimen of the language, and intelligible to most Gipsies even nowadays, but not free from the blunders likely to be made by a person quoting words, the precise meaning of which he did not know (*The Academy*, London, July 25, 1874, p. 100; Miklosich, *Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Zig-mund.*, Vienna, 1874, i., 5; Sm. and Cr. *Dial. of English Gipsies*, London, 1875, app. p. 289).

In the summer of 1544 Robert Ap Rice, Esq., the sheriff of Huntingdon, caused a large band of Gipsies, owning seventeen horses, to be apprehended under the Act passed in 1530. They were tried at a special Assizes, a fact which probably indicates that the capture was one of unusual size and importance. They were convicted and sentenced to be taken in the custody of William Wever to Calais, the nearest English port on the Continent. A ship belonging to John Bowles was hired by the Admiralty for the purpose, the freight being £6. 5s., and the cost of victualling £2. 18s. The total expense was £36. 5s. 7d., but was reduced by the sale of the seventeen horses for five shillings each. The accounts were set out by Mr. Hoyland (*op. cit.*, p. 81) from the *Book of Receipts and Payments* of 35 Henry VIII.

On the 21st of January, 1545, at Hampton Court, a passport was granted for a party of Gipsies under Phillipe Lazer, their Governor, to embark at London, according to an order of the Admiralty (*Archæologia*, xviii., 127, and *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, folio 129h).

Perhaps it was in retaliation that the King of France in 1545 entertained the notion of embodying four thousand Gipsies as pioneers to act against Boulogne, which was then also in our possession (Bright, *op. cit.*, 523). This idea of making Gipsies useful as "food for powder" is mentioned in a letter from the Council of Boulogne to the Privy Council of England, under date February 21, 1545, preserved in the State Paper Office

French Correspondence, vol. vi., No. 77, and printed in *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, &c., ed. G. F. Nott, D.D. (2 vols., London, 1815), vol. i., p. 209, Letter xx., as follows :—

It may like your good Lordships to be advertised that this day arrived here a spy for us that hath been long upon the frontier for that purpose. . . .

The news he had gathered was—

That their army shall assemble about th' end of March, and that the Rhinecroft shall bring out of Almain twenty four ensigns for the renforce of th' old bands, and six thousand Gascons to be new levied, and six thousand pioneers, *besides four thousand Egyptians* that shall serve for pioneers, whom it is thought the French King minding to avoid out of his realm, determineth before their departure to employ this year in that kind of service, and that by their help, before their dispatch he hopeth with a tumbling trench to fill the dykes of this town.

On the 19th of January, 1549, the Justices of Durham wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, then Lord President of the Council in the North, a letter stating that "John Roland oon of that sorte of people callinge themselfes Egyptians" had accused "*Baptist Fawe, Amy Fawe, and George Fawe, Egyptians,*" of having "counterfeate the Kyngs Ma^{ties} Greate Seale"—that the accused persons had been apprehended, and amongst their things had been found "one wryting with a greate Seall moche like to the Kings Ma^{ties} greate Seall, which we bothe by the wrytinge and also by the Seall do suppose to be counterfeate and feanyd." They send the seal for examination, and inform his Lordship that the accused persons, with great execrations, denied all knowledge of the seal, and alleged that Roland was "their mortall enemy and haithe oftentimes accused the said Baptist before this and is moche in his debte," and that they supposed he "or some of his complices haithe put the counterfeate Seall amongst there wrytyngs" (Brand and Ellis, *Popular Antiquities*, 2 vols. 4to, London, 1813, vol. ii., p. 438; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, 3 vols. 4to, London, 1791, vol. i., p. 135).

The same year (1549), on the 22nd of June, the young king, Edward VI., writes in his journal, "There was a privy search made through Sussex for all vagabonds gipsies conspirators prophesiers all players and such like" (*Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. i., p. 45; Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, folio, London, 1681, part ii., book ii., p. 16; Cottonian MSS., British Museum).

Referring to the statute of Philip and Mary, passed in 1554, Samuel Rid, in his *Art of Juggling*, says:

But what a number were executed presently upon this statute, you would wonder, yet notwithstanding all would not prevaile; but still they wandred, as before up and downe, and meeting once in a yeere at a place appointed: sometimes at the Devil's A—e in Peake in Darbeshire, and otherwhiles at Ketbrooke by Blackheath, or elsewhere, as they agreed still at their meeting.

But, when speaking of his own time, he says:

These fellowes seeing that no profit comes by wandring, but hazard of their lives, do daily decrease and breake off their wonted society, and betake themselves many of them, some to be Pedlers, some *Tinkers* [note that] some Juglers, and some to one kinde of life or other.

In the reign of Queen Mary, on Valentine's Day (February 14), 1558, Joan, the daughter of an Egyptian, was baptized at Lyme Regis, in Devonshire, having been born at Charmouth—"The quarters theyre being fixed," in accordance with the 7th section of 1 Philip and Mary (Roberts, *Social History of Southern Counties of England*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 257). This was no doubt intended to signalize their submission to the laws of the country; and six years later we find a similar occurrence noted at the other end of the kingdom, where, on the 19th of February, 1564, William, the son of an Egyptian, was baptized at Lanchester, in the county of Durham (*Chron. Mirab.*, 1841); while on 2nd April, 1581, Margaret Bannister, daughter of William Bannister, "going after the manner of roguish Ægyptians," was baptized at Loughborough, in Leicestershire (Burns, *History of Parish Registers*, 1829).

In the summer of 1559 a very large number of Gipsies were apprehended in Dorsetshire, and committed for trial at the assizes under the statutes of Henry VIII. and Philip and Mary. The authorities were apparently perplexed by the number and the wholesale slaughter that would follow a conviction in case the laws were strictly enforced. Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, therefore wrote to the Privy Council for instructions, which were sent to him by a minute in Queen Elizabeth's name. This is dated "the last of August 1559," and states that "in our late dere sistar's tyme some exāple was made by executiō of some of the lyke which yet hath not proffited to teare theis sort of people as was mēt beside y^e horrible and shamefull lyffe y^t they doe hant." The Queen thought it "very cōvenient that some

sharpe example and executiō shuld be made uppō a good nōber of them ;” therefore no favour was to be shewn to “fellons or such like malefactors,” to old offenders, “or to such as have frō there youth of long tyme hanted this lewd lyffe nor to such as be y^e p^rncipall captens and ryngledars of the cōpany ;” but “y^e childrē being under y^e age of xvjth and of such as very lately have come to this trade of lyffe and that apper to have bene ignorāt of y^e lawes in this behalfe provided and of womē having childrē eth^r suckyng uppō them or being otherwise very yong so as w^tout there mothers attendāce they might perish or other womē being w^t child” were left to the discretion of Lord Mountjoy and the “Justicees of assisees at there comig thither,” with the remark that “we thynk it very cōveniēt that they be cōveyed owt of y^e realme *as in lyke casees hath bene used.*”

At the Dorchester Assizes, on the 5th of September, 1559, these Gipsies were tried and were acquitted on the technical grounds that they had imported themselves, and had not come over seas, for “upon throughe examinacōn” they alleged “that in Decembre last they cam out of Skotland into England by Carlysle w^{ch} ys all by land” perhaps on hearing of Queen Elizabeth’s accession to the throne, November 17, 1558. The “justicees of assisees [serjeants] Rychard Weston and Rychard Harpo^r” however directed them to be kept in custody until the Queen’s pleasure was known, and on the 23rd of September, James Lord Mountjoy wrote from Canford, explaining that he had “caused learned counsayll to sett in hand the drawyng of their endytement,” but they and also “the Justyce of assyse judged theȳ not to be wth in the daunger of felonye, . . . therefore I have taken order that they shalbe dyspatched, wth as convenyent speede as may be, as vagabonds, according to the lawes, to the places wher they were borne” (*State Papers—Domestic—Elizabeth*, vol. vi., Nos. 31, 39, 50, pp. 137, 138, 139).

It is highly probable that this same band, upon leaving Dorchester to go to Scotland, passed through Gloucestershire, and were, on the 26th of October, 1559, reapprehended at Longhope in that county, by George Jones, the county escheator, by direction of William Pytte, bailiff of the borough of Blandford, Dorsetshire, acting as Lord Mountjoy’s messenger (*State Papers*, same vol., No. 20, p. 141). The escheator’s return furnishes their names, viz., James Kyncowe, George Kyncowe, Andrew Christo,

Thom's Gabriells, Robert Johanny, Johñ Lallowe, Christopher Lawrence, and Richarde Concow. Of these Kincowe, Concow, Christo, Johanny, and Lallowe smack of the Romanny, and may be compared with the names of the Scotch Gipsies in 1540 previously mentioned, amongst which are Lalow, Fango, Finco, and Lawlowr. Their ultimate fate beyond being taken to Gloucester Castle is not mentioned, nor is the cause of their reapprehension; but probably in Lord Mountjoy's opinion they were not fulfilling their promise to return to Scotland.

In 1562, William Bullein, the author of *A Book of Simples and of Surgery* forming part of his *Bulwarke of Defence*, &c. (1562, folio), speaks of dog-leeches, who "fall to palmistry and telling of fortunes, daily deceiving the simple, like unto the swarms of Vagabonds, Egyptians, and some that call themselves Jews, whose eyes were so sharp as lynx" (Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Oxford, 1824, vol. ii., part ii., ch. xix., p. 307; Brand and Ellis, *Popular Antiquities*, p. 440).

In 1563, the Act of Elizabeth was passed, and Wraxall (*History of France*, i., 32), referring to it, states that in her reign the Gipsies throughout England were supposed to exceed ten thousand (Hoyl., *op. cit.*, 82). This number is the same as that given in Harrison's *Description of England* (Book ii., ch. x.), prefixed to Holinshed's *Chronicle* (London, 1587, p. 183), where, in describing the various sorts of cheats practised by the voluntary poor, and enumerating those who maim or disfigure their bodies by sores, or counterfeit the guise of labourers or serving men, or mariners seeking for ships which they have not lost, to extort charity, he alleges that—

It is not yet full three score years since this trade began; but how it hath prospered since that time it is easie to judge, for they are now supposed of one sex and another, to amount unto above ten thousand persons; as I have heard reported. Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they have devised a language among themselves, which they name Canting, but others pedlars' French, a speech compact thirty yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne devising, without all order or reason; and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to understand. The first deviser thereof was hanged by the neck, a just reward no doubt for his desertes, and a common end to all of that profession (Brand, *op. cit.*, ii., 433).

On the 29th of December, 1565, Sir John Throckmorton wrote to his brother Sir Nicholas, that having his house full of children,

and prospects of a further increase, he was forced to wander up and down like an Egyptian in other men's houses, for want of one of his own (*Kalendar of State Papers*, vol. xii., p. 574).

In 1567, Thomas Harman, the author of *A Caueat or Warening for commen corsetors volgarely called Vagabones*, when speaking of "vagabones or lousey leuterars," says :

I hope their synne is now at the hyghest; and that as short and as spedye a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for the wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selves Egipcians, depely dissembling and long hyding and couering their depe decetfull practises,—feding the rude common people, wholly addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inventions,—delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistrise to such as would know their fortunes: . . . And now (thankes bee to god), throughe wholesome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished, and the memory of them cleane extynguished; that when they bee once named here after, our Chyldren wyll muche meruell what kynd of people they were (*Early English Text Society*, extra series, ix., p. 23).

Mr. Harman lived at Crayford, near Erith, in Kent; but he is astray as to all having been "dispersed, banished, and the memory of them cleane extynguished."

In the year 1569, the Privy Council caused a vigorous effort to be made by the authorities in every county to capture, punish, and send to their homes all vagrants, including Gipsies, throughout England. The first search was on the 24th of March; and at Higham Ferrars, Northamptonshire, the following "sturdey vacabownds" were taken and whipped, and sent home with passports, viz. :

Roger Lane, to whom a three weeks passport was given to go to Stafford.

Robert Bayly and Alice his wife, 3 days to Gretton, in Rockingham Forest.

Edward Ffyllcocks, 4 days to Newport, Bucks.

Elizabeth Jurdayne, 2 days to Lowek, Northpton.

John Tomkyns, three weeks to Ludlow in Wales.

Valentyne Tyndale on the 21st of June had a passport to go to "y^e back streate (!) in y^e Cytie of London."

In the Hundred of Nesse of Borough, in the same county, Anne Duckdale, Joñe Hodgekyne, and Elizabeth Lee, were similarly treated (*State Papers—Domestic—Elizabeth*, vol. li., No. 11, p. 334).

Many places omitted to make this first search or to send up the returns, so that in June the Privy Council decreed a further and

stricter search "to apprehend all vagabonds sturdy beggars commonly called rogues or Egyptians and also all idle vagrant persons having no master nor no certainty how and whereby to live;" and a similar search was to be made every month until November or longer, as they should see cause. There appear to have been fears of a rising of the people, and warning is given "that all tales, news, spreading of unlawful books, should be stayed and sharply punished." The letters on this subject to the Lord Lieutenant of the North and to the Sheriff of Yorkshire are to be found in Strype's *Annals of the Reformation* (vol. i., pt. ii., ch. liii., p. 295, and appendix, p. 554, No. xliii.). They enjoined "a strait search and good strong watch to be begun on Sunday at night about 9 of the clock which shalbe the 10th of July," and "to continue the same al that night until four of the clock in the afternoon of the next day."

Baines (*History of Lancashire*, ed. 1868, ch. xiii., p. 169) mentions this search, and repeats Strype's statement that the result was the apprehension of 13,000 masterless men.

In 1586, however, the nuisance had become as great as ever in Suffolk, so that the justices at the Bury St. Edmunds sessions, on April 22 (31 Elizabeth), directed the building of a house of correction, as "yt appeareth by dayly experience that the number of idle vagraunte loytering, sturdy roags, masterles men, lewde and yll disposed persons are exceedingly encreased and multiplied, committing many greivous and outeragious disorders and offences," and the persons to be taken, under the Poor Laws and Vagrant Acts (14 Elizabeth, cap. 5; 18 Elizabeth, cap. 3, repealed by 35 Elizabeth, cap. 7), included "all idle persons goinge aboute usinge subiltie and unlawfull games or plaie, all such as faynt themselves to have knowledge in phisiognomye, palmestrie, or other abused sciences, all tellers of destinies, deaths, or fortunes, and such lyke fantasticall imaginations" (Harl. MSS., British Museum, No. 364; *Hoyland, op. cit.*, 83-86).

In 1577, the Privy Council issued an order, signed by the Lord Chancellor Sir Nicholas Bacon and others, for the apprehension of Rowland Gabriel, Katherine Deago,* and six others, who were tried on the 18th of April at Aylesbury for feloniously keeping company with other vagabonds vulgarly called and calling themselves

* Span. *Diego*!

Egyptians, and counterfeiting, transferring, and altering themselves in dress, language, and behaviour. They were found guilty and hanged (*The Annals of England*, Oxford, 1856, vol. ii., p. 287).

In 1578, Whetstone in his *Promos and Cassandra*, i., 2, 6, in the stage direction for the scene, says: "2 hucksters, one woman, one like a Giptian, the rest poore roges;" and the scene contains the following line:

How now, Giptian? all amort, knave, for want of company.

This I believe to be the first dramatic appearance of a Gipsy in England; while Harrington (*Ariosto*, B. xxix., st. 58), in 1591, describes one of his characters thus:

Rough grisly beard, eyestaring, visage wan,
All parcht and sunneburnd and deform'd in sight.
In fine he lookt, to make a true description,
In face like death, in culler like a Gyptian.

And Spenser, in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, v., 83, in 1591, writes:

Or like a gipsen or a juggeler.

Lastly Shakspeare, who was born 1564 and died 1616, mentions Gipsies several times, first in *Romeo and Juliet* (1593), ii., 4, 44, thus:

Laura, to *his* lady, was but a kitchen wench, . . . Cleopatra, a gipsy.

Next in *As You Like It* (1600), v., 3, 16, where the two pages are to sing—

Both in a tune like two gipsies on a horse.

Again in *Othello* (1604), iii., 4, 56, speaking of the all-important handkerchief, Othello says:

That handkerchief
Did an Egyptian to my mother give;
She was a charmer, and could almost read
The thoughts of people:

She dying gave it me.

And finally, in *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1606), i., 1, 10, Philo says of Anthony:

His captain's heart is become the bellows and the fan to cool a gipsy's lust.

In 1584, Reginald Scot, younger son of Sir John Scot, of Kent, published a quarto volume, called *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, which contained such "damnable opinions" concerning his beloved witches, that King James the First ordered all obtainable copies to be burnt. Scot (Book xi., ch. x.) says:

The counterfeit Ægyptians, which were indeed cousening vagabonds, practising the art called *sortilegium*, had no small credit with the multitude; howbeit their diuinations were, as was their fast and loose.

And a few lines further he alludes to them as "these Ægyptian couseners;" and again (Book xiii., ch. xxix.), he says:

The Ægyptians iuggling witchcraft or sortilegie standeth much in fast or loose, whereof though I have written somewhat generallie already, yet hauing such oportunitie I will here show some of their particular feats; not treating of their common tricks, which is so tedious, nor of their fortunetelling which is so impious, and yet both of them mere cousenages, &c.

This game of fast and loose was sometimes called pricking the belt or girdle or garter, "in which a leathern belt is made up into a number of intricate folds and placed edgewise on a table. One of the folds is made to resemble the middle of the girdle, so that whoever shall thrust a skewer into it would think he held it fast to the table, whereas, when he has so done, the person with whom he plays may take hold of both ends and draw it away. This appears to have been a game much practised by the Gipsies in the time of Shakspeare, and is still in vogue" (Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, by Hazlitt, London, 1870, ii., 325).

Scot (*op. cit.*, Book xiii., ch. xxix.) describes the trick of "fast or loose" thus:

Make one plain loose knot with two corner ends of a handkercher, and seeming to draw the same very hard, hold fast the body of the said handkercher (neer to the knot) with your right hand, pulling the contrary end with the left hand, which is the corner of that which you hold. Then close up handsomely the knot which will be yet somewhat loose, and pull the handkercher so with your right hand, as the left hand end may be neer to the knot: then it will seem a true and a firm knot. And to make it appear more assuredly to be so indeed, let a stranger pull at the end which you hold in your left hand, whilst you hold fast the other in your right hand; and then holding the knot with your forefinger and thumb, and the neither part of your handkercher with your other fingers as you hold a bridle when you would with one hand slip up the knot and lengthen your reins. This done turn your handkercher over the knot with the left hand, in doing whereof you must sodainly slip out the end or corner, putting up the knot of your handkercher with your forefinger and thumb as you would put up the foresaid knot of your bridle. Then deliver the same (covered and wrapt in the midst of your handkercher) to one to hold fast, and so after some words used and wagers layed, take the handkercher and shake it, and it will be loose.

In 1591, Robert Hilton, of Denver, in Norfolk, was convicted of felony "for callinge himself by the name of an Egiptian," but

on December 22 he was specially pardoned (*Catalogue of State Papers—Domestic—Elizabeth*, Docquets, vol. ccxl., p. 146). A similar pardon was granted, August 28, 1594, to "William Standley, Francis Brewerton and John Weekes for counterfaiting themselves Egyptians contrarie to the Statute" (same vol., p. 551).

On August 8, 1592, Simson, Arington, Fetherstone, Fenwicke, and Lanckaster, were hanged at Durham for being Egyptians (*Parish Register* St. Nicholas, Durham; *Chron. Mirab.*, 1841; Burns, *Parish Registers*; *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1817, vol. i., 618ⁿ; Roberts, *Social History of Southern Counties*, p. 259).

On September 5, 1596, Sir Edward Hext (sheriff in 1607), of Netherham, in Somersetshire, justice, wrote the following graphic letter to the Lord Treasurer:—

Experience teacheth that the execution of that godly law upon that wicked sect of rogues the Egyptians had clean cut them off, but they seeing the liberties of others do begin to spring up again, and there are in this country of them, but upon the peril of their lives. I avow it they were never so dangerous as the wandering soldiers or other stout rogues of England, for they went visibly in one company and were not above thirty or forty of them in a shire, but of this sort of wandering idle people there are three or four hundred in a shire, and though they go by two or three in a company yet all or the most part of a shire do meet either at fairs or markets or in some alehouse, once a week. And in a great hay-house, in a remote place, there did resort weekly forty, sometimes sixty, where they did roast all kind of good meat. The inhabitants being wonderfully grieved by their rapines, made complaint at our last Easter sessions, after my Lord Chief Justice's departure precepts were made to the tithings adjoining for the apprehending of them. They made answer, they were so strong that they durst not adventure of them; whereupon precepts were made to the constables of the shire but not apprehended, for they have intelligence of all things intended against them. For there be of them that will be present at every Assize, Sessions, and Assembly of Justices, and will so clothe themselves for that time as any should deem him to be an honest husbandman so as nothing is spoken, done, or intended to be done, but they know it. I know this to be true by the confession of some. And they grow the more dangerous in that they find they have bred that fear in Justices and other inferior officers, that no man dares call them into question. And at a late sessions a tall man, a man sturdy and ancient traveller was committed by a Justice and brought to the sessions, and had judgment to be whipped. He, present at the bar, in the face and hearing of the whole bench swore a great oath, that if he were whipped it should be the dearest whipping to some that ever was. It strake such a fear in him that committed him, as he prayed he might be deferred until the Assizes, where he was delivered without any

whipping or other harm, and the justice glad he had so pacified his wrath. And they laugh in themselves at the lenity of the law, and the timorousness of the executioners of it, &c., &c.

(Strype, *Annals*, &c., vol. iv., p. 410).

This account of the size of the gangs is confirmed by a letter dated November 21, 1596, from the Privy Council to the Recorder of London, Mr. Topcliffe, and Sir William Skevington, the lieutenant of the Tower and inventor of the torture popularly called the Scavenger's Daughters, described in Tanner's *Societas Europæa*, p. 18. The letter states that "of late certaine lewd persons to the number of eighty, gathered together, calling themselves Egipcians and wanderers through divers countyes of the realme," and were "stayed in Northamptonshire, whereupon we caused some of the ringleaders of them to be brought up hither, and have committed them to prison." The Council required the Recorder "to examine the said lewd persons upon suche artycles and informations as you shall receive from the Lord Cheife Justice of Her Majesties Benche; and yf you shall not be hable by faire meanes to bringe them to reveale their lewd behavior, practyses, and ringleaders, then wee thinke it meet they shall be removed to Brydewell and there be put to the manacles whereby they may be constrained to utter the truth in those matters concerning their lewd behaviour that shall be fitt to be demanded of them" (*Privy Council Book*; Jardine, *The Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England previously to the Commonwealth*, London, 1837, p. 41, and Appendix No. 43, p. 99).

Mr. Hamilton, of Exeter, the author of *Quarter Sessions under Charles I.* (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1877, January, *et seqq.*), informs me that, at the Devonshire Lent Assizes, 1598, Charles, Oliver, and Bartholomew Baptist were committed for "wandering like Egyptians."

This completes the Tudor annals, so far as they are at present known to me, though I am aware that they must be imperfect. From this point the history of the English Gipsies seems to me to take a more literary and dramatic turn, and the people themselves to sink into very much the same obscurity that at present preserves them from active persecution.

SCHOOLMASTERS' ASSOCIATION.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION:

BEING

The Presidential Address

FOR THE YEAR 1886.

BY

T. G. HOUSTON, M.A.,

HEAD-MASTER OF THE COLERAINE ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

IN the present chaos of religious thought, those who still adhere to the Christian faith must, in the daily intercourse of life, meet with many who, whether they avow it openly or not, are entirely destitute of religious belief. To all of these unbelievers they are obliged to accord toleration; to some they may be unable to refuse their sincere respect, and even their warm appreciation and regard. What unmeasured confidence and affection may we have for the doctor who knows all about us better than we do ourselves, although we may fear that the greater part of his religious belief had vanished before he had finished his first term in the dissecting-room. And the shrewd, kindly lawyer, how we can both trust him and like him, although we have too good reason to suspect that a creed to him is little more than a case at law. But, undoubtedly, we cannot extend such toleration to a schoolmaster who is an unbeliever. Public opinion, "the tribal conscience," as it has been called, has pronounced so definitely on this point, that no schoolmaster who was even strongly suspected of infidel opinions, would have the slightest chance of success in this country. By schoolmaster I do not of course mean a mere teacher—one whose connection with his pupils is confined to giving them lessons in a special subject—but one who has the entire charge of them, and stands to them for a time in the place of a parent. No man who has given up his faith can, in common honesty, undertake such a charge; and it can hardly be wondered at that in England it is almost a *sine quâ non* that every head of

a respectable boarding-school should be a clergyman. By insisting on this qualification, parents have a guarantee that if a schoolmaster entertain infidel opinions, he will at least keep them to himself, and not tamper with the faith of his pupils. Whether they are right or wrong in the value they set upon Holy Orders is another question. The decision must, in the end, rest with the public themselves—*vox populi, vox Dei*. Whether ordained or unordained, the head of a boarding-house must be, to some extent, the priest of his own school. On him will naturally devolve the duty of conducting daily religious services; he will be the person whom parents will expect to instruct their children in the doctrines of religion; to him his pupils must mainly be indebted for those religious impressions which are to influence their destinies not only in this life, but throughout eternity.

Now, there can be no doubt that one who thoroughly understands the laws by which the human intellect is governed may make very strong and very lasting impressions on the mind of a child. The Jesuits are credited with a saying that if you give them the entire control of the first ten years of a child's life, you may do what you like with it afterwards. From their own point of view, they are unquestionably right. Religious ideas of a certain kind may be so implanted in early youth, that nothing can afterwards uproot them. The persistence of such impressions is, of course, quite independent of their truth or falsehood; and unfortunately also quite independent of any effect they may have in regulating either the inner or the outer life. I suppose the Catholic faith is more likely than any other to cling to the mind of anyone who has once been thoroughly imbued with it; but take the very opposite pole of religious thought, the Puritan, and you will find that the doctrines of Calvinism, if drilled into a child by a thorough-going and sincere believer in that system, will prove quite as permanent as the more attractive teachings of Catholicism. In his own personal life, the Calvinist may set every moral and religious law utterly at defiance. He may even openly profess

himself an atheist: but still you will find that down at the bottom of his heart lurks the conviction that in what his father taught him lies all the religious truth that is to be found; and when the storms of life come, and his soul is stirred to its depths, then these early convictions often rise to the surface.

“ His unda dehiscens
Terram inter fluctus aperit; furit aestus arenis.”

If we wish to produce educational results like these, we must have the entire control of our pupils while they are undergoing the necessary course of training, and we must avail ourselves to the fullest extent of that strongest of all intellectual tendencies, the force of habit. In a well-organized Catholic school, the whole arrangements of the place are, I understand, permeated with the spirit of the Catholic religion. At every turn and corner the eye of the pupil sees the outward emblems of his faith: at every lesson something is said or done to remind him of his creed. The Catholic teacher seems to have followed to the letter the command of Moses to his people regarding the Jewish laws:—“Thou shalt teach them diligently to thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up; and thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be frontlets between thine eyes, and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.” Both the ancient Jewish lawgiver and the modern Jesuit Father have thoroughly understood human nature, and succeeded admirably in effecting their purpose of moulding it to their own ideas. How faithfully, we might say how stubbornly, the Jew has clung to his religion ever since it was first revealed to him! How very few Roman Catholics are ever really converted! But granting that such results are attainable by the teacher, it does not by any means follow that they are in themselves desirable. We are all familiar with the short criticism passed by a French officer on some very brilliant military manœuvres of which he was a spectator:—“That is very fine;

but it is not war." So when we look at the vast educational machinery used to drill young people into a passionate and undying devotion to their own particular creed, we are inclined to say:—"This is very fine; but it is not religion." What is the end served by all this intense adherence to creeds? Did our Lord, when He came to Judæa, find that the orthodoxy of the Scribes and Pharisees was quite satisfactory? They tithed mint, and anise, and cummin; but the weightier matters of the law—what of them? Was not the whole burden of Christ's teaching a declaration of the insufficiency of all creeds to supply the spiritual wants of man? The plain truth is, that a child may be trained up to the most intense orthodoxy, and yet may not be in the very least a good man. "Thou believest that there is one God: thou doest well: the devils also believe and tremble."

Some time ago I remember meeting with a delicious little anecdote of a memorial that was got up by the convicts in a Scottish prison, seeking the dismissal of their chaplain on the ground that he had been using in the services of the prison hymns of human composition instead of the inspired psalms of David. The story may, of course, be a fiction; but it is perfectly true as representing the state of mind, with regard to religion, of an enormous mass of humanity. Such being the case, a very grave question arises before the mind of the schoolmaster. He would wish to make his boys, above all things, good men—to train them up "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with their God;" but it is only too clear that he may teach them the whole round of religious doctrine and ceremony, and yet be no nearer the end aimed at than when he began. He finds that the moral condition of his pupils is influenced by a good many things more or less under his own control, by his own example, by the character and bearing of his assistant-masters, by the arrangement of the time of the pupils, by their games, by their material surroundings, by the system of discipline under which they live, by care in keeping really bad boys out of school, by private conference

between himself and his boys individually; and the questions he wishes to determine are, how far religion should be regarded as a factor in morality, and in what way it should be presented, if presented at all, to the mind of a boy? Some of our foremost teachers, themselves men of undoubted piety, have entertained grave doubts as to whether the religious element is of any use at all in preserving the moral tone of a school. Boys, and indeed men, have a terrible propensity to divorce religion from morality—to put the two on totally different sides of them—to fancy that they can keep themselves right with God, or at least evade the fierceness of His anger, by attending to certain religious observances, although they are habitually doing something which they know to be very seriously wrong.

A head-master who places himself, as he ought to do, on terms of confidence with his pupils, will find out such cases as this. A boy has allowed himself to fall into some sinful habit of indolence or self-indulgence. He has so often yielded to temptation, that at last he finds himself in the position of having lost, or nearly lost, the power of will. He tells you, with tears in his eyes, that he cannot help himself—that he has prayed God to help him, and read his Bible, and all the rest of it, and yet that he seems to be getting worse instead of better. The prayers, and Bible-reading, and possibly the Communion, seem to have salved, to a certain extent, his wounded conscience, and made him less frightened than he would otherwise have been at his own depravity. You show him, as well as you can, the utter futility of such religion as his. You say to him a *πυκινὸν ἔπος*—how that, “God helps them that help themselves.” You recommend him to make one or two changes in his habits of life, in the arrangement of his time, in the choice of his companions; and after a while you have the very great happiness of seeing him change for the better. As you think over his case, you are inclined for a moment to doubt whether religion, as he understood it, had not, after all, done the lad more harm than good. Another case may come before you which will tend to strengthen this impression. You have under

your care a few church boys who are preparing for Confirmation, or young Nonconformists, who are going to their first Communion. Some of the older boys, whom you would like greatly to see taking this step, hang back, from a feeling that they are not good enough yet; while, to your horror, you find some of the very worst boys in your school eager to make a public profession of religion, while they do not show the smallest inclination to amend their lives. In despair you ask yourself whether there is any use at all in teaching your pupils religion, whether your past efforts in this direction have not increased their responsibility without improving their character.

Deeper reflection and more extended observation, will, I think, lead us to the conclusion that not only is true religion the best help to good living; but that youth is the best time to learn its principles. In considering the advantages—and I shall mention only two of them—to be derived from early religious training, our point of view shall be mainly subjective. From an objective standpoint the matter does not admit of a question at all. In the latter aspect, the claims of religion, to one who believes in it, are so absorbing, that everything else in human life must give way to them. Looking, then, at the question subjectively, the first thought that strikes us is, that *religion enables us to place before a boy a real and tangible motive for leading a virtuous life*. There is an idea in some vague, shadowy form, often present to our thoughts, but hardly ever realised by us—the idea of eternal life. The change which such a prospect makes in the whole meaning and value of our earthly life no words can describe. Supposing a man's belief to be that he is to run through the usual round of human experiences, and then utterly vanish like a bubble on the surface of the ocean, it will be hard to persuade him that it makes a great deal of matter how he gets through the brief span of existence allotted to him. Virtue and vice, cowardice and heroism, avarice and philanthropy, must seem to him mere matters of taste and temperament. Some, he thinks, like a short life and a merry one; they prefer to have their pleasures strong and pungent while they

last. Others believe that this poor business of life is "sweetest when 'tis clean." These take their enjoyment in a milder form, and spread it out over a longer period. A small number, owing, no doubt, to some morbid process of cerebration, have a crazy way of finding their pleasure in self-sacrifice. But it is all quite the same in the end. "All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and clean and to the unclean, to him that sacrificeth, and to him that sacrificeth not." Life is merely a game for very trifling stakes—interesting and exciting, perhaps, to the young, the strong, the healthy, but to most people rather a dull concern, which they often wish well over and merged in the *ἀταξία* beyond. But suppose it suggested, even as a possibility, that death is not the end of all, that an endless life in heaven may await us beyond the grave, will not even the dream of heaven seem better than any waking reality in this world? There have been many, and they the best and wisest of our race, to whom heaven has been not a vague sweet fancy, but a transcendent fact—

"Who, rowing hard against the stream,
Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
And did not dream it was a dream."

It is the "hard rowing" that makes all the difference. Perhaps it is well for most of us that we do not realise the idea too constantly or too vividly—it might unfit us for our duties here, and send us wandering disconsolate about the world like—what is a very familiar spectacle to all of us—children thinking long for home. Now it seems to me of infinite importance for us to get this conception of a future life early within the sphere of a boy's consciousness. It won't do merely to talk to him in cant phrases about his immortal soul, and so forth. We must try in some way to bring home to him what we are talking about, as we try to make him realize the great events of history or the truths of science. There was, no doubt, considerable merit in

the method of the elder Horatius, when he trained up young Flaccus in the way he should go—

“Nonne vides Albi ut male vivat filius, utque
Barrus inops.

Scetan? dissimilis sis.

Deprensi non bella est fama Treboni.”

But the weak point in such small prudential admonitions is not far to seek. Horace, no doubt, had found it out very clearly before he died. “Barrus,” he would say to himself, “and Albius, and the rest of them, came to grief because they played their game badly, or through ill luck; but what of Sulla, what of Lucullus, what of thee,

‘O et praesidium et dulce decus meum?’”

A boy of our own day who did not reason in the same fashion would be very young and very innocent indeed. But suppose that, instead of administering to him these small maxims of worldly wisdom, we get him to believe that he is living for eternity—that every action he does, every train of thought he allows to pass through his mind, has some bearing upon his fate millions of years hence, will he not have a motive infinitely more powerful, both as a deterrent from evil and as an incentive to good, than any this world can supply?

Another thing religion does for a boy is to impress him with the feeling that he has a constant, though unseen, Witness of all his doings, and even of the very inmost thoughts and intents of his heart. To be sure, this motive often fails of its effect; but can we doubt that in the secret struggle against evil in the human heart, it is just the belief that such a Witness is present that at last makes the right triumphant? A very small thing may make all the difference when the opposing forces are pretty evenly balanced, as they often are, in the hearts of more than boys.

We must not be discouraged if we find that these ideas of

eternity and of an ever-present God are not readily grasped and firmly retained by a boy's mind. In dealing with young people, we should never lose sight of the fact that they *are* young, and that, therefore, abstract ideas and far-off rewards and punishments cannot be expected just at once to have full weight with them. For his own comfort, the teacher should remember that he is sowing rather than planting. If he tries to do his duty, he will, after a time, be surprised to find the good results that are arising, sometimes in the most unexpected quarters, from the efforts he has made. A letter may reach him from New Zealand or the Sandwich Islands, signed with the name of one of his bad boys of long ago—a prodigal son that at last has come to himself, and writes to his old master frankly and affectionately, thanking him for the early lessons that were never quite forgotten, and that at last bore their fruit.

Realizing, as I hope we do, the value of early religious training, we are concerned to know what is the best way to give such training to our pupils—how, in short, we may best impress them with a true sense of religion. And here I cannot too strongly insist that by religion is not meant an accurate acquaintance with certain theological doctrines or the habitual observance of certain forms and ceremonies. It is perfectly easy for a skilful teacher to saturate a lad's mind with either of these two accidents, if I may so call them, of religion, so that he shall never be able to rid himself of the early impressions he has received; but so to teach religion that it shall be the constantly impelling motive to a good life—

“Hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens exivit ad æthera virtus,
Dis geniti potuere . . . ”

Arnold, of Rugby, was one; and it is on this power, not on his own scholarship, or his ability to make scholars, that his claims to greatness rest. It is with extreme diffidence that I offer a few suggestions on the practical part of my subject. I have not the professional right to be heard on such a theme,

never to speak of other and still more important qualifications.

“Urania speaks with darkened brow :
 ‘Thou pratest here where thou art least ;
 This faith hath many a purer priest
 And many an abler voice than thou.’

“And my Melpomene replies,
 A touch of shame upon her cheek ;
 ‘I am not worthy even to speak
 Of thy prevailing mysteries ;

“For I am but an earthly muse.’”

I can only hope that some of my brethren who are qualified in either way, or both, will, in the discussion which is to follow, help us with the results of their thought and experience.

How are we to teach our pupils religion? In the first place, I should say that we must give them a clear knowledge of the outlines of Christian faith as accepted by the Church to which they belong. Vague sentiment will not do. “Sweetness and Light” are all very well for those

——“Who after toil and storm
 May seem to have reached a purer air ;
 Whose faith has centre everywhere,
 Nor cares to fix itself to form.”

But to boys at school, religion, if it be presented at all, should certainly not be presented in this form. If our own consciences reject anything more definite, would it not be better for us at any cost to select another occupation in which we should not be obliged to play the hypocrite in order to gain a living? A boy must have doctrine of some kind ; but although our religious teaching must be to a certain extent dogmatic, all matters of a doubtful or controversial nature should, as far as possible, be avoided. We should also take very great care in our teaching to avoid telling a boy anything that we know his intelligence must reject in after life. Hardly anything could be

more fatal to our influence for good with our pupils than for them to find out in after years that in giving them religious instruction we were often—to put it plainly—humbugging them for their own good. Suppose, for example, that we have taught them with equal care and appearance of conviction the Sermon on the Mount and the Mosaic cosmogony in its literal acceptation, our teachings on both subjects are sure to be reviewed by the light of after experience, and it is most probable that the two lessons will stand or fall together. They will undoubtedly do so, so far as they depend for their acceptance on our own personal influence. Above all things, we should keep the ethical side of religion ever uppermost. This is the whole spirit of the teaching of Him who

“Wrought

With human hands the creed of creeds,
In loveliness of perfect deeds.”

If we want to preach the gospel of a good life, we shall find plenty of texts for it out of the Bible. “Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.” “He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?” This is not so easy a lesson to get home into a boy’s mind as the words of a creed, or the drill of a ceremony. I do not mean to disparage the external means by which religious emotion is excited. The daily services of the school should be made bright and attractive, as well as solemn and decorous. Music should, undoubtedly, form a leading feature in the worship of the boys; and it should, as a rule, be music in which all can join. There is no remnant of our religious training that will cling to us more pertinaciously than the hymn or psalm in which we have joined when we were boys at school. We should, I need hardly say, constantly impress upon our pupils the duties of private prayer and reading of the Scriptures; and, when they

are old enough to understand the meaning of the Sacraments, and the obligations which they entail, we should encourage them to become communicants, and thus openly to profess themselves members of the Christian Church.

The Sunday question is unfortunately a vexed one, although Christians in general agree that the day should be observed differently from the other days of the week. Protestants, as a rule, believe that it has been given us for two purposes—that we may rest both in mind and body from the labours of the week, and that we may give to the duties of religion that attention which the necessities of life render impossible at any other time. We cannot go very far wrong if we make it our rule, and lay it down as a rule for those under our care, to engage in nothing either in the way of work or amusement that would interfere with the restfulness of the day, or unfit us for its religious duties. Within these limits I should be disposed to allow a good deal of liberty to the conscience of each individual who observes the day. Extreme views, on either side, seem to me alike alien from the spirit and intention of the Christian Day of Rest. Whatever plan we may adopt for ourselves and our pupils, there is no doubt that the religious impressions on the minds of the latter will depend very largely on the way in which they have spent the Sundays of their youth.

I think we should also try to interest our boys in religious and philanthropic work. Being away from home, where they would see their mother and sisters doing work for missions and for the poor, and where they would know something of their father's generosity and public spirit, they are apt to become selfish, or at least very narrow in their sympathies. And yet charity seems the very essence of Christianity. Might not a missionary box fill some quiet nook in the hall or school-room, where a boy could now and then, unobserved, drop some small coin that would perhaps have procured him an indulgence of which he thinks it well to deny himself? Better still, let us, from time to time, engage the sympathies of our pupils in behalf of some case of distress that has occurred in

our own neighbourhood. Let them appoint their collectors and their treasurer, and, above all, let one or two of themselves take their contribution to the sufferers, and see with their own eyes what human misery means. It will do them more good than any sermon either you or their clergyman can preach to them.

Among the means of religious education must be included everything that tends to keep up the tone of a school—to cultivate in its pupils a spirit of honour, of truthfulness, of moral purity, of courage, of industry, of unselfishness. Much will, it is needless to say, depend on the personal influence of the Head of the school, and his influence will depend on his own moral character and spiritual condition. It will not do for us to go to pull a mote out of our young brother's eye, while, behold, a beam is in our own eye. There are many mysteries in our complex human nature, and one of the greatest of these is the subtle influence which one human being exercises over another. What is it that makes the truth in one man's mouth "prevail with double sway," while in another's it is a mere platitude, stale, flat, and unprofitable? Some of the difference may be attributed to mere natural temperament; but a great deal of a man's personal influence is undoubtedly derived from his own struggle for self-mastery. It may not seem a very original statement to say that life is a battle; but it is a very true one, and one pregnant with the weightiest consequences. The sternest and hardest part of it is fought in our own hearts. In the heart of a boy it is often gained or lost before he leaves school. And, as we think upon all the young souls about us that are the scene of this fierce struggle, do we not see in our own position something to remind us of that of the old Hebrew leader when he sat on the hill-top, and watched the varying fortunes of Israel and Amalek in the field? When Moses held up his hands, Israel prevailed: when he let down his hands, Amalek prevailed. It is often a weary business, this holding up of the hands. Schoolmasters are, after all, only weak, erring mortals like their neighbours. As Whewell once observed at a University dinner—"There are

none of us infallible, gentlemen, not even the youngest of us." Many of us find it no easy matter to keep our own loins girt, and our lamps burning; and yet it is only by keeping up this state, so to speak, of spiritual tension, that we can hope to exercise all the good influence of which we are capable. What is the indescribable something about a man that gives him power over others for good—that something which no most cunning varnish of hypocrisy can reproduce? Is it some unseen force that can be generated only by the friction of spiritual conflict? There have been a few noble souls, like Arnold, who seemed filled with this "fire of God," who moved through the world, diffusing heavenly influences. Their power over the young heart has been like that of the pale nun over Sir Galahad—

"And as she spake,
She sent the deathless passion in her eyes
Through him and made him hers, and laid her mind
On him, and he believed in her belief."

But, alas! we are not—most of us—Galahads, "no, nor Percivales," but ordinary mortals, with all the weaknesses of our race upon us, and, let us hope also, some small tincture of its virtues.

"Davusne? Ita, Davus, amicum
Mancipium domino et frugi, quod sit satis; hoc est
Ut vitale putes."

That is all most of us would be inclined to say for ourselves. But we must not rest content with Davus's standard of life: we must aim a little higher if we mean to exercise any strong influence for good over the young souls that are given into our charge. With what deep anxieties, what fond hopes, what earnest prayers, what pathetic confidence in our unworthy selves, are they surrendered to us! We all know it well enough—the look in the kind eyes of father and mother as they bid their son good-bye, for the first time, and leave him with us to make the most of him. How shall it be? *Frugi*, or a little more? Something more, I think. It is a good thing to see how the parental

instinct will lift even Davus himself, that *porcus de grege Epicuri*, into the consciousness of something in life higher than he has himself ever realized—something far better to do than he has ever done—something far happier to know than he has ever known. He fancies that somehow you, the schoolmaster, know the secret of how that higher good may be attained. Perhaps it strikes him, for the first time, as he talks to you, how very different his own life might have been from what it is. It is too late now to alter that—"what's done cannot be undone;" but the boy's life, tenderly cared for, and as yet unspoiled—pray God that nothing may go wrong with it. I suppose in all Davus's life he has never been nearer to the kingdom of heaven than when, with moist eyes, and with this thought and prayer in his heart, he takes leave of his son; and I feel sure that we cannot do better than keep constantly before us a mental picture of this parting between father and child. The recollection of it cannot fail to soften our hearts towards the lad, and to bring us into that frame of mind in which we are most likely to do him good.

I have already spoken of the schoolmaster inviting the confidence of his pupils. This is, I believe, one of the most effective ways of bringing good influences to bear on a boy's mind. To those who have never tried it, it may seem hopeless for a teacher to attempt to get at a boy's real feelings. There could be no greater mistake. If the teacher is a man whom a boy can fully and unreservedly trust, there will be no lack of confidence. Try it, and you will be surprised at the result. The boy will tell you things that he would probably tell no other human being, not even his father and mother. I do not mean that he will tell you about other boys. If a master tried in this way to get secret information about his pupils, he would not only fail to gain their confidence, but he would incur their contempt and dislike. But the lad will tell you all about himself—about his own weaknesses and sins, his penitence, his poor attempts at amendment. He will tell you all this with evident sincerity—sometimes with bitter tears of shame and sorrow. Maudlin

tears, some will say, and will call the lad's confession to his master a mere piece of hypocrisy ; for was he not as reckless as ever an hour afterwards? Did it not look as if "seven devils had entered into him worse than the first"? Perhaps you may stumble upon him yourself when he is in full force, and see how cleverly he can turn your own august person into ridicule. You can hardly believe him to be the same boy who left your study so short a time ago with every appearance of a softened and penitent heart. You think you have been sadly deceived in him, and make an inward vow that you will never trust a boy again. It may, however, be well for you to suspend your judgment for a little, and to consider which is, after all, the real boy—the one that cried to you in the study, or the one that mimicked you downstairs. His companions are quite sure that the real boy is the one they know, that he was only shamming when alone with you. How very harshly, as a rule, young people judge each other. But ask yourself in which circumstances the boy is likely to reveal his true nature—alone with one whom he knows to be one of the best friends he has in the world, with no adequate motive for dissimulation, or in the company of thoughtless young companions, before whom it has hitherto been his glory to play the dare-devil, and who would visit any signs of a change of front with the most unsparing ridicule. For my own part, I have not the slightest doubt that the lad's real self is the one he revealed to you when you spoke kindly to him, and broke through the crust which had been hardening over his better nature. Very probably, notwithstanding his outward disregard of yourself and your counsels, he is loyal to you in his heart, and conscious of his own folly all the time. When we have discovered, either by voluntary confession or otherwise, a boy's faults, we must take care to deal kindly and truly with our young penitent. If we wish to reform a wrong-doer, we must be careful of the way in which we treat himself and his offences. It will not do for us to start back from him in real or counterfeit horror—to treat him as a monster whose transgressions have been the outcome of the

innate depravity of his nature—as one from whom nothing better is to be expected. The Roman Catholic Church is said to be the only one that knows how to treat sin therapeutically. If it does so, it is on the right track, and should, in this respect, be imitated by all who have the moral guidance of others. We should approach a case of moral delinquency just as a doctor does one of physical illness, regarding it as a deviation from the normal condition of the patient, to be set right by whatever medical or surgical appliances his skill may suggest. A surgeon's task is sometimes not a very pleasant one: excising cancerous sores, amputating gangrened limbs; but it is a part of his early training to overcome his squeamishness, and pay no attention to the disgusting and horrible accompaniments of his work. His object is to drive away the disease, and make his patient whole and sound. If he succeeds in this, he does not mind the disagreeableness he may have had personally to encounter. That, as it appears to me, is the proper way for us to deal with the moral evil we meet with in our pupils. It is sometimes very bad indeed, and we may perhaps have to undergo a hardening process at first, like the surgeon; but the patient is a human being like ourselves. His wrong-doing is not himself; it is an unnatural ulcer that we must try to rid him of, so that he may be sound and whole again. It is a weed in the garden of his soul, choking its fair growth for a time, but needing only to be pulled out, that the flowers which were struggling with it all the while may spring up and blossom in all their beauty.

“Never yet

Could all of true and noble in knight or man
Twine round one sin, whatever it might be,
With such a closeness, but apart there grew
Some root of knighthood and pure nobleness;
Whereto see thou, that it may bear its flower.”

In offering these suggestions I have thought it desirable to confine myself to the subjective or human point of view; but I hope that underlying all I have said there has been discernible

the profound conviction that all a teacher's efforts will be vain without help from a Higher Power—that the impulse to good in every human heart must come from without and from above—that the salvation of a human soul cannot be wrought by human means, but is the work of that Spirit who is indeed the “Lord and Giver of life.”

One of the most serious difficulties in connection with religious education arises from the unhappy way in which the Christian Church is divided. The educational question of the day seems to be in what way the youth of different creeds should receive religious instruction. Should each denomination have its own schools, where its youth are kept by themselves, and receive instruction of a secular as well as of a religious kind? Or should they be taught their secular lessons in the same schools, and receive religious instruction separately? The latter is the plan of the National Board of Education in Ireland; and notwithstanding bitter opposition from various quarters, it has done good work in this country during the last fifty years. Had it not been for very powerful influences acting in an opposite direction, it might almost have banished from among us that spirit of bigotry and religious animosity which has long been the curse of Ireland. For the present the advocates of denominational education have prevailed. The Queen's University has been abolished, the Queen's Colleges humbled, the Model Schools seem doomed to destruction. The Intermediate Education Act has been passed, and the Royal University founded, to meet the views of those who disapproved of mixed education. Further changes in the same direction are foreshadowed by the appointment of the Endowed Schools Commission. It seems that henceforward the denominational spirit is to preside over the education of the youth of the better classes, as well as of the lower ranks of society. We hear of great denominational schools to be established in various important centres of population in Ireland, Catholic in some, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Methodist in others. In these schools the youth of the various religious persuasions are to be

educated separately, and, as a necessary consequence, to be even more widely estranged from each other than they have hitherto been. I do not wish to be unjust or censorious towards those who approve of this arrangement. They are no doubt actuated by zeal for what they consider the highest interests of their fellow-creatures. But is their zeal according to knowledge? Of course if the enthusiastic partisans of each creed were right in their idea that they themselves were the sole repositories of the true faith, while all outside their pale were left to the "uncovenanted mercies of God," then their plan would undoubtedly be the right one. They can hardly, however, be all right in this belief; and the opinions of those who take a wider view deserve a hearing. In the present state of thought it appears to me that all such attempts to promote exclusiveness tend not to strengthen the cause of religion, but to drive many sincere and thoughtful men out of the Church altogether into utter infidelity. The clergy, whether Catholic or Protestant, who are striving to keep the members of their respective communions apart in sympathy from the rest of the Christian world, no matter what temporary success they may gain, will be found in the issue to have promoted the spread of scepticism, and, like the woodman in the fable, to have cut through the branch on which they themselves were standing.

It seems to me that, as a matter of mere policy, the larger and more tolerant view is the wiser in the end. I should hardly use the word "tolerant." We do not thank anybody for toleration in these days—everybody has to be tolerant. What is required is mutual sympathy and appreciation. We want union in religious work to the very utmost extent to which such co-operation is possible. I am well aware that those who avow such sentiments must expect to hear themselves hardly spoken of by the more enthusiastic adherents of the different creeds. Indifferentist, Secularist, Agnostic, and other names meant to be opprobrious will be freely applied to them. They will be told that no man can be truly religious who views the differences of creeds with such indifference. Common experience will be

appealed to as showing that all really effective work of a religious or philanthropic kind has been done by zealous partisans of some religious creed. But is this true? Have all our great workers and noble thinkers been zealots in behalf of some particular creed? Was the Founder of our faith a bigot? Was Socrates, was Marcus Aurelius, was Arthur Penrhyn Stanley? Among our English kings was it the most zealous in behalf of their creed that did most to raise our country to her proud eminence among the nations, or was it those who stood unmoved amidst the "obscene tumult" of the hostile sects, all eager to spring at each other's throats, and flung them back as a master does angry fighting boys, teaching them that if they could not live in friendship, they must at least learn to live in peace?

Now, if we wish to prevent our people from being bigots, we must begin with them when they are young; and it seems to me that there is no better way of cultivating true catholicity of spirit among our youth than by bringing up the members of the different religious bodies in the same schools, teaching them to join together in the worship of the great God, to regard each other as members of the Church Universal, partakers of the same salvation, fellow-soldiers in the army of Christ. Unfortunately our Roman Catholic brethren will not join with us in any religious work. Perhaps we have ourselves to thank for this. It would be better for us both if we could find more points of contact in religious matters, if we could devise some means of keeping before our minds the fact that we are all, after our various lights, Christians. It would, however, be idle in the present state of feeling to hope for any sort of united action between Catholic and Protestant in the matter of religious education. But so far as the different Protestant bodies are concerned, I think there is a great deal to be said in favour of mixed schools—that is, schools where the youth of all Protestant denominations may be educated together, not only in secular branches of instruction, but in the essentials of the Christian

religion. I have good reason to believe that this view is growing more and more in favour with some of the very best and most intelligent members of the community, and—to their honour be it spoken—with a good many of the clergy as well as with the laity. It is quite true that for the present the tide of public opinion—particularly clerical opinion—seems to have set in favour of Denominationalism; but there is a very influential minority who take the opposite view. The experiment of giving united religious instruction to pupils of various denominations has been tried again and again with undeniable success. It has been tried, for example, in the City of London School by Dr. Abbott, one of the greatest living authorities on all educational subjects. I cannot do better than quote a word or two from the Preface to his admirable *Bible Lessons*—a work which he himself describes as “an attempt to teach unsectarian theology.” “The Act of Parliament,” he says, “upon which the City of London School is founded enacts simply that ‘the Authorised Version of the Scriptures shall be read and taught.’ No restrictions are laid upon the teacher except such as may be implied by the letter and spirit of these words. But at least a third of the Sixth Form are Nonconformists. I need hardly say, therefore, that any teacher would feel bound in honour—and all the more because of the absence of definitive restriction, which leaves the pupils comparatively unprotected—to abstain from anything that may injure the feelings or insidiously change the peculiar denominational opinions of any of his Christian pupils. I conceive that a teacher is more worthy, not less, of being called a minister of the Church of England, because he does not forget that he is a Christian also, and must do to the children of others as he would that others would do to a child of his own. Different views may be taken of the disadvantage under which this self-imposed restriction places the teacher. I can only say that I am scarcely sensible of any disadvantage. The mass of Biblical truth on which all Protestant scholars are agreed is so vast, and the ignorance of boys is so great, that I have never yet had leisure to turn my attention to the points of

difference between the Church of England and Nonconformist Protestants.”

I am glad to be able to adduce an authority of such weight in support of an opinion which I have held for many years, and tried to advocate where I had opportunity. If Dr. Abbott's views were more common, the whole difficulty would probably be solved by the disappearance of Nonconformity, and the fusion of all the leading Protestant Churches into one. But I am afraid religious men generally, and the clergy in particular, are very liable to lay so much stress on the points in which they differ from other Churches, that they come at last to think these the matters of greatest importance—to regard them as the very essence of true religion. An “Idol of the Cave,” as Bacon would have called it.

In addition to the great body of Scriptural truth which the Head Master may teach all his boys together, it is well that each boy should be made thoroughly acquainted with the special formularies of his own Church. It is, moreover, desirable that these should, as far as possible, be taught by members of the Churches whose views they represent. There is a certain air of insincerity about a master who belongs to one creed teaching the formularies of another. The difficulty may easily be met, in schools of any considerable size, by the Head Master having on his staff of assistants members of different religious persuasions. The pupils of a mixed school should also, where practicable, attend divine service in churches of their own faith. In this way, boys will, I think, have the peculiarities of their creed kept before them with sufficient prominence.

If such a system of mixed religious education is to be successful, it must be worked in entire good faith, and by one with whose own habit of mind it is in harmony. A Head Master might well qualify himself for administering it by trying to gain some knowledge of different forms of belief from the inside as well as from the outside—as they appear to their adherents as well as to their opponents. It may not be an unprofitable experiment for him to try occasionally how far he can join in the public worship of

a Church that is not his own. Let him go, not as a critic to spy out the nakedness of the land, but as a fellow-worshipper, humbly offering up along with his brethren to their common Father such poor tribute of prayer and praise as he may be able to bring to Him.

“ He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small ;
For the great God who loveth us
He made and loveth all.”

Although I have trespassed much too far on your time, I feel that I have barely touched on a few of the topics that suggest themselves in connection with religious education. I do hope that the questions which have been raised will elicit the thoughts and experiences of those who have all needful qualifications for speaking on a theme so important, so interesting, and, let me add, so much in harmony with the objects of our Association. In secular matters a certain amount of rivalry—honourable and friendly rivalry, I hope—is inevitable amongst us. But if we approach our religious work in a truly religious frame of mind, the spirit of rivalry dies wholly within us. Here, at least, we have a common object—an object not bounded by the narrow limits of time and sense, but reaching out into the vastness of eternity. How soon, how very soon, will our small triumphs and failures, the successes of our schools and the honors of our pupils, the unworthy feelings of jealousy in which at times we may have been tempted to indulge, be utterly vanished and forgotten ; but here is a work which, if what we believe is true, will last for ever—a work which, if we do it well, will surely best content us at the hour of death, and save us from utter despair as we appear before our Master, saying, in a spirit of humble thankfulness, “ Behold, I and the children whom Thou hast given me.” Our hearts grow heavy when we think of the magnitude of the work, and, alas ! of our own unfitness for it. Much may be done at a meeting such as this to dispel these

feelings of dejection. We may speak kind, honest words to each other, not ashamed to let the veil of reserve drop for a little from our hearts. Even the unspoken sympathy of our brethren will strengthen us to meet with hope and cheerfulness the doubts and difficulties that beset us in our calling. We may send each other on our several ways into the unknown future with the "God-speed" of brotherly affection—we may "provoke each other to love and to good works."

National Association for the Advancement of
Art, and its Application to Industry.

CONGRESS IN BIRMINGHAM, 1890.

ART EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE INDUSTRIES.

BY

FRANK G. JACKSON.

BIRMINGHAM: HERALD PRESS, UNION STREET.



ART EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE INDUSTRIES.

BY FRANK G. JACKSON.

IN undertaking to prepare the present paper, "Art Education in Relation to the Industries," I was struck at the outset with the significance of the title given to the section in which it was to be read, viz., Applied Art. It is a significant one, inasmuch as the necessity for its use points to the fact of a disunion having existed, or still existing, between art and work. I apprehend the term is quite a modern invention, which, while it indicates a laudable desire for the elevation of the artistic character of craftsmanship, at the same time indicates that there has been an estrangement between the artistic and the practical. Ages ago art and work were identical, and the term "applied art" was unknown; art was inherent in work, and the artist and the workman were united in the same person. In modern times the division of labour was introduced, and the handicraftsman and the artist became separate individuals, each pursuing independent courses; the craftsman, wrapped up in the consideration of practical matters alone, came to look upon art as a troublesome superfluity; while the artist, on the other hand, regarded his vocation as being above the limitations imposed by the practical conditions which attach to the production of articles of daily use.

The division of labour, which began with the separation of the artist from the workman, has been extended to a mischievous degree, thereby exercising a most baneful influence upon our ornamental manufactures.

The workman not only does not design his work, but too often does not, when possible, carry it out in its entirety. The piece, whatever it may be, designed probably with too little regard to manufacturing conditions, is put into the hands of several workers for execution, each of whom, intent upon his own allotted part, has little or no concern with the design as a whole. The results of this undue division of interests are too often forced upon our attention by the so-called art works we see around us.

The separation of art from work has not only been detrimental to the advancement of the industries, but fine art has suffered by the severance for the want of that restraint

which practical requirements necessarily impose on the art worker ; and this is not all ; even the methods of art instruction, devised to remedy the state of things so generally deplored, have been vitiated by this alienation.

The general decadence of art existing at the beginning of this century is notorious, and any proper system of teaching suitable to the wants of handicraftsmen does not appear to have been in operation. All the art education obtainable was mainly controlled by individuals possessing pictorial qualifications, and having very dim notions of the relation of art to industry ; in fact, the teaching of art of any kind was so far defective, that the success or non-success of students was attributed to the possession or non-possession of what was called a "gift."

Before this century was very old there were signs of a re-awakening in art matters, and about the time the middle was reached the question of art instruction was taken up by the Government of this country, and a system formulated, which, with modifications, is the same adopted by the Department of Science and Art at the present time. That since its introduction it has achieved a great amount of good is beyond all question ; but at the same time, having regard to its purpose, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that it has imperfections which render it less effective than it might have been. The defects of the system are no doubt to be attributed to the period of its birth, when, as I have indicated, art and work had so little in common with one another. As the working out of the details of the system was necessarily put into the hands of those possessing art culture, and they were mostly found in the ranks of those practising pictorial art, it was to be expected that, with the best of intentions to formulate a system suitable to the requirements of the time, the practical element should be overlooked, and a pictorial bias manifest itself. Because, while they were the undoubted custodians of art power, they could not from the nature of their calling be at the same time the possessors of that knowledge which can only be obtained by actual direct contact with, or practice of, the crafts. The faults of the system may be, regarded, therefore, as products of the condition of things brought about in a great measure by the lamentable disunion of the arts, and not as in any way reflecting upon the ability of the devisers of the scheme. Taking all things into account, it is a much better thought-out system than could have been expected. No doubt, in the light of the various movements now going on, a more perfect system is possible of attainment. Changes are taking place, slowly perhaps, but which give hopes of better things to come.

Having had a lengthened experience of the system, both as a student and teacher, and an intimate acquaintance with some of the important manufactures of the district, I may be allowed to speak as to its working and its direct bearing upon the

industries, and point out what appear to be practical defects. First, then, one conclusion has been forced upon me, that there is throughout a too great insistence upon rigid outline drawing. Outline drawing, or, as it is technically called, freehand drawing, was no doubt instituted as a protest against the slipshod drawing prevailing before the system was promulgated, and to encourage accuracy and care; so far, it served its purpose. The practice of outline is an essential part of a pupil's training, but the manner in which it is taught, and the extent to which it is carried on, may hinder his progress. The so-called freehand drawing, as pursued in schools generally, might be more appropriately called stiffhand drawing, as the method of teaching engenders anything but the free use of the pencil, leading rather to timid, laboured, and inexpressive outline. The attention is directed towards the production of mechanically finished outline to the neglect of the realisation of the form the outline is intended to define. This undue attention to line, resulting in the neglect of form in the preliminary stages, is more painfully noticeable in subsequent ones, such as outline from the cast and from plants. The timid, halting, and laboured attempts one sees from time to time in these exercises cause one to think that there is something wrong in our methods, and this I believe to be the case. Drawing is not generally taught in a sufficiently direct way, and the practice is limited to the use of a hard point alone. As regards the first, I think if drawing was taught more after the manner that writing is, distinct advantages would result. Probably the early exercises would be as bad as those of first copybooks, and would not be so presentable as the first laboured drawings under the existing method; but that would be of no consequence so long as we have in view, as we ought to have, the development of executive power as a means of expressing form, rather than the making of drawings. Power is to be obtained by repeated well-directed efforts rather than by laboured attempts to get perfection in a few.

As regards confining the student to the use of the pencil-point we are altogether wrong; and I think in this matter we might well take a lesson from Japanese art. For whatever may be thought of the Japanese as designers, there can be but one opinion as to their draughtsmanship, and they certainly favour the use of other tools for their work than a hard unyielding point. We know that the brush is one of their favourite implements, and an examination of some of their line drawings executed therewith will convince most people of their pre-eminence in that class of work; there is a vitality and brilliancy of execution combined with a grasp of form which we fail to find in much European work. Compare some of the outlines contained in their cheap books, now so easily obtained, with outline work up to the South Kensington standard, and the dull results of our methods are at once apparent. I doubt not the

value of the brush as a drawing instrument will soon be recognised as a capable means of developing true freehand work. For my own part, I am persuaded that if practice with the brush, or even with a quill pen, was allowed alternately with that of a pencil greater power would be acquired than by the use of the latter only, and in much less time.

How far, and to what extent, outline drawing should occupy the student's time is an important matter to decide, because as Mr. Hamerton, in his "Graphic Arts," justly points out, there is a special danger involved. "It concentrates the student's attention so much on the contour of things that he ceases to perceive what is within them, and then becomes the victim of a peculiar illusion; fancies that because he knows the coast he knows the country." Besides this I may point to another danger, and that is the habit it engenders of dwelling too much on the details of form and smoothness of execution before direction of line and proportion have been sufficiently regarded. One of the results of this practice is the deepening of the besetting sin of modern manufacture, viz., the subordination of beauty of form to primness of execution, falsely called finish. Neatness is a virtue, but it may be pushed to an extreme, and to the neglect of other virtues, so that it may become a vice.

Another, and perhaps a more important consideration of the brush, as a drawing implement, yet to be noticed, is its employment for mass drawing, *i.e.*, for the expression of quantities as distinct from the outlining of forms. Singularly enough, no provision whatever appears to have been made for this practice throughout the whole twenty-three stages comprising the South Kensington curriculum. This omission is the more surprising now, because, in the recent endeavours to correct the want of practical considerations existing in the educational course, there has been a very admirable and important change made in one of the personal examinations, viz., monochrome painting. As it formerly stood, the candidate was required to copy a piece of ornament from a plaster cast, and this was wrought in an imitative or pictorial manner. As it stands now, it might be more properly called decorative painting, the student being required to paint, in some one colour, a piece of ornament from a drawing on a given coloured ground—in a direct manner to translate, rather than to make, an imitative copy. Now as there is no direct encouragement given to preliminary practice to lead up to this work, and as the traditions of the schools, as regards methods of painting are decidedly pictorial, the results have not been, as might have been expected, such as to satisfy the intention of the authors of the change. Students, from their previous training, began by making a slavish outline copy of the example supplied, painting in the masses with the same laboured care, fearing to overstep the boundaries or miss imitating some flaw or accident of the original, thus failing to

catch the spirit of the drawing, and the purpose of the exercise. To expect students to be qualified for such work, without providing some preliminary stage, is about as illogical as to expect advanced outline exercises to be well worked by those who had never taken up the work of the elementary stages. The change this monochrome subject has undergone is, however, a hopeful sign, indicating that a movement is carrying us onwards towards the technicalising of art instruction, which will aid in bringing about the desired reunion of art and work.

Drawing with the brush, as I have said, is of the greatest importance as a developer of art power, but especially is it so in the case of the training of house decorators, pottery painters, jappanners, and designers in general. Reference again to Japanese art and that of other Oriental nations will help us. A study of their mode of using the brush in decorative work will indicate the kind of training we might give our artisan students, which would bear directly upon the occupations they intend to follow in after life. In advocating the use of the brush for drawing in mass, in place of so much outlining with a hard point, it may occur that the notion is not quite so workable as it appears at first sight. It may be so; but the question is not, are there difficulties in the way of its general introduction, but whether is it the *right* method to adopt? For my own part, I am confident it is, and I am strengthened in this opinion by the tenor of the remarks made by our great art teacher and critic, Professor Ruskin. In one of his Oxford lectures, the one upon line, he says:—"By the greatest men, Titian, Velasquez, or Veronese, you will hardly find an authentic drawing at all. For the fact is that, while we moderns have always learned, or tried to learn, to paint by drawing, the ancients learned to draw by painting. The brush was put into their hands when they were children, and they were forced to draw with that until, if they used the pen or crayon, they used them with the lightness of a brush or the decision of a graver." And further, in prescribing a course of study for his students: "But from the beginning, though carrying on at the same time incidental practice with the crayon and lead pencil, you shall try to draw a line of absolute correctness with the point, not of a pen or crayon, but of the brush, as Apelles did, and as all coloured lines are drawn on Greek vases." These words bring me to the conclusion of my paper. I have purposely confined my remarks to the consideration of the more elementary stages of art instruction because they have the greatest influence upon the industries. By far the larger number of our artisan students who pass through the schools remain for comparatively short periods; and, therefore, if they are to obtain valuable knowledge applicable to their trades, the courses of instruction through which they pass should be made as practical and technical as possible.



J. Hall, - 1877

‘THE ATTIC ORATORS FROM
ANTIPHON TO ISAEOS.’

A REJOINDER TO PROF. MAHAFFY'S ‘REPLY’.

BY

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‘THE ATTIC ORATORS FROM ANTIPHON TO ISAEOS.’

A Rejoinder to Prof. MAHAFFY’S ‘Reply.’

IN the few words which appear to be asked from me by Prof. Mahaffy’s ‘Reply,’ I shall deal, as before, solely with matters of fact. I had hoped that circumstances would have rendered it unnecessary to publish any rejoinder, however brief. It was this expectation which prevented the publication of the following comments at the time when they were written and printed; viz. immediately after the appearance of Prof. Mahaffy’s ‘Reply’ in December.

Acting not merely in self-defence against an elaborate attack, but also in the general interests of criticism, I have examined in detail the character of Prof. Mahaffy’s article in the *Academy* of April 1, 1876.

I have there proved:—

I. That the charge of plagiarism, brought against me by Prof. Mahaffy, is unfounded; and that his general description of my work, as merely expanded or abridged from that of predecessors, is untrue.

II. That his description of the ‘Annals,’ prefixed to my first volume, as ‘a hasty and inaccurate compilation,’ is unwarranted: since it rests upon his impeachment of 18 dates out of many hundreds; while Prof. Mahaffy’s criticism, even of these 18 dates, is, for the most part, erroneous.

III. That of seven other statements of fact made by Prof. Mahaffy, one is open to discussion; while the other six statements are incorrect.

Prof. Mahaffy has now published a ‘Reply.’ In this he shifts his ground as to I., while he virtually gives up II. and

III. He says that he 'has been unable to examine *seriatim* all the complaints of the Author's pamphlet; the time of one who has yet so much to learn being too precious to be spent in defending his own opinions.' Again, speaking of a point under discussion, he says that my view 'can be disposed of by good evidence, but,' he adds, 'I have neither time nor patience to do it in detail.' And, in reference to pp. 39—57 of my remarks, he says:—'It seems unnecessary to follow the rest of Prof. Jebb's remarks. Some of the points he raises are not important, some are upon questions too important to be discussed here.'

However much I might have regretted this, it would at least have made it unnecessary for me to notice Prof. Mahaffy's 'Reply,' had he not made the assertion that he has little or nothing to retract. It is unnecessary to draw attention to the singular rhetorical device (several times repeated in the 'Reply') by which my defence against Prof. Mahaffy's grave charges—a defence which confines itself strictly to questions of fact—is described as 'a carefully planned attack:—'

'The present Reviewer is therefore agreeably surprised to find that the Author's carefully planned attack has discovered but *two or three very trifling weaknesses and one misstatement*, which, however grievous, does not affect the argument in which it occurs. *With these exceptions, he finds nothing specific to retract*, though he regrets that the impression left by his article on the Author's mind was different from what he had intended.'

The misstatement here referred to is Prof. Mahaffy's assertion that certain dates, which are not found in Clinton, were taken by me from Clinton. For this he now offers an apology (p. 23), which I readily accept. But Prof. Mahaffy says that, except this error, I have detected in his article nothing but 'two or three very trifling weaknesses.' This assertion compels me to say a few words on his 'Reply' in connexion with each of the three heads under which my 'Remarks' were divided.

I. The charge of plagiarism. Prof. Mahaffy pleads that he had 'avoided' the 'word' plagiarism. The *word*—yes. He wrote:—

'Mr Jebb has chosen a theme which has been of recent years thoroughly handled by French and German authors. Not to speak of Westermann, Georges Perrot, Benseler, and others, the whole subject of Greek oratory has been so exhaustively and admirably handled by F. Blass in three special works, as well as in critical editions of the earlier Orators, that it seems difficult to imagine anything being added to his results. Accordingly, a comparison of his treatment (in his *Attische Beredsamkeit*) of Antiphon, Andocides, or Lysias, with that of Mr Jebb shows that not only all the old critics, and new critics, and scholiasts, which the latter cites, are cited by Blass, but that nothing was left for Mr Jebb, to do, save to rearrange the order of the exposition, quote some English orators, cite in full some passages only referred to in Blass, and translate them elegantly, and, on the other hand, curtail the fuller treatment of his predecessor. Even his more special footnotes and particular references are generally to be found somewhere in the German book. I subjoin a list of these coincidences taken from a small part of the first volume, omitting, by the way, the notes or passages where he cites Blass as his authority, as the reader can add them for himself:—

Jebb, Vol. I.	F. Blass, <i>Att. Beredsamkeit</i> .
p. cx (<i>introd.</i>)	p. 6 (<i>note</i>)
cxxxi	41—2
2 (<i>note</i>)	82
4 (<i>note</i>)	85
15 (<i>note</i>)	84
16	85
31	135
45	95
77	275
80 (<i>note</i>)	277
81—83	280—3
88—90	288—9
96	290
97 (<i>note</i>)	291, 325
99 (<i>note</i>)	294—6
104	292—3
107	299
111	314
132—3	282, 322—4
139	286 (<i>note</i>)
147 (<i>note</i> 3)	338
148 (<i>note</i>)	339
154 (<i>and notes</i>)	342

It seems to me, in the face of these facts, that something more should have been said by Mr Jebb in the preface* when acknowledging the particular obligations which he occasionally confesses.'

To this I opposed the following statement :—

‘My book, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit von Gorgias bis zu Lysias*, has necessarily been constantly consulted by Professor Jebb in his first volume. The quotations and examples used by Professor Jebb have often, of necessity, been the same as mine ; in several instances also our critical judgments coincide. The frequent mention of my name in the text or notes, together with the full general acknowledgment in the Preface, adequately cover all such passages.

‘I have not found a single instance in which Professor Jebb has adopted a conjecture of mine without expressly mentioning me.

‘His treatment of the Lives and Styles, as well as of details in the writings of Antiphon, Andokides and Lysias, very largely differs from mine, not only in arrangement, but also in substance.

‘As regards his second volume, Professor Jebb had not even seen my volume on Isokrates and Isaeos until his own chapters on Isokrates and Isaeos had been wholly composed, and nearly two-thirds of them had been printed. In revising the last 130 pages (II. 238—368) Professor Jebb consulted my second volume ; but the treatment of Isokrates and Isaeos remains essentially his own ; his obligations to me have been on particular points only ; and, as in the case of the first volume, I consider these obligations to have been adequately and honourably acknowledged.

‘Professor Jebb’s briefer treatment of Lykurgos, Hypereides, Aeschines and Demosthenes has necessarily, again, been wholly independent of me, since my volume on those orators has not yet been published.

PROFESSOR DR F. BLASS.’

In the face of this statement, it was impossible for Mr Mahaffy to maintain his original assertion. He now abandons it, therefore.

He now writes (‘Reply,’ p. 19):—

‘I maintain the justice of my original assertion, that Mr Jebb “has not acknowledged particular debts in every case on the page where they occur,” and consider that his charge of unfairness has been so far clearly refuted.’

The words italicised by Mr Mahaffy are *not* his original assertion. His original assertion was as follows (see the last page) :—

‘Accordingly, a comparison of his treatment (in his *Attische Beredsamkeit*) of Antiphon, Andocides, or Lysias, with that of Mr Jebb shows that not only all the old critics, and new critics, and scholiasts, which the latter cites, are cited by Blass, but that nothing was left for Mr Jebb to do, save to rearrange the order of exposition,

quote some English orators, cite in full some passages only referred to in Blass, and translate them elegantly, and, on the other hand, curtail the fuller treatment of his predecessor.'

Thus Prof. Mahaffy has shifted his ground. That which he now defends as his 'original assertion' is *not* his original assertion. And for a sweeping statement so injurious as that from which he has been driven he is content to suggest the excuse that 'the business of reviewing is not one of fastidious leisure'!

It only remains to meet his accusation on the ground to which he has retreated. This is the more easy since that ground, however narrow, is at last definite. He now prints in parallel columns eighteen passages from Dr Blass, and eighteen of mine. Eight of these are from the old list of twenty-three parallel references given (without further explanation) in the *Academy*. As to the other fifteen of those twenty-three, Prof. Mahaffy is silent. Ten, which I mark with asterisks, are new. The whole number of eighteen may be divided into three classes:—(1) cases in which Dr Blass and I have similar remarks on points of historical or literary criticism; (2) cases in which we cite common authorities other than the Attic Orators; (3) cases in which we have common references to the text of the Orators themselves, illustrative of details in their style or in the history of their works. Twelve of the eighteen parallelisms—*i.e.* two-thirds of the whole—belong to class 3, and in most of these it is some *note* of mine which is solely or chiefly concerned.

Before taking each case singly, I wish to make two general observations:

First, that when two modern writers are analysing the same Greek text—not a voluminous one—on the same general plan, and illustrating it, as they necessarily must, with the aid of the same ancient authorities, it is inevitable, from the nature of the case, that they should sometimes, or even frequently, have the same references or the same illustrations. It appears to be Prof. Mahaffy's assumption that, wherever such a coincidence occurs, I have copied Dr Blass. The worth of this assumption

may be exemplified by instances, taken from Prof. Mahaffy's own list, under each of the above three heads:—

(1) No. 3 in Prof. Mahaffy's list: Blass, p. 275: Jebb, p. 80.

We both observe that Thucydides had at least less documentary evidence on the Hermae before him than moderns have, since the *περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων* had not yet been spoken. This remark, an obvious one, was suggested to me, long before I had read Dr Blass, by a sentence in Thirlwall, with which I did not agree. Thirlwall says (Vol. v. p. 292), 'Thucydides could not satisfy himself as to the credit due to the story of Andokides, and it would therefore be presumptuous for anyone now to pronounce upon it.'

(2) No. 13. Blass II. p. 302, notes 4 and 5: Jebb II. p. 246.

In connection with Isokr. *Epist.* VII., reference is made to the history of Herakleia. Every word of my text and notes here had been written before I saw Dr Blass's second volume: and not a word was altered afterwards.

My second volume had been *printed* up to p. 237 before I had seen Dr Blass's second volume. I had the great advantage of consulting him in my revision of pp. 238—368; but of these pages a great part had been composed. In my 18th chapter the following are the only places where anything was added or altered, and at each of them Dr Blass's name is mentioned:—(1) II. p. 242, *n.* 2, the date of Isokr. *Epist.* VI., a point on which I differ from Dr Blass, and believe myself to have been the first to find the right clue, as I have endeavoured to show in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. v. 266—8: (2) II. p. 248, *n.* 1, Agênor: (3) p. 249 note, the significance of the title *τοῖς Μυτιληναίων ἀρχουσὶ*: (4) p. 251, *n.* 3, on the date of Isokr. *Epist.* II.: (5) on the alleged suicide of Isokrates, p. 255: (6) on the meaning of 'artes componere' in Cic. *Brut.* § 48.

(3) No. 12. Blass II. pp. 270—1: Jebb II. p. 239. This passage also—dealing with the date of Isokr. *Ep.* I.—had been written by me before I had seen Dr Blass's second volume, and not a word was added, withdrawn, or altered afterwards.

Yet these three parallelisms are not less effective than the others in Prof. Mahaffy's list. A further illustration, which has just fallen in my way, is so apposite that I make no apology for adding it. In an article on Hesiod, contributed by Prof. Mahaffy to the current number of *Hermathena*, we read (p. 309):—

'But the search after special interpolations is rather a matter of caprice, and of ingenuity, than of literary history; and I therefore refer the reader to the special tracts on the subject¹⁶.'

And the note is:—

¹⁰ Viz.:—A. Twesten, *Comm. Crit. de O. et D.* (Kil., 1815).

F. Thiersch, *De Gnom. Carm. Græc.* (*Transact. Munich Acad.*, iii. p. 391).

C. Lehrs, *Questiones [sic] Epicae* (Königsberg, 1837).

T. L. Heyer, *De Hes. O. et D.* (Schwerin, 1848).

J. Hetzel, *De Carm. Hes. Disp.* (Weilburg, 1860).

A. Steitz, *Die Werke, &c., des Hesiodos* (Leipzig, 1869).

Now, it so happens that these same six authors—Twesten, Thiersch, Lehrs, Heyer, Hetzel, and Steitz—are also mentioned, close together, by Bernhardt, in his learned discussion of Hesiod and the Hesiodic literature (*Grundriss der Griechischen Literatur*, Part I. Sect. ii. p. 293 f.). But Prof. Mahaffy does not mention Bernhardt. I do not, on that account, accuse Prof. Mahaffy of having transcribed these six names from Bernhardt. I do not question that they belong to those ‘wildernesses of German books, and tracts, and programmes,’ through which he intimates at the beginning that he has ‘toiled.’ If, however, Prof. Mahaffy was to be reviewed on Prof. Mahaffy’s own principle, a reviewer would be abundantly justified in the following entry:—

Bernhardt, p. 293 f.

Mahaffy, p. 309.

Secondly, I desire to make a remark with reference chiefly to the third class of instances specified above. Prof. Mahaffy has adopted a system of alphabetical notation, in order that every reference which Dr Blass and I have in common may be more readily perceived. And he writes:—

‘Such scholars as are not familiar with German can, nevertheless, form an opinion by *carefully comparing the numerous identical Greek citations in the following passages*. That two independent minds should hit upon them in such numbers *could not have been supposed by any fair critic without Prof. Jebb’s positive assertion that such was the case.*’

This misrepresents my position. I have nowhere made the assertion which Prof. Mahaffy here alleges. What I said, and now repeat, is as follows (*Remarks*, p. 6):—

‘It was my desire to recognise as fully as possible every help which I had owed to previous writers. In my Preface, after enumerating

the chief of these, I add (p. xiv.): 'The authorities, general or particular, not specified above, will be found in a list which is subjoined. If an obligation anywhere remains unacknowledged, I would beg my readers to believe that it is by an oversight which I should rejoice to have the opportunity of repairing.' Such oversights are, indeed, always possible; and, after reading Prof. Mahaffy's article, I proceeded to go systematically through those 23 passages of Dr Blass's book and mine between which the Reviewer alleged 'coincidences' demanding a special notice on my part. I found that the alleged 'coincidences,' so far as I could discover the Reviewer's meaning,—and sometimes I could not even feel sure that I had done so,—were of the most trivial or even necessary kind, such as no writer on any subject already treated by others could possibly avoid, and the notification of which would be as absurd and as useless as it would be cumbersome.'

The basis on which my work rested was my own study of the Greek texts,—a study made, with this view, long before I had read either the works of Dr Blass or any other special modern treatise; in several instances Dr Blass's work enabled me to supplement my own notes; but, while I repeatedly expressed my acknowledgments to his excellent books, and in no case adopted a conjecture of his without naming him, I thought it unnecessary—as it is certainly unusual in such cases—to introduce his name in every case where a reference to the Greek text had been suggested to me by reading his book. I am unable, at this distance of time, to draw up a complete list of the references to words, &c., of which the addition was suggested to me by Dr Blass; but this I can say distinctly,—that, to the best of my memory and belief, the whole number was not large; and that in no case, where the mention of his name appeared to me proper or requisite, did I withhold it. Such mention seemed due wherever, *e.g.*, a comment or conjecture, and not a mere reference, was concerned. I may illustrate this by Nos. 11 and 14 in Mr Mahaffy's own list of parallelisms, noticed below under class III. It would be easy to show by examples, from foreign as well as from English writers, that I have not departed, on the side of defect, from what usage prescribes in this particular. If it were permitted to infer Mr Mahaffy's interpretation of that usage from his own practice, he might rather have been expected to hold that my

fault lay in the direction of a too scrupulous exactness. Mr Mahaffy can hardly, perhaps, be serious in complaining that I have not acknowledged debts to the German work where, dealing with the same matter, I take a different view (*e.g.* Nos. 5, 7, 8). In the cases (7 and 8) where he suggests that the difference is due to my having misunderstood and mistranslated the German, he needlessly lowers the level of his attack by reiterating a trivial impertinence.

I proceed to take the parallelisms in detail.

I. Cases in which Dr Blass and I have similar remarks on points of historical or literary criticism.

No. 2. Blass, p. 135 : Jebb, p. 31.

Here, in pointing out that Antiphon marks individual character less than Lysias, we both compare the speakers in the *περὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου φόνου* and the *περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ*. These are the only two which could have been used : for the *κατὰ τῆς μητρονίας* is too slight, and in the Tetralogies there is nothing of the kind.

No. 8. Blass, pp. 299—300 : Jebb, p. 107.

This is a remark on the tendency of Andokides to sink below the usual dignity of the elder Greek oratory. In the *Academy* Prof. Mahaffy quoted it as an example of my 'exaggerating' Dr Blass's criticism, since I qualify this tendency in other terms than his ; here it figures as an instance of my copying him.

II. Cases in which Dr Blass and I cite common authorities external to Attic Oratory.

No. 1. Blass, p. 82 : Jebb, p. 2, note 3.

Already answered in *Remarks*, p. 9. Here I need only point out that there is a gap in Prof. Mahaffy's quotation of my note. Where he puts the word 'enumerated' in brackets, I have, 'The pseudo-Plutarch, Philostratos, Photios (cod. 259), and the anonymous author of the *γένος Ἀντιφώντος*.' Now, two of these—Photios and the *γένος*—are not named in the passage which Prof. Mahaffy places beside mine.

No. 6. Blass, p. 288 : Jebb, p. 88.

Notices of Andokides, Dionysios, Quintilian and Philostratos are quoted both by Dr Blass and myself, Dr Blass having, however,

a reference to Aristotle, and one to Theophrastos, which I have not. Here I need only refer to what I have said in *Remarks*, p. 9.

III. Cases in which Dr Blass and I have common references to the texts of the orators themselves, illustrative of details in their style, or in the history of their works.

No. 4. Blass, p. 291 : Jebb, p. 97 *note*.

Prof. Mahaffy does not quote the following part of my note, to which there is nothing corresponding in the German:—‘Add to these examples the use of the poetical *φρενῶν* in *De Red.* § 7, *τοιούτην συμφορὰν τῶν φρενῶν*, which, however, occurs also in the peroration of Demosth. *de Corona*, § 324, *τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε*. Both instances perhaps come under the principle of Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 7, § 11), that unusual or poetical words *μάλιστα ἀρμόττει λέγοντι παθητικῶς*. The writer of the speech *κατ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου* has imitated the tragic vein which appears in the genuine speeches of Andokides, § 22, *παρανομώτερος Ἀγίσθου γέγονεν*. Cf. § 23.’

No. 5. Blass, p. 294 ; Jebb, p. 99.

This has been fully dealt with in my *Remarks*, p. 48. The sum is this. The *principal* antithesis, *εἰ μὲν...ὅπου δέ*, has a *subordinate* antithesis, *σιωπήσαντι μὲν*, begun within its second member. Neither the principal nor the subordinate antithesis is completed in *form*, though each is ultimately completed in *sense*. Dr Blass, speaking of the subordinate antithesis, treats it as completed, because it is completed in sense by *εἰπὼν δέ...ἐσωζόμεν*. I treat it as *not* completed, because it is not completed in form ; which would have required, in answer to *σιωπήσαντι μὲν...ἀπολέσθαι*, &c., *εἰπόντι δέ...σώζεσθαι*. On this ground, Mr Mahaffy accuses me of having misunderstood and mistranslated the German. He also says that, in my book, I call *ὅπου δέ* the second member of the first antithesis, (as it of course is,) but, in my ‘Reply’ (p. 48) regard it as the first member of a second antithesis. This, I need scarcely say, was not my meaning in my ‘Reply,’ though I have there used a perhaps faulty phrase. By ‘second antithesis’ in the sentence referred to (p. 48) I mean—as the context shows—‘the antithesis as recast.’

No. 7*. Blass, pp. 293, 296 : Jebb, p. 98 *n*.

This answers itself. Because I take a different view from Dr Blass of Andok. *De Pace*, § 2, and *De Red.* § 24, Prof. Mahaffy alleges that I have copied, but misunderstood, the German !

No. 9. Blass, p. 323 : Jebb, pp. 132—3.

Andok. *De Pace* §§ 3—12 reappears, modified, in Aeschin. *De*

Falsa Legat. §§ 172—176. Has Aeschines borrowed from Andokides, or a pseudo-Andokides from Aeschines? Dr Blass and I agree in preferring the former supposition. In the passage of Aeschines there are two striking examples of unintelligent adaptation from Andokides. Because we both notice them, I have copied from Dr Blass! Prof. Mahaffy omits, of course, to mention that, just before this, there is in my book a long passage on some historical difficulties of the speech to which, in the German work, there is nothing that even he could allege as parallel.

No. 10*. Blass, pp. 400—1: Jebb, pp. 168—9.

We are saying that the diction of Lysias, though generally pure, is not invariably so. Dr Blass's passage deals with the choice of words only; mine with both choice of words and syntax. And, even in regard to words or phrases, the lists, as Prof. Mahaffy confesses, differ.

No. 11*. Blass, pp. 402—3; Jebb, p. 172.

Here, in a note, I quote three passages of Lysias which are quoted in Dr Blass's text also: and I expressly mention his name in connection with his comment on the chief of these.

No. 14*. Blass, II. pp. 468—9; Jebb, II. p. 274, *note*.

My note gives examples of apparent exceptions to the correctness, elegance, or conciseness of Isaeos. In this note I refer expressly to that passage of Dr Blass which Prof. Mahaffy places beside it. Nor are my comments on Isae. XI. 10, or on Priscian XVIII. c. 25, the same as those of Dr Blass.

No. 15*. Blass, II. p. 470: Jebb, II. p. 275, *note* 3. My note brings together a few exceptions to the rule that Isaeos avoids rare or poetical expressions. The note had been written before I had read Dr Blass's work, and the phrases quoted are almost all such as must strike any reader of Isaeos: two of these, after reading Dr Blass, I substituted for two other examples which seemed less apt; but it seemed superfluous to mention such a point, when, on the same page, and in the preceding note (p. 275, *note* 2), I had called attention to the whole passage in Dr Blass's book.

No. 16*. Blass, II. 474: Jebb, II. p. 282. We both notice as characteristic the word *ἀποπον* in Isae. *Or.* VI. § 1.

No. 17*. Blass, II. p. 489; Jebb, II. p. 291.

The point in common here is the illustration of *epicheireme* in Isaeos by reference to a well-known passage in his seventh speech. Prof. Mahaffy, as usual, omits to mention that the whole account

of epicheireme as distinguished from enthymeme, and the discussion of what the latter means in Aristotle, have nothing corresponding to them in the German work.

No. 18*. Blass, II. pp. 480—2: Jebb, II. p. 284.

A short note of mine, giving examples of rhetorical figures in Isaeos, is compared with a long passage of Dr Blass. Yet even in this short note there are two references which do not occur in the passage set beside it: viz. Or. VII. 53 and VIII. 24.

Such, then, is that 'cumulative' proof on which Prof. Mahaffy dwells as 'the most convincing feature in' his 'argument.'

I have shown that Prof. Mahaffy, in quoting a passage from my Preface expressive of my obligations to Dr Blass, omitted the first part of the passage; and that there was a corresponding omission on his part to examine my second volume. Prof. Mahaffy now says that his omission of this passage in his quotation did not affect *his assertion that I had not in every case acknowledged any particular obligation on the page where they occur*. This is not the point. The question is—did, or did not, the suppression of the fact that my chapters on Isokrates were almost wholly printed before I had seen Dr Blass's second volume affect Prof. Mahaffy's larger assertion that 'nothing was left for' me 'to do, save to rearrange the order of the exposition, quote some English orators, cite in full some passages only referred to in Blass, and translate them eloquently, and, on the other hand, curtail the fuller treatment of his predecessors'? Having had the passage in the Preface before him, and having then written this statement, how can Prof. Mahaffy pretend that no difference was made by his suppression of that which proved his statement to be necessarily baseless as regarded a great part of the book?

But Prof. Mahaffy now explains his omission to notice the second volume. It appears that he had meant to notice it; not at all in detail, indeed, but summarily. The passage was to have been to this effect:—

'If any one wishes to see what sort of work Prof. Jebb produces when he does not depend upon Dr Blass, let him compare his brief account of Isokrates with the masterly discussion of Blass. Twenty-

five barren pages are devoted to this all-important subject, while the void is made up by lengthy analyses of Isocrates' Orations, which merely imply ordinary diligence, and at times elegance of translation. Above all, when we come to special lists of peculiar or poetical expressions—the features which show special knowledge or independent research—we find in Mr Jebb's paltry list (Vol. II. p. 58, *note*) only one word identical with the long and exhaustive enumeration of Blass (II. 122—7). Anyone who compares the corresponding lists upon Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isæus, will find the agreement between Mr Jebb's and Dr Blass's lists startling. On Isocrates there is no similarity at all. This is what Mr Mill calls an Induction by the Method of Difference.'

But on revising his article, it now appears, Mr Mahaffy decided to omit this passage, because it was 'the severest and therefore the best to leave out, as' he 'had perhaps dealt too much in censure.'

No one can have stronger reason than myself for regretting such clemency. But it is at least my good fortune that this passage should have dwelt with such remarkable accuracy in Mr Mahaffy's memory, while other things on which the light of the past would have been interesting have faded.

First, as to the particular application of Mr Mahaffy's argument. Mr Mahaffy refers to my 'brief account' of Isokrates, observing that 'the void is made up by lengthy analyses' of the orations. The hard words, such as 'barren' and 'paltry,' which Mr Mahaffy applies to this account, need not here be discussed. Let us see what are the facts. Mr Mahaffy's charge is that I have cut my account of Isokrates short because I had not Dr Blass to copy from, and have made up for it by dwelling on the speeches. I will put aside, then, those chapters which I have given to the writings of Isokrates and of the other four orators. The space given by me to the lives and styles, apart from the writings, of the five is as follows:—

Antiphon	43	pages
Andokides	36	„
Lysias	56	„
Isæos	49	„
Isokrates	79	„

Isokrates was the founder of literary rhetorical prose—sepa-

rated from his predecessors not chiefly by minute characteristics of expression, or even by larger differences of manner, but by a radically different conception of the objects to which artistic expression should be directed. In treating the 'style' of Isokrates, the first thing needful was to bring out and mark clearly this broad aspect. Details of usage which are of primary importance in distinguishing Antiphon from Andokides, Lysias from the elder school, Isaeos from Lysias on the one hand and from Demosthenes on the other, here recede into a secondary rank. A writer with limited space at his command would mar the proportions of a symmetrical treatment if he dwelt on minute points in the diction of Isokrates to the exclusion, or curtailment, of that discussion which is demanded by his political, his literary, and his educational ideas.

Next, as to the general application of Prof. Mahaffy's argument. If Prof. Mahaffy had wished seriously to apply 'the Induction by the Method of Difference,' there was an obvious way open to him. It is precisely his care *not* to apply 'the Method of Difference' that in a large measure constituted the extreme injustice of his attack. He seized on every small point where he fancied that he could detect a verbal coincidence between the German work and mine, and paraded these as if they represented the general relation between the two books. But he was careful *not* to compare the two books on any larger ground. If he had attempted to do this, no dexterity could have concealed the fact that his description of my work as a mere adaptation or rearrangement was simply a monstrous misrepresentation.

II. Prof. Mahaffy's statement that my 'Annals' are 'a hasty and inaccurate compilation.' After a full examination of the 18 dates disputed by him, I obtained the following result (*Remarks*, p. 39):—

Among the ten alleged 'disturbances of 'received dates,' one is an obvious misprint of a date (338) given by me correctly elsewhere: and one (477) is an oversight which I share with Mr Cox. In one other instance, giving the Olympic year rightly (Ol. 84), I have taken its first instead of its second half, and so have 444 B.C. for the more

usual 443. Of the remaining seven, there is not one which has not the support of good authority: while, as regards five of these, there is a clear preponderance of authorities in my favour.

Of the eight dates said to have been taken by me directly from Clinton, only two can be found in Clinton. As to one of these, Clinton is perhaps wrong, though it is not certain: as regards the other he is, I still think, right, or nearly so. As to the other six, Brunn and Overbeck—the authorities named by Prof. Mahaffy—agree in supporting him on one (Kalamis): and Brunn supports him on another (Polygnotos),—but not unhesitatingly, and not, as I think, rightly. All the other four are given in my favour by Brunn. In regard to the two last—Praxiteles and Lysippos—Brunn, Overbeck, and all other authorities that I can find, testify that my dates are right, and that the dates proposed by Prof. Mahaffy are wrong.

Now let it be remembered that the above eighteen dates—picked out of several hundreds—have been taken exclusively from the fringe, or subsidiary part, of the ‘Annals,’ while their principal and essential part has been wholly ignored; that in a review filling seven columns of the *Academy*, two columns have been devoted to an attack on these eighteen dates, which, as I have shown, is not only captious, but, save in two or three trivial particulars, erroneous: and that the conclusion drawn by Prof. Mahaffy is the following:—‘*What I have pointed out is enough to show that the Annals are a hasty and inaccurate compilation, and until thoroughly revised, are to be avoided by the student.*’

Let us now see what Prof. Mahaffy has to say in reply.

A. ‘Disturbances of received dates.’

Prof. Mahaffy explains that by a ‘received date’ he means that of ‘the best and *newest* German chronology:’ and this, it is further explained, means the chronology of Dr E. Curtius.

See the Table in my *Remarks*, p. 37. For 1, 2, 3, 5, I have shown, Prof. Mahaffy allows, ‘good, though old-fashioned authority, such as Grote’s.’ As to 8, the obvious misprint of 337 for 338 as the date of Chaeroneia, 338 being given elsewhere in the book, on which Prof. Mahaffy dwelt at such length and with such emphasis in the *Academy*—his comment now is—‘*admitted, but explained as an oversight*’!

On No. 10 alone has he anything to say, but what he does say is wrong.

Clinton, following Thucydides, states that the Long Walls were begun in 457, and finished in 456. Prof. Mahaffy commented as follows on my repetition of that statement:—

‘The long walls of Athens are begun in 457 and finished in 456 according to Mr Jebb! He does not condescend to mention the number of the walls, or whether he means three or two only. He ignores what Cratinus says, and Curtius quotes, as to the long and weary delays in finishing them, and bids us believe that this stupendous work of nine or perhaps twelve miles of great fortification was completed in one year!’

I have shown that Prof. Mahaffy had misunderstood the passage of Curtius, in which he found the quotation of Cratinus. *Remarks*, p. 23. And I there quote the words of Cratinus himself to prove that Cratinus is speaking, not of the two original Long Walls, but of the third or supplementary wall. Prof. Mahaffy now argues: (1) That Thuc. would not have used the phrase, τὰ μακρὰ τείχη, to denote the βόρειον and the Φαληρικόν, without adding something to show that the Φαληρικόν was included; as in i. 107 he says τὰ μακρὰ τείχη...τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ. Now, unfortunately for this view, it happens that in i. 108 Thuc. actually uses the term τὰ μακρὰ τείχη, without any addition, to describe the same two walls. How does Prof. Mahaffy get over this untoward fact? Thus:—‘i. 108 is so near i. 107 that repetition was there unnecessary!’ (2) That Thucydides did not really mean to say that these two Long Walls were begun only in 457. And why? Because of ‘the redundancy of Thucydides’ expression, *down to the sea*, which I believe (says Prof. Mahaffy) ‘to have been used *specially* to avoid producing the impression that this stupendous work was begun and completed in a year.’ The words of Thucydides are (i. 107):—ἤρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἐς θάλασσαν Ἀθηναῖοι οἰκοδομεῖν. Prof. Mahaffy would, then, render:—‘About this time the Athenians began to continue the Long Walls down to the sea:’ the walls having been really begun (nearer the ἄστυ) before, and Thucydides being especially anxious to avoid producing the impression that by ἤρξαντο he really meant ἤρξαντο!

On 6, Prof. Mahaffy says that my date ‘can be disposed of by good evidence; but’ (he adds) ‘*I have neither time nor patience to do it in detail.*’ The reader will, I think, see from the foregoing cases that I have not spoken either at random, or in ignorance.’

On the contrary, it is, I say, plain that he has so spoken.

B. Literary or Art-History Dates.

Prof. Mahaffy now apologizes for his statement that the

eight dates under this head which he attacked were 'all taken directly from Clinton'; and I readily accept his apology. But I should like to know his reason for now repeating his assertion that my date for Bakchylides (450 B.C.) is 'wrong.' In my *Remarks*, p. 26, I have given my reasons for believing it to be right. And to the testimony there adduced I can now add an authority as brand-new as Prof. Mahaffy could desire. In the literary chronology appended to the last edition of Bernhardy's *Grundriss der Griechischen Litteratur*, Part I., published this year (1876), the date given is the same as mine,—450 B.C. Of the artists, Prof. Mahaffy was right about Kalamis; and possibly about Polygnotos, though I have given my own reasons (*Remarks*, p. 29) for thinking otherwise. About the other four—Zeuxis, Kallimachos, Praxiteles, Lysippos—he was palpably wrong. He now admits this as to Zeuxis and Praxiteles; with an explanation, however, as regards the latter. Prof. Mahaffy wrote in the *Academy*:—

'Zeuxis is placed too early by ten years; Callimachus twenty-five too late; so is Praxiteles,' &c.

Prof. Mahaffy now explains that he did not mean to say that Praxiteles was placed twenty-five years too late. He only meant that he was placed too late. As to Lysippos, I have shown at length (*Remarks*, p. 33) that, according to Brunn and Overbeck, the authorities specially cited by Prof. Mahaffy, 'the time of this artist's activity coincides with the dominion of Alexander the Great' (336—323 B.C.). Prof. Mahaffy now writes:—

'When Prof. Jebb quotes from Overbeck, ii. 91, that Lysippos was the court sculptor of Alexander, he ought in fairness to have added what follows: that Lysippos *was active as early as perhaps 372, and that it is certain that Pliny's date (328) falls in his own age and towards the end of his activity.*'

If Prof. Mahaffy will look again at my *Remarks* (p. 33) he will find that *I have* there noticed the datum to which he refers. Pausanias says (vi. 1, § 2) that Lysippos made a statue of an Olympic victor who conquered in Ol. 102, 372 B.C. But Overbeck agrees with Brunn in pointing out that nothing can

be safely inferred from this, since such statues were frequently dedicated long after the victory:—An artistic career of fifty-six years (372—316) is, he remarks, a very long one; and there is a circumstance which justifies us in assuming a shorter one:—

‘We are authorised to do this, *inasmuch as the above-noticed earliest datum* [372 B.C.] refers to the statue of a victor in the games [viz. Troilos], which may perfectly well have been made and consecrated a considerable time after the victory. Anyhow, it is certain that the date of Pliny (328) falls in the advanced age of the master and towards the end of his work. The ground on which it is not quite credible that Lysippos was active as an independent artist for 56 years is this,—we are told that in his youth he was a worker in bronze, therefore an artizan. From mechanical craft he passed to art by his own effort, without having had a teacher; probably, then, at least in the riper season of his early life. That, like the Athenian Silanion, he was self-taught, is attested in many ways, while conflicting accounts of the ancients either make him call the Doryphoros of Polykleitos his master, or relate that the painter Eupompos of Sicyon, whom he consulted as to the master whom he should follow, told him to follow the school of the people, with the meaning that nature and no artist was the true exemplar. How far the young man took this hint, we shall see; at all events he was not the less loyal to the masterly models of the older time, of which, according to Varro’s phrase, he transferred the excellence, not the faults, to his own works. Of his further life we know not much; this alone is ascertained, that he stood in a very intimate relation with Alexander the Great, who, from childhood, was portrayed by him in many works—that, indeed, to use a modern phrase, he was the court-statuary of Macedonia.’

Prof. Mahaffy’s assertion that Overbeck is on his side as regards Lysippos is, therefore, incorrect. The date (370) assigned by Prof. Mahaffy is, in fact, extravagantly wrong.

Prof. Mahaffy endeavours to cover his retreat from a long line of untenable positions by the suggestion that a man’s ‘*floruit*’ ought to be placed—if denoted by a single year—not in the zenith of his career, but *just after the time when he first came into note*. ‘On my principle,’ says Prof. Mahaffy, ‘I am right about almost all the dates.’ This ‘principle’ would indeed revolutionise the whole chronology of literature and art. And if this be his ‘principle,’ how comes it that Prof. Mahaffy puts the ‘*floruit*’ of Diagoras in 415 and that of ‘Kalamis’ in 478? These, on his own showing,

would have to be about 430 and 495 respectively. But it is needless to say more. Prof. Mahaffy's attempt to reply under this head is a final proof, if any more proof were needed, that his attack upon my 'Annals,' violent as it was, was made at random, and without any accurate knowledge of the matters on which he passed such extreme and sweeping censure. It is a pity that he should not yet have found 'time or patience' for more careful inquiry.

III. Under the third head of my analysis, I examined the miscellaneous statements of fact made by Prof. Mahaffy, and showed that one of these was open to discussion, and that the other six were incorrect. They occupied much space in his article, and were made in a very trenchant style. What has Prof. Mahaffy to say of them in his 'Reply'? This:—'*It seems unnecessary to follow the rest of Prof. Jebb's remarks. Some of the points he raises are not important; some are upon questions too important to be discussed here.*'

He points out, indeed, one thing which I am glad to have pointed out; viz. that, in the passage of Curtius quoted at p. 55, *Remarks*, the English translator's '*Hellenism*' stands for the German '*Hellenenthum*.' It is hardly necessary to observe, however, that this in no way affects the argument; since, by a '*new Hellenenthum*,' '*an ideal Hellenenthum*,' Curtius means, as he distinctly says, that which is properly called Hellenismus: viz. Hellenic culture not necessarily associated with Hellenic blood. With Curtius, I hold that Isokrates looked forward to such an *ideal Hellenenthum*. My proof of it rests on the words of Isokrates himself. Prof. Mahaffy says that I have misunderstood the words of Isokrates. But he does not say how. And an authority whom Prof. Mahaffy usually follows, Dr E. Curtius, understands them as I do.

I am surprised by Prof. Mahaffy's complaint that I have wronged the spirit of his article by ignoring what he justly describes as the 'carefully-worded commendation' contained in it. Prof. Mahaffy has neither invented nor etherialised the art of damning with faint praise; and if any impartial person will read the article in question as a whole, he will probably share

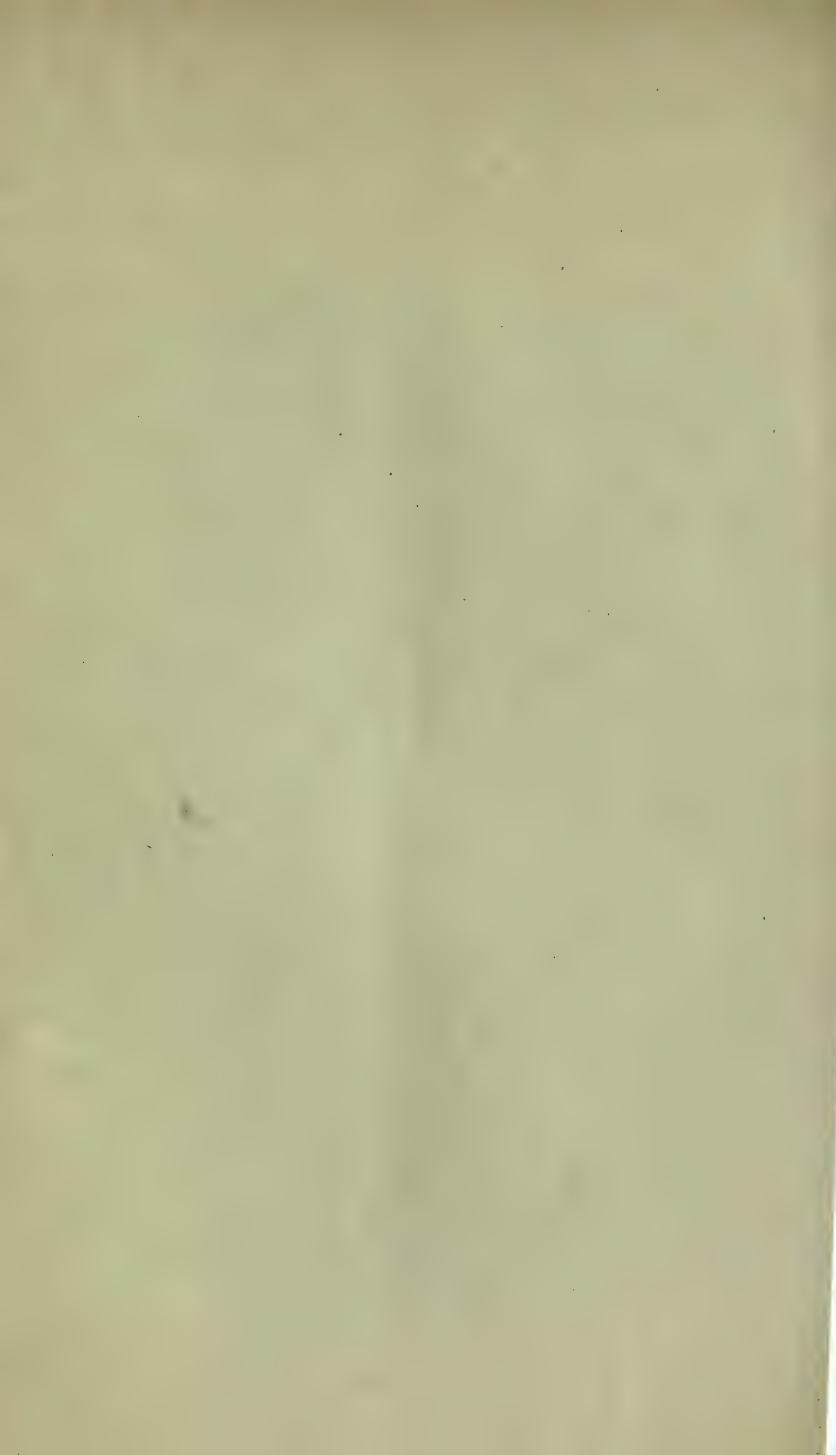
my wonder that a candid writer should condescend, even under controversial exigencies, to represent it as intended for a tempered eulogy. I find it still more strange that Prof. Mahaffy should consider it relevant or effective to inquire why I took no notice of an anonymous tirade in a daily newspaper. Nor can I concur with the view apparently implied in Prof. Mahaffy's contrast between an 'elaborate reply' and 'a newspaper criticism,' that it is unimportant whether statements made in the *Academy* are or are not true. I have no taste for controversy. But I shall not regret the time bestowed on a detailed refutation of Prof. Mahaffy, if he should in future be more on his guard against making grave charges which he cannot justify, and converting the responsible office of criticism into the opportunity of a petulant attack.

R. C. JEBB.

THE
LIBERTY OF INDEPENDENT
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

BY
THOMAS KERSLAKE

LONDON
REEVES AND TURNER 196 STRAND
MANCHESTER
J E CORNISH 33 PICCADILLY
1885



THE LIBERTY OF INDEPENDENT HISTORICAL RESEARCH

BY THOMAS KERSLAKE

1885

ANTIQUARIES and HISTORIANS had better open their eyes. They have been praying for a king, but let them beware lest Jupiter should have sent them a stork. Of course their new tyrant would begin with devouring one of the smallest of his new subjects; but how long the bigger and tougher ones shall escape will depend upon his needs, and his powers of digestion and capture.

When our antiquaries, panic-stricken in failure of confidence in the revived public and private conservational interest in our historical monuments which they were successfully bringing about, cried out for the aid of legislative interference, few of them perhaps foresaw, in this, the creation of a State-hierarchy of official placemen, eager to display their prowess, which would necessarily spring up behind it, to become immediately a compact phalanx of domination over them—a sort of upper School Board. A new “Department” in fact, which, if it should not in all cases apply the direct power of the State, would be ready to wield the prerogative of a reputed ultimate tribunal, against any one who, without its *imprimatur*, should presume to attempt any contribution to what is already known; or any addition to what may be recognised by this new jurisdiction as deserving to be known. The dictates of this conclave will also be sure to receive the clamorous outside support of those who may be ambitious of finding themselves in the wake of this imported dominant influence, or who may even be candidates for the benefices and patronage now newly placed at its dis-

posals. Moreover, the sanctions of legislation will be exclusively applied to the sole advancement of the caprices or predilections of the specialists, who, by the usual channels of State-promotion, may have been so happy as to obtain appointments under it. Churches, for example, are left to the desperate surgery of architects and incumbents, or in towns are demolished for the value of their sites. A graceful fourteenth century church, the crown of a great city, cannot get the help of a little finger from even the most earnest of the promoters of this legislation; but whatever song the new dictator may sing, will be echoed in chorus through Great, and even out into "Greater, Britain," in the clamorous *ditto*s of observant followers, or of aspirants for the newly-created posts, whether or not specially qualified by their own attainments. We have lately heard much from another faculty how far the Government stamp will pass instead of science.

Once ensigned by the royal mint, the officers of this new Department, as well as their clients, paying it the homage of seeking its alliance by soliciting its arbitration, stand a good chance of getting inversions of older defeats, that may, at some former time, have justly befallen them in open controversy. Their utterances, then, will be fiat's instead of propositions; and being independent of current opinion, may be disingenuous or incompetent with impunity. At all events, the practical result amounts to neither more nor less than this: that the State, fortified by its prerogatives, privileges, and overwhelming resources, thrusts itself into the standing place of one of the two parties in a literary controversy.

My attention was aroused to this new danger, that threatens the imposition of a new Court of Appeal against those who hold the right side of a fair hand-to-hand open literary contest, by being myself the first object of attack from this new Department of Government, and the sole intended victim of their first official act. The obligation thus laid upon me is the more unwelcome, because it imposes upon me a return to a subject which, for some years past, has unexpectedly occupied more of my attention than its intrinsic im-

portance, or my own concern with it, claims from me, and which I long since hoped I had done with. But a long line of illustrious precedents seems to have indicated a well-trodden path, to the person who has been unfortunately selected as the first or trial subject of new State-encroachments upon the rights of the class within which he finds himself associated. These exemplary precedents, under far more severe emergencies, have been so continuous and so eminent as to have acquired the force of a customary law, or abstract of the ruling spirit of our nation, amounting to an ordinance that, however difficult or laborious, or even perilous, the duty of prosecuting a remonstrance shall be accepted by the first intended victim. A duty, which has been so often fulfilled at a far greater cost, must not be shirked to evade the irksomeness of looking once more at a thrice-told tale. Besides this, however, it has been noted to me that, if I should leave such questionable charges to pass current in such an unquestionable shape, I might endanger some of the confidence that I may have already earned, by the careful accuracy after which I have always laboured, in my few attempts of this kind, before I have thought them fit for printing, or presumed to offer them to public criticism.

The first officer of the new Department was no sooner appointed than he at once assumed his new judicial position, to arbitrate upon a controversy in which, for the last seven years, I had held my own position, on one side, against a succession of adversaries on the other; among whom he had, at a later time, himself already taken part; but now they come in legion. His first official act was to publish a "REPORT," which he and his followers declare to be "final," and to have "finally demolished" me and all my works. It professes to be an account of "Excavations in the Pen Pits, near Penselwood, Somerset;" but gratuitously travels much beyond the limits of that professed purpose, in order to include under its ban a totally separate historical induction of mine, which concerned the same place. This Report is handsomely printed in full-sized quarto, and somewhat expensively illustrated by three

large and excellent plates. It bears all the credentials of a State document. The title-page, repeated on the wrapper, sets forth that it is "by LIEUT.-GENERAL A. PITT-RIVERS, F.R.S., INSPECTOR OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN. Printed by permission of HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS OF WORKS," and by the "Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty. 1884." The first page bears the date, "Ancient Monuments Department, Office of Works," and is addressed "To the Right Hon. G. F. SHAW-LEFEVRE, M.P., H.M. First Commissioner of Works." At the end it is also signed "A. Pitt-Rivers, Lieut.-General, Inspector of Ancient Monuments," and in the colophon is repeated, "Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty."

Can any ordinary spirit of controversy look upon all this and live? What hope can there be for five smooth stones against this panoply?

Yet this is, after all, no more than a controversial pamphlet, and, save Majesty, a weak one. Except the distinction which its author has already earned by his assiduous perseverance in a very limited section of antiquarian science, and his high rank in another most honourable Service of the Crown, whatever force it may have is derived from the State authority under which it is issued, and which is so prominently displayed in its superscriptions. I would not, however, have presumed to formulate this estimate of my adverse party, but that it is exigent to this occasion, and will be justified by these pages.

This State document no sooner appeared, than it was followed by a simultaneous chorus of laudation and glorification from all quarters, in newspaper paragraphs and letters, and in papers read to learned societies, not only throughout England, but even in Canada. This sudden agitation was very timely, as the cloud of dust by which the activity of the official new broom might be attested. General Pitt-Rivers himself descended from his official state to join in this hue. He contributed a long letter to *The Times*;* fearing that his State Report had probably not come under the notice of some persons. He therefore directs

* September 25th, 1884.

attention to its various merits. How, "as no agreement appeared likely to be come to" in the matter about which "Mr. Thomas Kerslake has all along been a staunch advocate" of whatever General Pitt-Rivers thinks proper to attribute to me, he had now come down from Government to settle it. How he had become complete master of the field; and that what he says "will be generally considered final, even by Mr. Kerslake himself." He then winds up in the Right Royal style, which seems to have flowed over from the official Report into his letter; which, however, is fortunately not dated from the "Office of Works," or what I am now saying might be contumacious or disloyal; for he enacts the decree that, "the controversy, for all practical purposes, must be considered at an end."

In our Wessex, when infant Buonapartes formerly used the word "must," their pride was instantly checked by the proverbial precept, "Must? Must is for the King." Her Majesty's Inspector is, no doubt, above the reach of this rebuke; he wields the Royal authority to "end" the "controversy." It is curious to observe how universal is the great under-flood of human nature indicated by our old unlettered learning. No sooner does the State plant its flag in the hitherto dry place of literary criticism, than up wells this basilical word "must" in fulfilment of the proverbial forecast.

I did, however, write a letter of demur to the Editor of *The Times* not quite so long as that of General Pitt-Rivers, but of course it was controversial. These pages are an extension of it. As the renewed session of Parliament was approaching, the objection to continue a controversy was no doubt reasonable; but the Editor of that deep-mouthed diapason—purists have forbidden the full "organ"—kindly printed one, which, so restricted, was of course short and colourless.* Thus balked, I fell back upon the resolution to fill in the outline, at my own leisure, with some specimens of the misrepresentations and detractions, and to charter type-metal and type-skill at my own command; and be content, instead of following them

* *The Times*, October 18th, 1884.

out into the ends of the non-scientific world—where his Report may sometimes be mistaken for a Royal Proclamation against my work—to circulate these pages myself, among those only who are known to be capable of judging the matter, and not likely to be dazzled by Coronal rays.

Once more then, although weary of the iteration, I am compelled to declare that, some ten years since, I first arrived at the identification of the ancient British city, "Caer Pensauelcoit," with "Penselwood," the name still surviving as that of the village, conspicuous upon the crest of a lofty peninsular promontory; by a process quite independent of the phenomenon known as the "Pen Pits," also found upon that elevated tract. I will here only thus briefly allude to the historical and geographical induction, by which my attention was directed to that spot. This process I have already fully set forth in the first twelve pages of my "Reassertion," entitled "Caer Pensauelcoit," 1882, to which I am content to invite the severest capable and single-purposed criticism; confidently asking if any similar incident of our history, during the first century of our current era, has been more effectually realized. The ubiquitous, self-glorifying claims, on the part of the Report and its adherents, of having "finally demolished" all that I had advanced, must be my apology for thus raising my own single small voice in my own behalf. At all events, with this mere reference to my former full statement of it, I should have been disposed to depart from this Troy-town controversy, of which this Crown Report seems to have been designed for the Wooden Horse. The busy simultaneous outpouring of printed paragraphs, letters, and articles, and papers read to societies, which followed it, were, no doubt, intended as an imitation of the prolific, booted and spurred parturition of the teeming Homeric machine.

It was only by a collation of the topography of the entire district, with three or more threads of ancient intelligence, both Roman and indigenous Celtic, that have survived to our times, that my attention was

extrinsically directed to this spot. I then found that not only is the lofty promontory itself almost a complete natural fortress of great capacity; but its geographical relation to the Isle of Wight, required by the ancient records, which I cited at length, was satisfied, as it is not satisfied by any other place. It is also probably quite unique in the amount of internal natural resources, capable of maintaining and sheltering human life in large numbers. It was in the name of this place—"Penselwood"—that, without the aid or permission of the Secretaries of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, I presumed to see the survival, after eighteen centuries, of the name "Pensauelcoit"=wood; a name which, since it first came under their notice, about three hundred years ago, has constantly tempted the endeavours of our most learned antiquaries to place it; but had hitherto baffled them all. Some of their attempts were even ludicrous; many of them so nearly approached the place as almost to "burn;" but all had failed. All this I have already set forth in full detail; and to this former account of it I must here be content to refer.*

The spot, to which this extrinsic historical and topographical induction had led me, lies partly in the county which the Somersetshire Society claims as the field of their researches, and partly in the two adjoining counties of Wilts and Dorset; and the official and managing members of the Somerset Society appear to have had a deep sense that it had been their proper duty to have been the first to have drawn the attention of their Society to the matter, and to have worked out the demonstration within their own circle. Failing this, the next best thing was, to blow all their fires to make the world believe that what they had let slip was naught. I published an account of my discovery, and its historical and topographical proofs, and an investigation of its circumstances, in 1877,† on my own responsibility, and apart from the Somerset Society. Five years later I gave a recapitulation of their dealings with the question, including refutations of what had been ad-

* See my *Caer Pensauelcoit, a Reassertion*, 1882.

† *A Primeval British Metropolis, with some Notes on the Ancient Topography of the South-Western Peninsula of Britain*. 1877.

vanced in two Reports of proceedings of Committees which they had appointed,* and hoped I had then done with it; and there it appeared to have rested, until the institution of this new State-Tribunal encouraged them to make another trial. This was too good a windfall to be lost, and was a temptation to them to revive their dormant purpose; and, on the other hand, the valuable homage of an appeal to it was an element of power most welcome to a newly-established Court of Arbitration. To this Court the subject itself also seemed a likely one upon which to make a first display of official watchfulness; so that the invitation of the local officials, to redress their former nonsuits, was readily acceptable. All history is studded with examples of such mutual wedge-and-mallet policy in the manufacture of usurped supremacies.

I have already said† that the Government Report overflows its alleged purpose, into “misrepresentations” and “detractions,” of what I had set forth upon my broader and superior historical induction, which I had brought to bear upon the locality; and I will now give a few examples. These will also serve for a specimen, both of the quality and tone of the criticism, that is likely to flourish under Government protection and resources.

Before we turn over the first page of the Report, it begins to say, that in Gough’s enlargement of Camden’s *Brittannia* “attention is drawn to the conversion of the latter part of the name of the village (Penselwood) by the Saxons into *wood*, in place of ‘*coitmaur*,’ by which this great forest was known to the Britons.”

The undisguised object of this statement is to insinuate that my identification of the ancient British name “Caer Pensauelcoit” with that of “Penselwood,” was derived from Gough’s *Additions to Camden*. The readers of a Report, of such pretensions as this, would hardly suspect that the passage here affected to be quoted has been completely *adapted*, during the process

* *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 21—37.

† *The Athenæum*, Sep. 6th, 1884, p. 309. *The Times*, Oct. 18th, 1884.

of quotation, to the disingenuous purpose for which it is produced. They would hardly think it necessary to look into the good faith of such a quotation. Yet, if they should do so,* they would find that, not only is the entire passage, which seems to be quoted, given in different words, that are nearly like those of the authority but better serve the intention of the quoter, but that the words, "name of the village (Penselwood)," upon which the entire purpose of the quotation depends, have been, without the slightest ground in the quoted authority for even surmising them, bodily interpolated in the act of quoting them; and there is no other passage, either in Camden or his augments, from which they could be possibly inferred. There is also no authority whatever for the word "conversion" by the Saxons "into *wood*, in place of '*coitmawr*.'"

Most readers will be immediately sensible of the difficulty of commenting upon such a "conversion," in terms that would help us towards the proper purpose of such discussions. Indeed, I had not even observed the existence of the passage in the Additions to Camden. If I had, it would have been one to be added to the authors, cited by me,† who, before my own identification, had approached it without reaching it. As to Camden himself, I had pointed out that he had suggested three distant places in three different counties, as possibly the British Pensauelcoit; but not the place to which I have been the first to induct it. I had, however, quoted the passage itself, from Asser, the author copied by both Camden and his augments, and he says that the forest of Selwood ("Saltus qui dicitur Selwdu")—not "the village (Penselwood)"—was *called* by the Britons (of his day) "Coitmaur." A totally different thing from, what is said in the Government Report, that the Saxons had *converted* the "*coit*" of "Pensauelcoit" into the "*wood*" of "Penselwood." In truth, in my first larger publication,‡ which, at his request, I had sent to General Pitt-Rivers, I had myself dwelt upon the difficulty, presented to me by the circumstance,

* Gough's *Camden's Britannia*, Somerset, and the *Additions*, either edition, 1789 or 1806, vol. 1.

† *Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 8—12.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 22—23.

that Asser had called the forest of Selwood by the different British name "Coitmaur;" whereas, the natural sequence of my identity of Pensauelcoit with Penselwood, would have been that the forest, of which it is the "pen" or terminal promontory, would itself have been called "Sauelcoit." This presented a difficulty against, instead of the insinuated suggestion of, my argument; but I left the difficulty open to readers, with the mere suggestion, that the difference was probably that between the ancient British (Loegrian?) name and the later Welsh (Cambrian) name of Asser's time. Although they both have the same meaning, they are distinctly different names, and "Coitmaur" never could have suggested Penselwood="Pensauelcoit."

I have more precisely set forth this misrepresentation in the Government Report, because it will be seen below to be typical of others. Also, I would ask the reader of this, whether such a figure of controversy was likely to have been projected, except in a full consciousness that it was being uttered from a platform, high above the reach of open criticism?

But the Report continues: "As this identity of the British and Saxon terminations of the name of this place has been made the groundwork of an argument to prove that this spot is the site of a large British town"

Although only one clause of a sentence, these words contain two mis-statements. (1) It is not the identity of the terminations, but the identity of the entire ancient British name with the still living English name. (2) This identity of the two entire names was not *the* groundwork, but only one of a group of the geographical circumstances of the place, which were shown to fulfil the circumstances of at least three independent ancient records of the transaction now first by me attributed to the place: which separate ancient—both Roman and British—records had come down to our own times through separate distinct channels, and had never before been collated with each other, nor hitherto even suspected to be connected with the place with which I have been the first to demonstrate their connection.

The Report, however, goes on to say that “caer,” “pen,” and “coed” or “coit” are words that are numerous common in British names. We needed no Government Report to tell us this, any more than to tell us that all names are compounded from the alphabet, and most old place-names are fossil descriptive phrases of several words. It also quotes an example of “Huelgoat” in Brittany, adding the acute remark: “Here, IF we could transfer the scene of Vespasian’s conquest into Brittany, we should find town, camp, name and all, admirably adapted to the theory under consideration.” I could have accommodated the Report with perhaps half a dozen examples of “Huelcoed,” and I dare say twenty of “Pencoed,” in Wales, without crossing the *Mare Britannicum*. There is at least one “Coed-Mawr” in Cardiganshire, Asser’s own country, without any impeachment of his so naming Selwood. But neither of these, nor any other that I know, contains the three words united in one name, and in the same sequence both in the ancient and the surviving name; and I believe the immense difference between the coincident union of three elements, over that of two, and those three in the same order, in the two parallel cases, can be readily estimated by mathematicians, as well as those who have been mere observers of place-names. But, even for two-word names, H.M. Inspector’s great disjunctive IF would still intercept the “transfer” of “the scene of Vespasian’s conquest” to either of them. It was the business of my induction to “transfer” this conquest to this place, hardly a day’s march from his undisputed base of operation, the Isle of Wight: and this business I maintain that my induction has faithfully performed, without the help of the omnipotent, flank-movement, contingent “if,” which H.M. Inspector has called to his own aid.*

Let the same process of disproof be attempted upon another historical and topographical identification: Æthelfrith’s destruction (A.D. 605) of “Legaceastre,” now only known as “Chester.” Had H.M. Inspector objected that there were two or three Legaceastres, and

* See *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 1—12.

above fifty Chesters, and therefore have "transferred" the recorded event to either of the others, he would have brought upon himself a storm of scorn from not a few much abler detectors than I am pretending to be, who have identified the Chester of our day with the scene, by circumstantial proofs, as I have done in the other case.

The entire force of this sort of argument lies in the extrinsic circumstance of the Crown authority of the Report, by which suspicion of fallacy is averted. No casual reader would think it possible for the regularly appointed authority to condescend to argue in this manner.

In my "Reassertion," I had directed attention to the almost unexampled extent by which nature had contributed to the strength of this promontory or peninsula, by surrounding it, towards the North-West, the West, and the South, by lofty and positively inaccessible precipices, continuously for a united length of six or seven miles.* I also pointed out existing evidence that this natural fortress had been supplemented by art: that for the extent of about a mile and a half, including the south-western angle, this artificial supplement can be seen, continuous along the brow of the table-land at the top. Along these two edges of the brow, the natural declivity, though still very great, was not so sharply precipitous as the rest, and I had said that, "its natural escarpment has been increased by a visible artificial acclivitation of great height along the top, running above a mile from a gorge by which the river passes out [towards the south], until the escarpment makes a [distinct and evidently artificial] rectangular turning, and continues for about half a mile northward along the western side, to where the modern road enters the village, apparently by an ancient entrance to the Caer, until it [this artificially raised rampart] is exceeded in height and shut in by the natural western precipice now covered with plantations." These plantations are inclosed, and as I believed that the sample described, of that part of the artificial rampart which was accessible, on the uninclosed portion of the declivity, would satisfy

* *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 7, 8.

all reasonable demands for evidence, I did not follow it by trespassing. But the great height and inaccessible character of the entire western precipice is obvious from all points of view.

This is the only point at which any part of the actual survey reported by H.M. Inspector is contingent with the real drift of my argument; and against this he exercises all his descriptive ingenuity.* He admits that it is artificial, that “The earth appears, *for some reason*, to have been thrown up, but whether or not to form a *modern* bank, which is shewn in the Section,† I am unable to say. It seems certain,” he continues, “that the upper part of this ridge has been formed by cultivation; indeed it would have been impossible that the plateau land above should have been under cultivation any length of time without unintentionally forming such a terrace as is here shewn to exist. I can, therefore, *see no evidence for or against* this terrace having been made for defensive purposes.”

What is here said about “formed by cultivation,” and that cultivation must have “unintentionally” formed such a terrace, can have no meaning unless to have it believed that such a terrace is what is so well known as a “lynchet,” and that is what any reader of the Report must inevitably think is meant. Then why was not the word “lynchet” used? There is no other apparent answer, than that any one, who should see the rampart, would immediately see that it is not a lynchet nor anything of that kind. Besides, there is every appearance that the land is a part which has never yet been brought into cultivation. The object in question is a regular uniform continuous increase of the natural precipitation of the brow of the promontory. It is acknowledged, as we see, by H.M. Inspector himself, “for some reason, to have been thrown up,” that is, it is artificial; but he does not say that it extends, maintaining its artificial uniformity, for the distance of a mile along the south edge of the plateau, to and around the south-west angle, which is a distinctly formed right-angle, and then is continued with the same uniformity for half a mile along the west side, towards the present access to

* Report, pp. 4, 5.

† Engraved in his Plate ii.

the village of Penselwood, by the church. Whether or not this entrance to the village was also the ancient entrance to the Caer, is not essential to the present matter. The road passes over the line of the brow, or of the escarpment, by a short steep turn, and I have assumed, from a consideration of all the circumstances, and from analogies of others of the great hill cities or strongholds that I have seen, that the present access was the same as the ancient one.

This road, towards the entrance by the church, is that which turns to the left on approaching the height from Wincanton, and only shows the western face of the rampart, from the south-western angle of it. But the longer southern face may be well seen by the right-hand road,* which passes along under it, until a turning, to the left, mounts the ascent, to the plateau, eased by a sidling direction. In ascending, this road has to surmount the rampart itself, and, in order to do so, the sidling direction of the road is for the short necessary distance considerably increased. If the observer should look from this part of the road to the right and left, he will see the continuous uniform contour of the rampart extending, on the left, back towards the angle, and continuing to the right, onwards towards the gorge of exit of the river.

H.M. Inspector, among his engraved sections, gives a section, at some point, of this rampart,† and this is the only bit of his three plates that really concerns the question in dispute between him and me. Why he selected that particular point of the entire mile and a half for his section is not explained; but he represents there a considerable "Modern Bank," as he calls it, raised up in front of the escarpment. The word "Modern," just at that point, cannot fail to have a considerable literate engineering force upon the eye of the reader; but, if it is really "modern," why is it introduced at all, any more than any other modern hedges or fences or other modern objects which must have lain in the way of any of his surveys? Again, did this supplemental advanced bank only exist at that

* Marked, wrongly I believe, "Long Lane" in the old one-inch Ordnance Survey, No. 18.

† Lower section in his plate ii.

point of the escarpment which he selected for his section? If so, why did not he select a part a few yards from it? On the other hand, if this advanced bank continues along the mile and a half of both the faces of the rampart, and round the angle—which, from memory, I do not think it does—it must certainly be an additional outer rampart belonging to the ancient work itself.

But he does not seem to have convinced himself, after all, that this was not an ancient artificial rampart; for he goes on, “But supposing it to have been such, it appears probable this hill has been the scene of several battles, viz., between the Saxons and Britons in 658, under Ethelred in 1001, and again between Edmond Ironside and the Danes in 1016. Defences may, therefore, have been thrown up at any of those different times.” What? may have been thrown up then, although he has just said that no such fortification has ever been thrown up at all? It seems, therefore, that if the rampart is to be considered as that of *Caer Pensauelcoit*, it cannot be an artificial rampart at all; but if it is a part of the later Saxon transactions, it probably is a real artificial rampart. “The case is altered, quoth *Plowden*.” As to the three Saxon battles, I have discussed them and their true places, more fully than I believe has ever been done before or since, in my earlier and larger dissertation,* a work which he had before him. It is really hopeless to elaborately set things right, and afterwards to have official charges brought, as if one had never done so. But this is how what I have more than once called “misrepresentations” and “detractions” are still persisted in by H.M. Inspector and his Somersetshire allies or clients.

But the Report goes on:—“Moreover, it is obvious that this line, supposing it to have been an artificial escarpment, would have defended only the southern [and western] side of the area.” True. But how about the Sussex hill fortresses, of which General Pitt-Rivers is himself the “prophet”? There we find repeated explanations or apologies for “the total absence of earthworks in some points of a line of intrenchments.”†

* *A Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 45—54. † *Archæol.*, xlii., p. 36.

Sometimes the existence of a single line of rampart and ditch, only on one side (by Mount Caburn), is sufficient to raise an inference that it is "*possible* that the whole summit of the hill *may have been* inclosed by a rampart," aided by such words as "there are faint traces of an embankment in the cultivated ground" on the other slope of the hill, but "the remaining sides of which have entirely perished."* At a "subsequent examination" of the same place, he is able to discern that "the defensive line can be traced all round," though not, it seems, so distinctly as to be marked in the newer plan which he engraves.† This, however, is in the atmosphere of Sussex. How such words as "faint traces" would have been theodolited down at Caer Pensauelcoit. Again, for another of the Sussex fortresses:—"The work on White Hawk Hill has been partly destroyed in the formation of the race-course." Whether an inference or a recorded fact is not stated. Moreover, "The work does not command the slope of the hill to the south, and I think it *very probable* there may have been originally an outwork on that side which has been destroyed by the erection of buildings."‡ But General Pitt-Rivers's descriptions of his Sussex fortresses abound with apologies for the absence of continuity in the ramparts, whilst no such apologies are tolerated at Caer Pensauelcoit. One more example will suffice:—"In some places, where a steep declivity presents itself, there is no rampart, implying that the defence of those places must have been confined to an *abatis*, or a stockade."§ No doubt there were stockades and abatis, wherever necessary at Pensauelcoit. Even the rampart above described was most likely crowned with a stockade. Indeed, that must have been the universal practice.

As I have said, it was only by a collation of the topography of the entire district with the ancient records, already mentioned, both Roman and indigenous, that my attention was extrinsically directed to this spot. My own rambles of investigation over the area of the promontory, and around its declivities, were

* *Archæol.*, xlii., p. 38.

† *Archæol.*, xlvi., p. 424.

‡ *Ibid.*, xlii., p. 40. See also another example in the elegant little plan of Highdown, xlii., plate vi., fig. 17.

§ *Ibid.*, xlii., p. 49.

solitary and unassisted. The points necessary to be observed, in reference to my historical induction, were various and scattered, and to a great extent obscured by plantation, or inaccessible by inclosure. I did not expect the long-drawn chorus of disingenuous cavil which it has received, and still receives, from those who have a "professional bias" towards their own exploits; or the vexed aspersions of those who officially missed this chance of earning the applause of the Society for whom they were the quasi-Archdeacons. Observing the great natural strength of the precipitous circumcincture, I was satisfied with the sample of the artificial supplement to it that was presented in the mile and a half of it above described, which was visible along that portion of the brow which was open and unplanted, and thought it must satisfy all other reasonable enquirers. I was glad to hear of a committee to pursue my purpose, which would have been more especially to have endeavoured to realise any more of this artificial rampart; but found that the attention of them, and all subsequent enquirers, was industriously diverted from the far more important consideration which I had invited to the locality, to an old thrashed-out question, concerning another phenomenon which happens to be within the same portion of land. And this misdirection is still clamorously maintained, both by direct reiteration, and by implication in the twisted sentences in which they pretend to deal with my proposition. With regard to the artificial rampart, I will venture to say that, if the spirit of detraction could be exorcised, and if General Pitt-Rivers, and his adherents, would pursue the enquiry for it at Caer Pensaueicoit, with one tenth-part of the favour which he bestows on his own South-Down pet-lambs, I have no doubt that he would find that the rampart could "be traced all round," with at least as much certainty as that which he has himself created, and named "Ranscombe Camp," by Mount Caburn; or others of his Sussex clients, where he is so lenient to, and explanatory of, any partial dismantling of them by the effects of time. In his Report, however, he continues his usual severity of demand, of such survivals, at Caer Pen-

saueicoit. "There is certainly no evidence that the area," he says, "was so fortified on its north, east, and west sides." I have just dealt with the west part of this objection; and since the above was written I have accidentally met with a fresh indication, on the north side; which would have been more than sufficient for any conjectural restorations of similar waste of ages if it had been in Sussex. Renewing my acquaintance with Aubrey's gossiping *Lives of Eminent Men*, I came upon a curious account of Francis Potter, a most ingenious clergyman, who became Rector of Kilmington about 1637. Kilmington is the northern part of our peninsular promontory, and occupies the isthmus which connects it with the other high country that forms the backbone of the Forest of Selwood. A part of Stourhead Park, with Alfred's Tower, and the spot or earthwork called Jack's Castle, that overlooks the north-western precipice, are in the parish. Aubrey visited Potter at his rectory in 1649, and says:—"The garden is a good large square; in the garden is a good high mount, all fortified (as you may say)."*. This "fortified" I do not reckon. It is evidently a part of Potter's adornments of the garden described. But the "high mount" must have been already there and converted to a pleasure, as frequently such ancient mounds have been.† Whether this mound is a remnant of a northern cincture, or of outposts, I leave to the perambulations of neighbours. I do not know if the rectory mound still exists, but it would be just about midway between the western and eastern declivities of the isthmus.

In his *Times* Letter, General Pitt-Rivers, quite incidentally, and without any obvious purpose, except to make it understood what hardships he had endured in his task, lets fall the words "this bleak place." From this it might be inferred--by those in London and elsewhere, who only know from what he writes--that the *Caer Pensauelcoit* was totally unfit for the occupation of the great British General, of the first century,

* *Letters and Lives, from the Bodleian and Ashmolean* [edited by Dr. P. Bliss], 1813, vol. ii., p. 500.

† The Moot Hill of Downton Hundred, for instance. Also at Marlborough, Canterbury, and many elsewhere. One is within a gunshot (old style) of the desk whereon I am writing. - It is easier to adorn than to remove such a mass of earth.

known in our school-books by the name of Caractacus. On the contrary, the table summit is probably unique, among such anciently occupied elevations, in its abundance of circumscribed shelter, water, and the other natural resources of a human community; notoriously wanting in nearly all such elevated ancient cities and strongholds. The famous and classical pleasure-grounds of Stourhead, formerly of the Lords Stourton and later of Sir R. C. Hoare, are an anciently emparked portion of it, and probably an earlier levelled area of the pits themselves. I suppose Cissbury, upon the top of the Sussex downs—where water must have been fetched by hand up the high steep side of a chalk hill, from three miles off—must be a very snug corner.

As to the general suitableness of the district: in an original and thoughtful paper, on the “Domesday of Somerset,” a neighbouring gentleman, concerning much later transactions there, describes it as “a district peculiarly well suited to their undisciplined forces, as against the horsemen and regular soldiers of the Normans.”*

The same style of probabilities and possibilities runs through the whole of these Sussex descriptions, which for all that are very interesting and valuable; but no such discounts for the wear and tear of fifteen centuries are tolerated for *Caer Pensauelcoit*. In fact the breezes which blow “hot” on the Sussex downs can blow intensely “cold” on about the same latitude farther westward. But even in Somerset the same writer’s word is sufficient not only to build up castles in the air for his own arguments, but to sweep them clean away again, twice over, without even a wreck to indicate that they had ever existed. In another of his papers, on Sigwell, scarcely six miles west of our promontory of *Penselwood*, and close to the *Cadbury* that is claimed for Arthur, and one of the “detached posts” of our own *Caer*, he *assumes* that a hill there had been a fortress, but that “The rampart, *if it ever had one*, has been destroyed; but it is *possible* the earth from the ditch *may have* been used to form an interior mound.” But he goes on to tell us that there is now no trace of any such rampart, or of its later

* Rev. J. A. Bennett, *Som. Arch. Soc.*, xxv., p. 25.

hypothesised mound, remaining ; so that it also has been *possibly* destroyed.* His own word, “possible,” can raise ramparts and destroy them to construct, out of their material, interior mounds ; afterwards, by the same breath, to be “utterly demolished,” as potently as his “if” can command Vespasian’s army from Britain across the channel into Brittany.

The Report, however, continues :—“The idea of defence by detached posts, which Mr. Kerslake appears to assume as possible on these sides, would have formed an ineffectual protection, as the besiegers would have pushed between them, leaving the garrisons, armed only with short-range missiles, shut up in their forts. Such a means of defence on this account has never been adopted in early times.” Indeed ? Then if we live and learn, we also live to unlearn. If this should be what H.M. Inspector means by “our previous knowledge upon the subject” † to which he is desirous to bring me back, what has become of all the attempts of “previous” enquirers, to realize the frontiers of ancient nationalities by the observation of the chains of hill fortresses, which, although miles apart, are within communicating sight of each other ? What has become even of the much discussed cincture of castra between Antona and Sabrina ? For even the Romans had only “short-range missiles.” But General Pitt-Rivers himself, when in Sussex, can find “advanced posts.” ‡

But H.M. Inspector has a pet theory of his own, which is also quite different from our previous knowledge. He thinks, as “the results of my [his] investigation,” § that “all over the south of England we find hill tops surmounted by *small* forts” which were “the strongholds of independent tribes.” And so, the Report further continues, “Had such a large town as this existed anywhere in the south of England it must have dominated the others”—of course it must, and why not ?—“and rendered their defences useless ;”—certainly, against their dominant city or “town.” Why this is the sort of writing that ladies archly call *naïveté*. It objects, that if it was so, it would be the very thing I was saying it

* *Anthropological Journal*, vol. viii., 1879, p. 192.

‡ *Archæologia*, xlii., p. 37, &c.

† *Report*, p. 12.

§ Page 12.

was, which was not what he wanted it to be. But this is the common lot in all ages, for the stronger and bigger to dominate, and for the smaller and weaker to prudently submit to its metropolitan ascendancy. And this is the very question between us, being artlessly begged by H.M. Inspector. But we have here only his official repetition of what he had already given elsewhere as his unofficial theory: that the south of Britain had consisted, in those times, of "several distinct tribes," because "Such a state of society is more in accordance with what we find to be the early condition of *savage life* in every part of the world."* By the teaching of our new historical school-board, we are likely to learn, in addition to "our previous knowledge," that these "Britons" were only a sort of narrow fringe of "Savage Life," running along outside the beginning of the Saxons, with perhaps a small silken cord of "the Romans" between them. But H. M. Inspector further says that the "tribes that lived in their vicinity . . . ran to these fortified places . . . when they were attacked by neighbouring tribes."† But General Pitt-Rivers had elsewhere found that one of them was "not a mere military earthwork . . . but a permanent abode, in which women performed their usual avocations,"‡ and that "loom weights" were found in another.§ But it would cost too much to print all the examples of self contradiction in the Report itself, and between it and the same author in his other writings. I had, I hoped, given good reasons—and the existence of such dominant cities was among them—that these people were far advanced beyond "savage life;" for which reasons I must again refer to what I have several times printed at length, and cannot afford here to repeat against a mere repetition of what begs the whole question.||

But we have only to turn over the leaf to find a very singular qualification of this opinion. "It is in this feature of isolation that the Sussex camps [extended in the Report, ¶ "all over the south of England"] differ so materially from the entrenchments of the Yorkshire wolds, where we see unmistakeable traces of the land-

* *Archæol.*, vol. xlii., p. 51.

† *Report*, p. 12.

‡ *Archæol.*, xlv., p. 467.

§ Page 468.

¶ See *Prim. Brit. Metr.*, 1877, *passim*; *The Welsh in Dorset*, 1880, p. 29; *Reassertion*, 1882 (section, Pre-historic Civilisation), pp. 37-45.

¶ Page 12.

ing and subsequent operations of a united people, extending for miles into the interior of the country.”* H.M. Inspector recommends his readers to return from my view of the social condition of the Britons “to our previous knowledge on this subject”† He here presents us with two opposite views of that “previous knowledge.” One of them nearly the same as mine. To which of them does he invite us to return? This is a very extraordinary contrast, truly, between the social conditions of the kingdoms of Deira and Damnonia (using the nearest names, for our purpose, within reach). We may be content to let King Cogidumnus maintain his own sovereignty of the Regni. He was contemporary with the transactions at *Caer Pensauelcoit*, which we are now fighting over again. He must have held sway over *Regnum*, or *Chichester*, and *Anderida*, as well as the now-called *Cissbury*, and the other hill cities and *oppida* of the South Downs, thus described by H.M. Inspector as “the strongholds of independent tribes,” and of “several distinct tribes,” in “the early condition of savage life.” Cogidumnus is specifically recognised as “*Rex*,” both by Tacitus and by the well-known ancient inscription at *Chichester*. On this point, again, the Crown Report is in great peril from that most formidable of all critics, “the ordinary school-girl”—her long hair wildly streaming on the wind—who would certainly at once lay it prostrate before the cruent chariot wheels of the much-wronged and infuriated Sovereign Heroine of the *Trinobantes*. Here we seem to have a curious and perilous collision between the authority of the Crown, in the metropolis of this island, in the first century and in the nineteenth; and the zealous loyalty, of a Minister of the nineteenth, resolving itself into intolerance of ancient metropolism, may account for his hostility to our *Caer Pensauelcoit*. It also throws a flood of light on a passage, that had hitherto quite baffled me, in the Report, where he says‡ that this dispute “had become a party question.” In this case, I suppose I must be, what used to be called, an Anti-ministerialist.

In the Report, § H.M. Inspector, indeed, demurs at my

* *Archæol.*, xlii., p. 52.

† Page 12.

‡ Page 8.

§ Page 12.

suggestion, that "our current estimate of the numbers of pre-historic populations falls much short of the reality," for the reason mentioned, that "All over the south of England we find hill tops surmounted by *small* forts, capable of containing small garrisons." Indeed? Then it is quite certain that Her Majesty's Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Great Britain has still some of them, and not a few, waiting his inspection. Has he not yet seen that one on Ham or Hamdon Hill, west of Yeovil? a pre-Roman fortified area of sufficient extent to take off the edge of his incredulity as to the size of Caer Pensauelcoit; and the evidences still manifest, upon Ham Hill, of vicissitudes, which, by way of parallel, may also help him out of his unbelief of the other. Is it possible that he has not yet surveyed Eggardon, Bindon, Maiden Castle, Worle, Broadhembury, Prestonbury on the Teign, and many the like to them? And, if so, will he repeat what he says that they are only "small forts, capable of containing small garrisons"? I believe that, in course of time, it will be more generally believed, "that our current estimate of the numbers of pre-historic populations falls much short of the reality." Meanwhile, it is evident that the estimate of H.M. Inspector falls short even of that which is already current. The number and magnitude of their monuments, which still survive the waste and revolutions of so many centuries, are only those of them that happen to be upon "bleak places;" from which the more artificial wants, that are derived from culture, have deterred later occupiers of the land from following them. The same cause has put the great number of them out of our daily observation. Content with climbing to a few specimens, we are not impressed by the great multitude and universality of them. But we might have amended our estimate by the help of a foregone consideration: whatever social or political practical inferences may have been drawn from it, the natural fact is certainly in action before our eyes, of the rapid increase of populations, up to a counteracting check. To these, our patriarchal ancestors, defects of the climate and of the productiveness of the soil were no such check; nor were they subjected to what is to

us a very active check, the artificial needs imported by culture. Another thing, civilisation, or the subjection of the will of one to the wills of many, they must have had; being the only condition of existence possible to mankind in any plural state. General Pitt-Rivers, however, thinks they must have been all "savages," because where they lived are now "bleak places," and lays down a "maxim," that "*invention* is absolutely unknown to savages in a very early condition."* Yet, overleaf, he says savages understood "division of labour" in flint manufacture.† I will presume to lay down another maxim: That there is no other source of civilisation, than for this race of "savages" to have passed into it, by the help of "invention."

As to the pre-Roman "Britons," Mr. W. Thompson Watkin concludes a valuable muster-roll of "The Roman Forces in Britain" with this pertinent reflection: "Strange it is that even at that time such a force was required to hold Englishmen in subjection."‡ Of course he means the pre-Roman inhabitants of this island, among whom were those who held Vespasian at bay at Caer Pensaueicoit.

As to these hill fortresses being actually cities and towns, in the same sense as we now use these words: some of them, and these not the largest of them, are still alive to speak for themselves, occupying the same earthwork shell as in so many, and more numerous, cases are now deserts. Carlisle is one of them, and also continues the "Caer" in its name. York is no doubt another. But perhaps the most exemplary case to our point is that of Exeter, which I have already more than once cited to this purpose: "Of the fact, that the greater examples of what are now only known as 'camps,' were identical in purpose and origin with those that have survived as cities, we have an actual comparative exemplification within easy reach of us. The name of 'Maiden Castle,' Dorset, is common to it and other similar places, and, however ancient, cannot be its original proper name, but a later descriptive one. Old Sarum, with a Christian cathedral and seven or eight parish churches, is historically known to have come

* *Archaeol.*, xlii., p. 70. † *Ibid.*, p. 72. ‡ *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xli., p. 270.

to the same complexion. But the identity of purpose—that they are in fact skeletons of two individuals of one species—is self evident to any one who walks around the stupendous ramparts of both. Exeter, more happy, still lives as one of our brightest cities. Its British earth ramparts, surmounted by Saxon and Norman stone walls, had similar precipitous outer ditches; filled up for modern convenience within recorded time. Its name also is its British proper name, compounded with its Roman suffix, and both fused into the Saxon form, as we now speak it. The site shews the same principle of selection as the others; and remains of the same method of defence are still visible. What has kept it alive to our time is the accidental possession, in addition to the requirements of its founders, of those of mediæval and modern life: a navigable tidal estuary, a metropolitical position, and a salubrious climate. Here, at any rate, are three great cities, of co-ordinate and probably contemporaneous origin: But see their various subsequent fortunes.”*

The only tangible pretext, for H.M. Inspector's formidable official interdict of my unauthorized meddling with a sort of business of which he claims the monopoly, is that he and my old Somerset assailants—now his coadjutors and assistants—persist in identifying the hitherto unobserved historical association, which I had imported to the place, with a totally different question; the nature and cause of the thousands of pits still there, and the many more thousands which are authentically recorded to have been already destroyed by levelling the surface for agriculture. I do not therefore enter upon this subordinate question as being myself directly concerned with it, but because it is persistently imputed to me as that which does directly concern me.

H.M. Inspector appears to have approached it with expectations which were necessarily disappointed. Some one seems almost to have made him believe that he would find the whole place covered with hand-

* *The Welsh in Dorset*, 1879, p. 5.; see also *A Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 98—101.

somely furnished houses. At any rate he thought he should have found them exactly like a model house which he had established at Winklebury: "flat bottomed, square shaped, scorched with fire, strewed about with remains of handicraft" and "vestiges of a wooden door and steps." That is what he had seen elsewhere, and that is what ought to have been here. It is quite plain, from his Report and Times letter, that there is nothing else in all the world but what happens to have been dreamt of in his own omniscient philosophy. Has he not seen "sixty-five pits"? Of course all such things ought to be alike, and according to the best pattern, as regulated by The Department. It is true that there had been an old standing controversy about the "Pen Pits;" but it had been quite unnecessary, as he would have determined it at once if he had come sooner. But, hush. Stand aside, or be "finally demolished." Government itself is now at last come to judgment.

The surface of the peninsula, to which I had restored Caer Pensauelcoit, for some hundreds of acres, has been anciently altered, evidently by a great number of human hands for some common purpose. The old dispute, before I shewed its connection with the written history of the first century, was, whether these pits were the remains of ancient habitations, or the remains of ancient quarries. Once, yet again, this phenomenon does not concern my demonstration, farther than that it is on the same ground. In my two former publications I have, on this last account, included a complete summary of this old dispute, as a mere contingent to my new contribution to the history of the place.* This dispute was already in abeyance when I encountered it, and I accepted it, for what it might be worth, as an ally; and I do not renounce it now; but it was only an ally, whatever it might be; not as being essential to my far more important extrinsic geographical and historical demonstration.† My adversaries, from the beginning, in spite of my repeated corrections and restatements, persisted in hammering away at this old subordinate question:

* *Primeval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 1—6; *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 12—21.

† *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 1—12.

insisting upon it as the real subject; and the while loudly insisting in all directions that it was me that they were hitting, and "demolishing," or were about to demolish. And now, ensconced behind that impregnable controversial rampart a resolute deaf ear, they have at length mounted upon it the "Regum ultima ratio"—commanding! the entire, hitherto democratic, field of historical criticism—the Report by Her Majesty's Inspector; which he himself—who of course is the supreme judge—says may be "considered final;" and impervious to correction, he repeats their misrepresentations, from his high estate, more loudly and widely.

Since I first published my identification, of the historical records, with the place, in 1877, the Somersetshire officials have directed two formal surveys of the ground to this mistaken view of the question; and both have confessedly failed.† No sooner had the new Government Department been instituted, than it was called to their aid, and H.M. Inspector made it his first business, with their help, to make a third attempt, which consisted of an excavation of a few square yards in this large extent of anciently disturbed land. In his Report of this, he makes a display of elaborate and patient minuteness, far beyond what can illustrate the question which he so dogmatically professes to have decided; whilst it goes but a very little way, if any, towards any such conclusion. However, he concludes, as some of the older enquirers, for a hundred years past, had already concluded, that they were ancient quarries and not dwellings.

What if they were quarries? He has done the same for Cissbury, of which he is himself the "prophet." He has there shewn to his own satisfaction, with much laudable zeal and skill, that the pits there were quarries for flints, in the stone age. But instead of inferring that therefore that fortified area had never been the abode of a human community, he evidently in several places admits that it had been. His only question, several times raised, was whether the flint quarries and manufacture were later or earlier

* A motto found engraved on old brass cannons.

† *Somersetshire Society's Proceedings*, vol. xxiv., p. 59, vol. xxv., p. 7, &c.

than the occupation as habitations? * Similar observations occurred to him at another Sussex stronghold, Mount Caburn. †

I have already admitted that the excavation by H.M. Inspector is "a valuable contribution to the subordinate old question to which alone his experiment is devoted; but being of very limited scope it is only a small contribution to that." ‡ Compared with the great extent of the surface covered with the ancient disturbance, the nature of which it pretends to have tested, this third experiment is about parallel to the brick, in the ancient jest, that was carried round the town as a sample of a house for sale. The brick and the experiment were both probably genuine, but not equal to their purpose. It is not only small, but it is not new. The same experiment has been in progress as long as the memory of living men, and the tradition of preceding generations. H.M. Inspector says, "Sir Richard Colt Hoare made no diggings." He did better. He watched the diggings of others for thirty years. Instead of H.M. Inspector's excavation of a few square yards, his older experiment was continued for many years, with equal efficiency, over hundreds of acres, and, equally with the small new experiment, consisted of the removal of the gravel down to the surface of the rock to reach the stone stratum: which stone was a part of the repayment to the workers of the contracts, followed of course by the restoration of the gravel, but reduced to a level agricultural surface, which was the object of the landowner, the other party to the contracts. But it seems that the smaller experiment has been made for the sake of a more scientific examination, and so H.M. Inspector spent "three weeks . . . in this bleak place." Why, the former and greater experiment was made under the eye of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, during thirty years; for his house and park of Stourhead is actually situated upon "this bleak place:" and as to science, except for flint-flakes, which bear upon this locality and this

* *Archæologia*, vol. xlii., p. 72.

† *Archæologia*, xlv., pp. 432—487, &c., also xlvii., p. 429.

‡ *Athenæum*, September 6th, 1884, p. 309.

question but very slightly, Sir Richard not only saw our phenomenon when it was far more perfect than it can now be seen, but he certainly, at least, equalled any later enquirers in such matters, in earnest and indefatigable research, in acute discrimination of evidence, in long experienced skill, and I will add, in singleness of purpose in the pursuit of truth for its own sake. Whoever may be referred to in the State Report,* as having done him the "injustice to infer, as some have done, that he committed himself to any of these hypotheses," are certainly justly charged with "injustice." My own summary of his various notices of the subject, at different times of his life from 1810 to 1831, appears in both my two dissertations,† and concludes with quoting his last words, in which he "suspended his judgment" upon these "very extensive pits or excavations which covered about seven hundred acres, and which," he concludes, "have never been accounted for in a satisfactory manner." I presume to coincide with H.M. Inspector's applause of Sir Richard's suitable "frame of mind" for his pursuit, as shewn by his "suspended judgment;" but it should be remembered that he was a private solicitor of truth, not a State dictator of what the truth ought to be, when brought to light. So that his frame of mind would not be so suitable to his more authorised successor, who actually knows the sort of things that other people only meekly propose.

But, even if they should be quarries, neither Caer Pensauelcoit, nor the Sussex "camps," are the only examples of British or pre-historic hill cities and oppida, that have afterwards been occupied as quarries. That at Hamdon Hill, near Yeovil, for example, where the British or pre-Roman rampart, although not equal in included area to that of Caer Pensauelcoit, is so great as to remove all wonder at the size of that. There, at Hamdon, a branch of the platform, which is merely a subordinate promontory from it, has been afterwards occupied as a Roman encampment, and even this is a large one of that kind. But this Roman

* Page 7.

† *Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 3—5. *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 15—18.

holding has been followed, like our own Caer, by the occupation, for many centuries, of a large portion of it, by extensive quarries, from which have been built the splendid gold-like churches for many miles around; of which Sherborne, Martock, Taunton, and many others may be quoted as specimens; so that if anyone should be so bold as still to call this a British or Roman city, another handsome Government quarto might be printed to decree that it was only quarries.

Old fashioned people used to speak of "foreigners" as if they were all one sort of people, so H. M. Inspector of our Ancient Monuments seems to look at all our pre-historic antecessors as all of one sort, and of one age of the world. He quotes "Stonehenge" and "Cissbury" and "Grimes Graves"* as equally shewing the habits of "the Britons" as to quarrying. How they reached the stone which they coveted by digging thousands of pits through four to eight feet of the superincumbent sand, and then forsook it, skimming along the surface, &c. Sir R. C. Hoare having remarked that so large a tract of land would not have been excavated for quarrying; "for on finding a bed of stone suited to their purpose, would not the Britons," he says, "have followed that stratum instead of opening so many thousand pits over an extensive tract of land, in precipitous situations, on the steep sides of hills?"

To this the Government Report replies that "Sir Richard does not appear to me to have sufficiently considered the difficulty under which the Britons would have laboured in quarrying the hard rock with the tools at their disposal . . . that they were not great quarrymen." This seems a most extraordinary way of accounting for their having in so many thousand places pierced the superstratum of gravel which they did not want, and desist when they reached the hard sandstone, which they sought for, leaving it behind as soon as they had found it. Besides, "It would be ridiculous even for a moment," Sir Richard Hoare says, "to suppose that so large a tract of

* *Report*, p. 6.

land could have been excavated for the purpose of procuring stone.”*

But it would have been no depreciation of the later experiment to have called it “small,” if ever so small an advance upon the result of the former greater one had been accomplished. But small as it is, it has been rendered perfectly ludicrous by the strain after official capital that has been raised out of it. Not only in the Report, but in newspaper letters and articles, both tame and spiced, and the readings of “papers” to learned societies in many places in England, and even in Canada, it has been magnified and glorified in a simultaneous outburst of triumphant exultation, as if it had been an explosion that had annihilated the place itself and all that had ever been said about it.

In his experiment at Caer Pensauelcoit, H. M. Inspector appears to have begun by, what he calls, “the removing the silting and rubbish.” That is, he began by destroying the “pits” themselves, which are burrowed out of the natural superstratum of gravel; and then makes a most minute and skilful survey of the underlying rock. This was a very valuable thing to do, for its own sake. So also, once in the course of a childhood, it is a truly profitable experiment, and teaching a life-long most valuable lesson, to break a rattle, “to see the noise that is heard.” But the dumb rattle should not be passed upon the world as a specimen. There is also an old precedent for clearing away the houses, the better to see the town.

But this ambiguity, both of purpose and language, prevails over all the Report and its echoes. So again, one of the causes of the extensive change of the surface of the soil—which is what is always really meant by “the pits”—he suggests, to the outside public, to be “rain and weathering and *the treading of human feet* during long periods of time.” This is clearly, like much else, written for those who have never seen the place, and more especially for Bowbellians,

* *Ancient Wiltshire*, i., p. 36; see also throughout pages 35, 36, 37, and 38. In my summary of the older question about the pits, it was impossible to reprint all that Sir R. C. Hoare had said, but I will add references to, I believe, all the places in his works in which he has, again and again, noticed the pits. *Ancient Wiltshire*, vol. i., 1810, pp. 35—38, with plan; *Modern Wiltshire*, *Mere Hundred*, 1822, p. 91; *Westbury H.*, 1831, p. 53; *Addenda*, 1845, p. 17.

whose acquaintance with Physical Geography is strictly limited to the *viæ stratae* of Cheapside and Fleet Street. Belgravians, who have business at Whitehall, have at least some autumnal experiences of the relative effects of natural and human agencies upon the desert places of this island.

But H.M. Inspector* says he has examined "many pits (about 65 in all)," "and I have found pottery in all of them." What? in all? He must have forgotten that among those which he examined in Sussex, one (No. 1) at Highdown "produced nothing but a half-penny of William III." "Nos. 5 and 6 presented the same character of soil, and were consecutively drawn blank."† At Cissbury, No. 3 "being unproductive, the pit was abandoned." "No. 8 produced no relics of any kind."‡ Pits "in some cases . . . contained no relics whatever."§ How then could a small piercing at Caer Pensauelcoit settle the scarcity in that much larger collection of many thousand pits?

But this scarcity of relics, so much vaunted in the Report as a "final" new discovery from the State experiment, was not a discovery at all. It was the result of Sir R. C. Hoare's very much larger observation; and was fully acknowledged by him, and recited by me in my first publication. || He had, however, found some fragments of what he describes as "Roman-British pottery;" and Mr. Warre had found a Celtic bronze torque, still preserved. H.M. Inspector also reports the finding of some flint flakes during his small excavation. The scarcity was, however, left as an open "crux." Not so H.M. Inspector. His negatives are positive. He not only knows what he sees, but still more certainly knows that what he does not see never existed at all. That little or no pottery had been found, and that there was a more than usual scarcity of relics, was always a part of the case prominently set forth, and submitted to the judgment of readers, as to what it might signify.

But the Report says of it, of course with more than scientific authority: "I consider this evidence conclusive against the habitation theory." Why, so it would

* *Report*, p. 11.

† *Archæologia*, xlii., p. 57.

‡ *Idem*, p. 60.

§ *Idem*, xli., p. 451.

|| *Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 20-22.

be against the quarrying theory, if it had been my purpose to contest that theory, for quarrying would be human occupation over this large area, and ought to have left its reliques. General Pitt-Rivers proves that the pits at Cissbury are flint quarries, and not the "dwellings themselves of the ancient Britons," by having "found pottery in all of them;" but, at Caer Pensauelcoit, he proves that they are quarries and not dwellings, because he there finds little or none. The "crux"—the real wonder of this vast expanse of ancient human hand-work, and what it meant, and how produced, remains as it was before the official experiment of H.M. Inspector. He does, however, in another place, "reasonably assume" that the pits at Mount Caburn "may originally have been connected with . . . habitations of reeds or wattle-work on the surface, which have disappeared."* What? Disappeared without leaving relics? So that General Pitt-Rivers can "reasonably assume" "habitations of reeds or wattle-work" at Mount Caburn, without having left human relics, which H.M. Inspector in his Report "considers" to be impossible at Caer Pensauelcoit.

But this question, of greater or less scarcity of fossil relics of human art or industry, is notoriously involved in all such researches. Indeed they are always much too few to satisfy any preconceived expectation of them. In the case before us, this scarcity is equally conspicuous and unaccounted for by the contention of both parties. It is quite as little to be expected if the phenomenon is the result of quarries as if it had been that of habitations. The truth is that the rules of the evidence, from fossil relics, seem to require revision. Such relics are only found as accidental stray specimens; and when they so occur, they are rather witnesses that hundreds or thousands of their fellows have disappeared, but that some accident in their subterment, or some exceptional natural condition of the matrix which has embedded them, has preserved one from among the multitude. If, therefore, hundreds or thousands have, in all cases, certainly been lost, what can be the value of the negative

* *Archæol.*, xlv., p. 451.

testimony of the loss of the entire hundred and one? Many of ourselves have lived long enough to have seen a tinder-box in every house. Where are now the many thousands of dozens which must have maintained this supply? Where, indeed, are their imperishable flints and steels? There is, in fact, something not yet accounted for, in connecting this branch of evidence with the great inexorable general law of waste.

Cissbury and Caburn are not only said to have contained flint quarries within their ramparts, but also manufactories of flint implements and weapons; so also at Caer Pensauelcoit, one of the suggestions has been a wholesale factory of millstones. We have heard much about the querns or millstones that have been found there. The rumour of them seems to have multiplied their number by repetition. This notion, of the great number of them, has probably grown out of Mr. Warre's suggestion that the district was a great quern factory; a notion from which his readers have imagined a great number, but for which the stray ones said to have been met with were his only foundation. Mr. Warre had himself imagined that all this great area was nothing but a great factory of millstones for all Britain, because, he says, it would have been too large for a habitation community: would have been large enough to contain "the inhabitants of the whole island," according to his estimate of the then population of the whole island. He did not, however, think it too large to supply them with millstones. It was too large for a city, but not too large for a factory. This anomaly is actually adopted into the Report of H.M. Inspector. But where are all these talked of numerous querns? They were not in Sir Richard Hoare's own museum. There are, on the spot, just the few that are always found in British settlements. Scarcely any provincial museum of neighbouring findings but contains as many. Indeed, Sir Richard Hoare, in the place quoted, says that they are also "found at Knook, and in other British villages"; and I remember three in the Truro museum. And this might have been expected, for in the social condition of which they are the relics, the family quern would have been about as frequent as the pianoforte, or perhaps

the kitchen-range, in ours. Being indestructible and not worth removing by those who have found them, they often remain in their places ; and no doubt they were home-made where suitable stone existed, and this is where unused "wasters" might be expected. In a cottage, near the pits, at Penselwood, the dwelling-room has now six or eight circular stones, of uniform size, symmetrically arranged in the pavement. But these appear to be what are called in Wiltshire "staddle-stones," being the overhanging capstones of the shafts upon which barns or corn-ricks* are raised out of the reach of rats. These may have suggested the multitude of such stones, of which we hear, but do not see. But whether or not, at any time, it was such a trading factory of such querns, no more conflicts with another previous occupation, of another kind, than the alleged factory of flint weapons was held by General Pitt-Rivers to have the same effect at Cissbury. But the scarcity of other human reliques is not even accounted for by the quarry theory, for it cannot be maintained that quarrying could be carried on over such a really vast area, without a very populous human occupation.

Sir Richard Hoare's objection against the quarry theory, that, "the Britons, or, indeed, any being endowed with common sense," would not, for that purpose, have opened "so many thousands of pits over so large a tract of land," "in precipitous situations, and on the steep sides of hills," is a perfectly just one. It is remarkable that geologists should be the last to observe that the green-sand formation, with this useful stone, which is here accidentally upon the top of a precipitous elevation, difficult of access and transport, being an outcrop from below the high chalk hills, is otherwise always found, in this neighbourhood, as the floors of the easily accessible denudated valleys. That this precipitous peninsular promontory should be found to consist of this formation, so much more common in lower and accessible places, is exceptionally caused by the survival of the outcrop of it, for about three miles, westward of its denudated, superincumbent chalk. Indeed, as far as its upper beds of stone, chert, and gravel are concerned, it seems to be

* "Korn-stadal," *Graff*, vi., 653.

a perfect outlier. These upper beds of stone and chert, having been actually scooped away in the eastward valley, between their outcrop under the chalk promontory and our promontory, there reappear in an insular condition. This lofty peninsula is, in fact, more suitable for a strong post ; and lower outcrops would have been more desirable for the alleged quarrying purposes. The sides of most of the main roads around Warminster, for instance, are sections of this formation, without ascending what is the mountain of the district for it. But of course they were "Savages," or "Barbarians," did not know the easiest way to do even the roughest work, laboured under difficulties in quarrying "with the tools at their disposal." In fact, rather preferred going up a long precipitous hill for what they could easily get without. So, indeed, it seems ; though, until railways came up, theirs were the greatest engineering works existing on the face of the land. "The Poor Welshman," as the great arbiter—but not yet State-arbiter—Dr. Guest, called them ; "the trembling Briton," as another eminent disciple of him, has repeated. General Pitt-Rivers, however, when in the "*Archæologia*" he admires them as "a people who met Cæsar in the field, and produced Caractacus,"* seems hardly in concord with H.M. Inspector's notes of these "savages," in his Report.

The apology, set forth in the Report, for this long-deferred State interference, is that "The Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments . . . afforded the means of preserving at least a portion of the pits." Why, the whole wonder of the pits lies in the unparalleled expanse, over hundreds of acres, of some unexplained but uniform modification of the surface of the land, as I have said, "by the labour of an immense number of hands, directed by some motive common to them all." What this motive was, has been long a "crux," and, in spite of all the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men, is so still : for H.M. Inspector has also now tried his hand and failed. He found, in "sixty-five pits," in chalk, human relics ; from which he inferred they were flint quarries. He dug a pit here, and found scarcely

* *Archæologia*, xlvii., p. 464.

any, and says he has thus proved that these are quarries. Absence and presence, both prove the same thing to him. Whether this large extent, of certainly human occupation, was residential or industrial, it must at some time have been the constant resort of many thousands of men; and the scarcity of relics is an equal objection to both. Where are all their tools and implements, whether of flint, bone, bronze, or iron? But H.M. Inspector was not the discoverer of this scarcity of relics. It was dwelt upon by those who had already noticed the place, and was duly recited by me,* when I added to my own historical discovery—for it has now become necessary that I should myself so claim it—a summary of all that had been said about the place. The real wonder of the phenomenon is its great extent, which would not be represented by the preservation of any available “portion” of it; and the preservation of any large extent of this valuable corn land cannot be believed to have been the greedy desire of the most conservational antiquary. Certainly I never entertained such a wish, although H.M. Inspector, in his Report, seems to implicate me in such an unreasonable preference of the cognisance of the past to the welfare of the future. That, for a higher reason, I was averse to any such impropriation, may be seen by a note in my first publication.† The only tangible pretext, however, for the State interference was this groundless pretence that my proposition rested on these pits. This, as I have said, had been, throughout, the inveterate assumption of my antagonists, the officials of the Somerset Society, who reappear as the helpers of H.M. Inspector, and this continues to be his unwarranted and reiterated assumption.

But the much discussed pits were not the only subordinate or collateral question, which, in spite of all my endeavours to make them understand that it is not what I had brought before them, the official misleaders of the Somersetshire Society persisted in confounding with it. Within the great cincture of the Caer is a

* *Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 21, 22.

† *Ibid*, p. 21.

small earthwork fortress, now called "Castle Orchard," very completely preserved, which had, as it deserved, already attracted the notice and discussion of local antiquaries. The late Rev. F. Warre had also treated it, at a different time, and without any reference to its immediate surroundings which had otherwise engaged him, and have now engaged so much of our attention. He had only treated it as one of the series of British fortresses so abundant in this part of England. He had endeavoured to interpret the mutual relation of the whole of these to each other, as a part of one system of defence of two ancient nations against each other. In this he was hardly justified, for all the others are on hill-tops, but this is actually within the crater and surrounded by it, and commanded by superior heights close all around it; so that it could not have been intended for any external purpose or relation. However, it was within the precincts of the area to which my historical induction had led me, and, in all that I had said about it, I had left the question open whether it had been a part of the original design at the settlement of the community; whether it had been added by the same people, at a later time of their occupation, as a defence found necessary against an approach by the gorge of the river; or whether it had been constructed at some later time after the British city had been abandoned? I had recapitulated all this in my Re-assertion,* above referred to. On the publication of the first Report by Professor Boyd Dawkins in 1878,† I pointed out to them the mistake they had made, in supposing the pits to be the main question before them; and when in 1879 another of their Officers made a second experiment and Report,‡ they changed their front of attack by another blunder. The whole of this small internal accessory fortress being very easily within sight at one view, they hastily mistook it for the subject to which I had amended their former false scent, and now made an excavation in this. An imperfect one, as they confessed; but if it had been ever so well conducted, it would have been only a blunder.

* 1882, pp. 29—37. † *Somerset Society's Proceedings*, vol. xxiv., pp. 59—61.

‡ *Somerset Society's Proceedings*, vol. xxv., pp. 7—17.

Knowing that, if this little fortress had formed any part of the original design of the city at all, it must have been only an appendage; I had done little more than merely to mention its existence.* But finding that those who had been carrying out the enquiries of the Somersetshire Society, had, in both of their experiments of 1878 and 1879, constantly mistaken this small earthwork for the real subject of my research, I endeavoured, in my later treatise,† to set them right, by pointing out to them that any question about it was at most quite subordinate to my proposition; whatever might be its own claims to attention. It was very difficult to get this blunder out of their minds, and even out of the mind of General Pitt-Rivers himself, who also took part in the second inspection, before his Crown appointment. In fact these two blunders of mistaking the pits, and this internal fortress, for the real question, continually runs through his government Report itself, in a sort of twisted cord, now and then varied by a sort of suspicion of the truth, that my real question lies outside of both. And this makes it difficult, without tediousness to the reader, to present a disentanglement of his often contradictory charges and misrepresentations. But it is plain that, when he awakened to the necessity of a wider view of the question, this "Castle Orchard" still haunted him as being the main question. The most interesting, and even beautiful, of the three plates in his State paper, is a view of this internal earthwork, from one of the heights by which it is so closely overlooked. It is valuable, as well showing a part of the interior valley or crater, which is withinside our actual subject; but, to the subject itself, it has about the same relation as a view of a dining-room table would have, to a view of the outside of the house which contains it. The background of his view happens to have included the site of his later, official, experiment, the place of which must have been rechosen after the view had been drawn; evidently an afterthought attempt to correct the mistakes which I had pointed out. The view has been adapted to the changed purpose, by marking the

* *Primæval British Metropolis*, 1877, p. 14. † *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 29—37.

new spot in the distance. But this amended spot is equally confined within the crater, and the view conveys no suggestion whatever of the strong external position; which is what the real question is concerned with. Some similar views, of the external features of the promontory, would add much to the clearness of what I have had to say, but I have not the "Printers in Ordinary to Her Majesty," nor the public revenue, at my command. If I could have spent two or three days with a photographer, for the different points of the circumcincture and the surroundings, I might have convinced more surely than by much of this writing. But I have already invested as much as the subject claims of me, and since the beginning, my habits of ranging and perambulation have abated.

Like the phenomenon of the pits, therefore, this of the small subordinate fortress, commanding the stream of the new born Stour, in its passage, out of the crater of the promontory, into the lower country, is distinctly parasitical to my historical identification which has brought me into contact with both. It is, however, in itself very curious and interesting, and has a separate problem of its own. Before what I have said about the entire promontory had been even dreamed of, either by me or any one else, the late Mr. Warre had pronounced Castle Orchard itself to be "a British construction of very early date."* H.M. Inspector, however, professes to "prove" it "to be of Norman origin."† Of this I will not stay to say more, than that I think he will be fortunate if this assertion should escape the criticism of Mr. G. T. Clark. For the proof of this he seems to refer to the second Report of the Somerset Society,‡ where several flint flakes, an iron buckle and tongue of a second "supposed to be Norman," a few pieces of glazed and other pottery, pronounced by Mr. Franks to be "neither Roman nor British, but of subsequent date to Roman," also a "tobacco pipe (temp. Elizabeth)." It is hardly worth while to remark that these are reported to have been found, not in the mound or keep, but in the rampart at

* *Somerset Society's Proceedings*, vol. vii., 1856.

† *Report*, pp. 5, 7, 11.

‡ *Somerset Society's Proceedings*, vol. xxv., pp. 7—16.

the farther end of the adjoining inclosure or outer bailey, that possibly may have been later. But the finding of these relics may be compared with one of General Pitt-Rivers' Sussex discoveries. In Black Burgh Tumulus he found, with evident astonishment, a *modern* iron shetlink, one foot beneath the surface, "shewing," as he justly remarks, "to what depths heavy objects of known modern workmanship may penetrate into a tumulus and become mixed with others of great antiquity."* Most of us know that a tumulus is rather firm of texture. Other similar anachronisms of deposit occurred to him in what he has called "Ranscombe Camp," Sussex, where he remarks how a "thin sharp-edged object" may "work itself down."† Again, at Seaford, two pieces of mediæval pottery with green glaze "not lower down than one foot from the surface," and here again, as at Castle Orchard, a piece of old fashioned clay pipe.‡ At Caburn again such things "might have come down from the top in digging,"§ and the Somersetshire excavation of Castle Orchard is recorded to have been stopped by a great infall of the sides. Anomalies are readily smoothed and assimilated throughout all the Sussex diggings: at Caer Pensauelcoit they are aspirated, and insurmountable. Although the form of the Castle Orchard earthwork is well preserved, and its nature as a fortress obvious; the surface is loose and has been much disturbed, and, though now only bearing scrub and brushwood, the name testifies that it has been covered with fruit trees, which must have been uprooted at some time.

In my first publication in 1877, I merely mentioned the existence of Castle Orchard. In the second, in 1882,|| I gave a fuller account of it, in correcting the Somersetshire officials, who had mistaken it for my subject. I would not have enlarged upon it here, but that H.M. Inspector has given it a prominent place in his charges against me, again to the increased embarrassment of the real question. But no such

* *Anthropological Journal*, vol. vi., 1877, p. 282. † *Archæologia*, xlv., p. 466.

‡ *Anthropological Journal*, vi., p. 294.

§ *Archæologia*, xlv., p. 452.

|| *Reassertion*, pp. 29—37.

embarrassment, and obscuration of reasoning, is any loss to him, as his real argument is the extrinsic authoritative superscriptions of the Report. The contents, apparently, are reasons, thought good enough to throw into the bargain.

At all events my contribution to the early history of the place, was neither founded on, nor suggested by, either the pits or this small, internal, supplementary fortress. These are only very remarkable objects existing on the same ground.

But H.M. Inspector has already decreed some of the canons, by which his arbitrations will be governed. He says, that "he cannot think that" any consideration of the name of a place is "a method of investigation" calculated to throw light on such a question, "which is a matter that cannot be determined by Grimm's law or any other law, but only by the pick and shovel."* This is rather a surprising glimpse at the simple equipment of the "Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Great Britain." A certain amount of fond preference of his own accustomed tools should be tolerated to every investigator; but is it a healthy scientific propensity to cry down other people's? This earnest devotion to their own methods and lines of research, although it tends to narrow the scope of it, is a great promoter of enthusiasm, perseverance, and careful accuracy within its own bounds; and it is very desirable that the great fabric of Historical Science should have thorough workers of even its smallest constituent details. But true liberty is only conditional to being shared with others. The "pick and shovel" should not be despised, when earnestly worked and ingenuously interpreted. I am afraid, however, that he has here scarcely done justice to himself. I confess that I have more admired his elegant and valuable plans of the "Camps," and his elaborately numeraled sections of them, due to the theodolite. A complete series of the like plans and

* General Pitt-Rivers's Letter to *The Times*, Sept. 25th, 1882.

sections, upon a uniform scale, of the earthwork hill cities, towns, and fortresses, throughout the entire island, would be a most interesting and valuable work. It would, however, be large and costly; but one good result would be, I am sure, to confirm an opinion of mine, which the Report declares to have been its chief purpose to upset: * “that our current estimate of the numbers of pre-historic populations falls much short of the reality.” The “pick and shovel” are no doubt valuable implements in Archæology; and so is the microscope in Natural Science; but what would be thought of the philosopher, who should propose by it to “demolish” the evidence of the nobler far-seeing telescope?—not to speak of the other auxiliary or collateral processes of science. But H.M. Inspector himself occasionally ventures a long way beyond the “pick and shovel,” and even makes some unlucky stumbles into “Grimm’s Law,” with what curious success may be seen in the Transactions of the venerable society of which he is a distinguished and useful member.†

For the last forty years, the late most ingenious and original Dr. Edwin Guest has held a sort of supremacy in English historical research. His supremacy was not derived from the Crown, but freely conceded to him from “the Republic of Letters.” His favourite and chief implement of “investigation” was this very “method” of place-names, now so much despised by our law-appointed Critic. Others, whose qualifications for estimating the materials and resources of history would quite merit the deference of Her Majesty’s Board of Works, have also been readers and interpreters of that more ancient page of our history that is so largely written in the names which are scattered all over the surface of the land. Talk of the Preservation of Ancient Monuments? Here we have, in the expanse of the names of places, over the entire island, not only the largest of the most Ancient Monuments of Great Britain, but by far the most intelligent of them all. In his letter to The Times, General Pitt-Rivers compares the hill fortresses with the constellations of “the stars in the heavens,” and his laudator in The Saturday Review

* Page 12.

† See *Archæologia*, xlii., pp. 28, 29, also vol. xlv.

seems to have been much struck with this scintillant metaphor, calling it "a happy simile." It would have been more happy and less bathetic applied to this Great Charter, still written, in our several pre-historic languages, upon the broad-sheet of the land, but as yet imperfectly deciphered and still less perfectly understood. Using this great composite machine so familiarly in our ordinary life, we are apt to think it a mere contrivance for the use of the post office, or no more than an arbitrary convenience for our daily use. It is, however, a great and ancient organization, or rather, the footsteps of a succession of organizations stratified upon each other. It is the very earliest extant text, of the vulgar literature of the several nationalities that have contributed to our own, still current in the mouths of all of us. True, the study of it has not yet passed out of that chaotic stage which is the purgatory of all incipient sciences. It is still for the most part the prey of the fantastical and frivolous, on the one part; and, on the other, of pedantic constructors of foregone "laws," for facts that are not yet within comparative observation or experience; and of those who ridicule the antics of both of these. It is about where Geology was a century ago, when fossils were collected as mere curiosities, or ornaments for chimney-pieces and entrance-halls; or for Pope's grotto at Twickenham. See what Geology is now. But Geology was more fortunate, in that its records were safely inaccessible throughout this stage of caprice and dogmatism. But unfortunately that with which we are here concerned lies upon the surface; exposed to the whims and crotchets of improvers, local boards, and other public authorities, and now at last to the active contempt of Her Majesty's Minister of State for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.

This hoped-for stricter science, of topographical names, is always erroneously called "Grimm's Law" by the writers we are dealing with. Grimm's Law, indeed, has very little business with English place-names, and, when found prowling among them, should always be watched with suspicion. It is sometimes called into use as a knot-cutting alternative for solving

a difficulty. One of its most mischievous pranks has fixed an inveterate blunder into our current history; almost hopelessly incurable, because all our received historians have now adopted it, and so have staked their credit upon it. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 823, is recorded a battle of the Welsh and the Devonians at "Gafulforda." With great probability, they have interpreted the Welsh (Weala) to be the Damnonian Britons; whilst the Devonians (Defna) can have been no other than the Teutonic settlers in the lower and more maritime parts of Devon. The fight may have been only local, and not even a part of Egbert's advance westward. Well, our historians turned to their Cary's County Maps, where they found, not far from the boundary of our present Devon and Cornwall, a place called Camelford, and here Grimm's Law comes in, always potent to change *m* into *f*; and the *G* into *C* is a still easier matter. But at this date all the highlands of Devon, Somerset, and Dorset, were still purely British, that is, were the still living Damnonia; and this must have been especially the case with Dartmoor. From a much earlier date than this conflict at Gafulforda, an independent Teutonic colony had already settled from the estuary of the Exe—the haven which later so often tempted the Danes—and extended themselves over the lowlands between the heights of Dartmoor, of Exmoor, and the mountainous chain which still divides the Defna from the Dornsæte. The Defna were never "-sæte," they were there already, before any -sæte had settled in their neighbouring districts. They were already there, with a ruler, known in legend as "King," when the more aggressive and empire seeking descendants of Woden, whose progress was the chief business of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—wherein therefore this independent kingdom does not appear—had no more western possession than one of the broad valleys of Somerset, the land, or pagus, of "Gifla," through which passes the stream now called Ivel or Yeo.* There is nothing to countenance, but much to discountenance, the statements that

* See *Primeval British Metropolis*, 1877, pp. 45—64. For the ancient West Saxon scir of Gifla, see *Chartularium Saxonicum*, Birch, Nos. 297, 297A, and 297B.

Ceawlin ever set foot in Somerset, or south of the Avon. The hundred of Bath-Forum is, indeed, a much later artificial accretion to Somerset.

But this digression must not be too long. One of the gates to the British Dartmoor district, from the old Teutonic lowland people, is the deep ravine through which the Teign passes out of it, the heights of which are surmounted by two strong and large fortified overhanging promontories, of the kind which we must be content to call British; one on each side of the gorge. That on the right bank is now called "Wooston Castle," that on the left "Prestonbury Castle." Within these, on the right bank, is another large "camp," of quite a different kind, of a different and later people, and which may be believed to be a Roman trophy of having passed the other tusked jaws into this wild district. These of course are the military relics of a still earlier time than the quoted Anglo-Saxon annal; but what has been a strong post in one age and people, continues so for successive ages. At any rate, outside this river-gate, as it passes out to the sometime Teutonic district, is a park of great antiquity called "Fulford," which is no doubt the Gafulforda of the Chronicle. There is no need of the foreign help of Grimm's Law here. The abrasion of the prefixed syllable is a well known, and very frequent accident of change, by which ancient English names pass into modern ones.

But let us call up another eminent lapse of Grimm's Law, in a very interesting paper on King Arthur, by Prof. A. H. Sayce.* It has become well known of late years, that among the many Roman remains discovered at Lydney, on the west side of the Severn, by the late Mr. Bathurst, more than one inscription recorded the name of a local god, "Nodens." The learned Professor connects this with the name of Lydney by the Grimm's Law change of *n* to *l*. The name of Lydney, however, comes from the name of the stream, "Lyd," which there falls into the Severn. This name of the stream is probably much older than that of the god; being very frequently found spread over the whole of Britain, and probably Europe, in the various forms of "Lyd,"

* *Academy*, September 27th, 1884, p. 202.

“Ludden,” “Ladden,” “Lodden,” “Ludd,” and many others, which will readily come to mind.

These intrusions of Grimm’s Law, and of other misapplied learning, as well as the mere whims of triflers, require to be purged out before there can be a true science of topographical nomenclature. Until then let it be at least tolerated by the State. Some milder form, or analogue, of Grimm’s Law, than that codified by scientific philologists, no doubt has prevailed among our place-names, during the millennium through which they have been current in English mouths. Perhaps, however, it would be more correct to call it a less active outcome of our habits, and organs, of speech, rather than a law.

It is needless to refer to the just resentment of the other constituent materials of history to the ridiculous supremacy of the pick and shovel: the ancient CHARTERS, the CHRONICLES, the ANCIENT LAWS, and, closely watched, even “Grimm’s Law, or any other Law,” except perhaps the Law by which a Crown authorized Critic has been appointed over us.

General Pitt-Rivers having paid the compliment to my papers of so handsome and attentive a visitation, I thought myself under some sort of obligation to return it. I was induced to “interview” him at home, in some of his chronicles of his “sixty-five pits,” contributed to the Society of Antiquaries, in their ARCHÆOLOGIA. I find some prevalent and marked general differences, both of the style and manner of dealing with the subjects, between these, and his Government Report and Letter to The Times, with which we have been engaged. This difference of style may serve as a signal and direct exemplification of the effect of official appointment itself. A typical phrase from each, of that flexible or elastic sort so useful in controversy, may serve to introduce us to the comparison. In his Sussex papers in the Archæologia, in constructing his own speculations, his sentences are constantly lubricated with “probably they may have been,” and the like; while in his more

distinctive business in the Report, &c., such aspirations of objection as "unreasonable to suppose," "I cannot think," and so on, do a pretty heavy share of the battering down. These sample phrases may serve to indicate the two different key notes, which rule throughout each of the two sets of his writings: those which are constructive of his own researches in Sussex, and those which are intended to be destructive of mine at *Caer Pensauelcoit*. Moreover, the Sussex papers, in the *Archæologia*, do not so often offend against perspicuity. This last may be partly accounted for by their only aspiring to be the simple annals of the pick and shovel; a series of plainly recorded measurements, and of relics found; and these recorded measurements are supplemented by useful comparisons of the findings with similar objects, that have been found by others, and recorded by them in the Transactions of various societies, as well as in manuals, which must now and then save some labour to future finders. Being addressed only to scientific readers, not much is written but what has a distinct meaning. These details, indeed, are often very interesting; but, on the other hand, are often tedious from their resultless minuteness; especially when the writer's devotion to his two implements passes into superstition. A constant readiness to reconcile anomalies also gently smooths the surface. But if he could have been so happy as to have brought *Cissbury* or *Mount Caburn* into contact with the dawn of written history, as I have done for *Caer Pensauelcoit*, his triumph would have been complete, and few would then have thought even his most elaborate details tedious or insignificant.

But when he comes out of the mountains of the east, with his Royal commission to cry down the great ancient people discernible from another high hill, his style is changed. He now writes *ad populum*: to those who do not read the *Archæologia*. It is no longer necessary that what he says shall have meaning, farther than that it shall all be understood to mean, so great a quantity of condemnation of my work by the highest State authority. His Report and Times Letter are both consequently full of involved sentences. These are the *Laocoontic involutions*, within which it is sought to en-

tangle and strangle my poor little historical discovery. Like the postman's path, they wander from one side to the other, so that, if any sentence should be successfully parsed, it would end in a self-contradiction, or at least in a direct contradiction of its nearest neighbour that is capable of the like analysis. Of this I have given some samples. *Ultima ratio* needs no other reason. The State is superior to logic, as the Empire is above grammar. The quantity of printed matter to make up a sufficient heap of condemnation by authority can be thrown together without these.

It would be useless to go through all the misrepresentations of which, in fact, the Report and Times Letter mostly consist. It is an old saying that some people can ask more questions than another sort of people can answer. So it is with even perversely unmeaning objections in matters of this kind. To be answered they must each of them, however absurd, be separately besieged. They must be approached from all sides: so that a single sentence, or even a single word, dropped into a sentence as if by accident, requires a page or two to follow it to conviction. What I have produced must be looked upon as merely samples of the spirit of depreciation which runs through the whole, both the Report itself and its clamorous chorus. To pursue it throughout would make this a thick volume.

That a gentleman, because he knows one or half-a-dozen things, should be appointed in The Queen's name to say that others shall not know one or half-a-dozen other things, because he does not also happen to know them; is rather an improvement upon some of the usurpations that have already suffered their dies iræ. That because he has dug, and carefully sifted the contents of "sixty-five pits," he should be entrusted with the sceptre of the entire realm of history, seems to be one of the most preposterous of the many preposterous new dispensations, yet experienced by those of us who have lived out of older into newer times. That he should be appointed by the supreme authority of the kingdom, to go forth and proclaim that there is nothing to be known but what can be got out of a pit. This seems to be

rather too literal an interpretation of the ancient mythological proverb, that "truth is at the bottom of a well;" which only means that truth is hard to simply bring to light; but it is infinitely harder, when perversely obstructed by those who mischievously choke the well with amorphous blocks, and rubble, and dust.

In the course of these animadversions, I have been often brought to a standstill, by involuntary doubts of the serious intention of much that is contained in the Report, and whether it claimed the attention I was giving to it: but I always found myself recalled from this hesitation by remembering the extrinsic circumstances of the paper. At all events, the unquestionable shape, in which I have been honoured with this troublesome attention, commands the consideration which I might not otherwise have bestowed upon it. Moreover, I have, as I said at first, undertaken the pains of this exposition for the sake of the principle of LITERARY FREEDOM involved in it.

But the last page of the Report contains a contradictory sentence, which is the greatest surprise of all. Unlike the other sentences, it is not content to contradict itself. It is more ambitious. It actually contradicts the whole of the Report that precedes it; and is practically a complete RECANTATION of the whole of it, as far as concerns me, against whom it is solely directed. If it had been the first sentence, it might also have been the last; for no more would have been needed. It actually as good as says that all that I had said may be right after all. But then we should have lost the whole of this high sounding flourish of trumpets; this brandishing of weapons; these "practical terminations," and "ends" of the "controversy;" this "Mare's Nest . . . finally demolished;" that were able to bring in such a triumphal wreath to the new Government Department. This great pageant fight, or march-past, winds up with the confession, "There is nothing in the results of *my* [H.M. Inspector's, of course,] investigation which either favours or disproves the supposition that this spot may have witnessed some

such concerted action of independent tribes at the time of Vespasian's invasion; but *we* have no grounds for supposing that they were permanently organized in large cities." *

To this I have only to add that "the results of *my* investigations" have been to prove the very thing that H.M. Inspector says his investigations do not disprove; and that I have given† the most substantial "grounds for" knowing what he has found "no grounds for supposing." With this I am content: but wish he had not put me to so much trouble.

I trust that what I have been writing will not be thought to deprecate or depreciate the prevalent activity in the institution of peripatetic ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES, either national or provincial. Promoting a wide-spread interest in objects of antiquity among their owners, who thereby are more likely to become conservators, these societies are a far more efficient preserver of our antiquities than Parliamentary legislation is ever likely to be; and without the insidious abstraction, from that bundle of rights, that is called property—our most venerable antiquity—of the most essential of those rights, and leaving only the carcase. The mere threat has already caused the destruction of some of the most valuable of the objects sought to be so preserved, from the desire of owners to anticipate the schedule of their hitherto free property. I was myself an early promoter of one of the most successful of the provincial antiquarian societies, and one of the six or eight who put our shoulders to the uphill work of its establishment; and a good piece of work it has proved itself to be.† But, in common with the best of human institutions, such societies have some risks of drawback. Out of them, as a matter of course, arise their own governing bodies, and within these, a certain amount of zeal or corporation spirit, which is laudable and valuable within its legitimate limits; but, especially in those working officers of the provincial societies, whose business it is to bring before them objects deserving

* *Report*, pp. 12, 13.

† *Reassertion*, 1882, pp. 1—12.

‡ The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, established 1875.

their consideration, this zeal is very apt to exceed into a mischievous jealousy of any success of independent research, within the territory over which they have raised their standard. Any such misapplication of the influence of these truly valuable societies, by their officers, is a smaller form of the same ill tendency as that now assumed by a State Department. Of this I have had the long experience, the particulars of which I have already so fully stated, that, fearing it may to some readers be a tedious repetition, I will only refer for it to my "Reassertion."* It amounts to this. When I first published my discovery, of the hitherto unnoticed connection of this promontory with the earliest Roman invasion of the south of Britain; certain patronizing overtures were made to me by the then managing Secretary of the Somersetshire Society, with whose territory the place is contingent. A disposition soon appeared, to take it out of my own hands, and merge it into his Society. Failing which, all the machinery of that Society was next ingeniously directed against my Columbus's egg, in order to make it believed that it was addled. That Secretary having resigned, another of the Society's officers took up his purpose. Several changes of front of attack have been made in the intermediate years, but each change, a blunder: and now, at length, Her Majesty's historical officer has been called in, and the Somersetshire officials reappear among his assistants. Meanwhile I have had to maintain it single-handed, against them, one after the other, in all their shifted assaults, and their strategical enlistment and ingenious array of eminent and influential names as assessors and witnesses. Several curious instances of such apparent approvals of their proceedings, as opposed to my historical discovery, during their seven years prosecution of it, might be cited: but neither the members at large of the Society, nor the majorities in the occasional Committees themselves, can be supposed to have been cognizant of this perverse intention.

For two years, the whole affair had been in a quiet state, and I had indulged a hope that I had done with

* Pages 21—28.

it. When, at length, I received a copy "From the author" of his handsome State Paper, I flattered myself it was an exclusive compliment, but it turns out that, though "privately printed," it was "widely circulated." One of the most zealous of my Somersetshire adversaries did, however, reappear as one of his assistants; and the simultaneous outburst, of triumphant jubilations and laudations of it, soon shewed that the new State powers must have been expected by some of them. Among the crowd of newspaper exultants at this great victory, of my being thus finally put down by Government itself, was a very old, and now venerable acquaintance of mine, the SATURDAY REVIEW. Et tu, Brute? And is it you that throw up a pair of hooped heels into the face of your old monitor and benefactor? This was the most unkindest cut of all.*

It is now a good many years since I was in the way of exchanging occasional words with that then redoubted Journal. This was in their† smarter juvenescent days, when, except university men and prize fighters, all sorts and conditions of men, and especially women, were weekly made into mincemeat, by them, for the Sunday afternoon entertainment of their scholastic and muscular patrons. This was also back in my own "præ-historic days," when my attention was absorbed in books and their associations. I had not yet ventured out into the "bleak" and jealous atmosphere of out-door topography. The interval of years seems like a "thirty years' peace" in little; and the present interruption of it like the breaking upon our ears of the since familiar name, "Crimea;" with a resonance of a long silent, but still remembered, trumpet. Perhaps, however, another Pharaoh has by this time arisen in that Egypt, who remembers not those old days, and time has mellowed my own recollection of them. How, in the midst of their simpering over "quaint old Fuller," they were "amused" at his simplicity in thinking "St. Vedast" was the same name as "St. Foster," because, as they believed he had thought, St. Vedast's church was in

* *Saturday Review*, September 27th, 1884, p. 407.

† I do not feel that the neuter singular "its" is sufficiently honourable, as the Grammarians say, either in gender or number, as the relative of that proper-name-of-multiplicity, the title of a journal, nor in concord with their first person "we."

Foster Lane ; and I showed them how it came about that the name of the Saint really was the same.* Again, when they last used their frequent sneer at "The Commercial Mind" against a certain banking Colonel ; and the poor manufacturers of cotton reels, with too much wood for the cotton ; and at the pots of marmalade with too much earthenware. I suggested that advertisements belonged to those who had paid for them ; and from that day, advertisements were no longer reckoned as pages to be sold : nor did we ever hear more of "The Commercial Mind," nor of St. Vedast, nor of "The Bishop of Lexovia," nor Bishop Hooper, and some other stock taunts. On the whole, that paper has since undergone a great change of deportment : but, in that earlier time, connoisseurs of the outdoor pipe used to choose a section of the past number for a temporary tobacco pouch, for the sake of an ideal added aroma. This habit seems, however, to have now fallen out of use.

The enormous later growth of periodical and serial literature has hatched an unlimited brood of authors by profession ; and provided an unlimited covert and plentiful pasture for literary mediocrity. These may, with easy profit to themselves, either dispense small solutions of Mr. Freeman in their own milk and water, or compensate an old discomfiture in a saucy nameless article in a quondam-saucy journal, in which the truisms, "we cannot understand," and that something "comes pat," are passed off in print for knowing all about it and something more ; and are safe even when close to the risk of glaring exposure of ignorance. To this nursery of sprouted ambition the newly-created State Department may look for recruits for its posse of State criticism ; good enough if dated from the "Office of Works : " and from these aspirants for promotion, those already in office may always expect the first shouts of applause for any of their arbitrations.

The writer of the paper, in praise of me and of General Pitt-Rivers, in the Saturday Review, is of course one of this standing. He is plainly one of my earlier defeated and retreated adversaries, who tried to work

* See *Life of Thomas Fuller*, by J. E. Bailey, 1874, p. 675.

the engine of the Somerset Society to the same purpose ; assisted in this live-to-fight-another-day skirmish by one who took it up "critically and scientifically" when the former had fled. He is here sheltered by "anonymous etiquette," but can be readily discerned, in his shadow upon the blind, by his limited intellectual stature, and some individual features : among the rest, by his suggestion that "General Pitt-Rivers's authority as an antiquary," or any other authority, can be accepted as sufficient to settle the truth of an historical fact, in preference to the more open, though perhaps less hasty, ways of approach to it by patient induction. The Report and Times Letter, however, make it likely that the Reviewer is not solitary in his choice of the shorter way. It is true that H.M. Inspector often qualifies his decisions in such diffident forms as "I consider this evidence conclusive;" "I am convinced;" "I cannot think;" and the like. Of course the right to think is common to all of us ; but this right may be overruled by the simple claim of it by Crown appointment. The rivet is the softest bit of metal in all the caldron. We know that the ultimate force of a Statute of the Realm lies in the gracious words, *La Royne le veult*.

H.M. Inspector, and his other adherents, were all quite sure that he had, in his Report, and his letter to the Times, finally settled the whole matter, by merely confidently saying so. They, however, had been content to "beg the question"—somewhat courageously, no doubt. But the writer in The Saturday Review does not condescend to beg it. He goes straight up to it, and seizes it by the throat, upon the highway. He rouses the attention of the passing reader by a startling initial blast of triumph. "A Mare's nest," he says, has been "finally demolished." Then, after some more of the vague and intangible misrepresentation, which has overlaid the whole of this clamour against me ; dutifully echoing the contempt, of our Public Prosecutor, for all "methods of investigation" except "the pick and shovel," he falls to trying to make fun—for he knows he must try to be funny in the Saturday, and, as in the Law Courts, the will to be funny is as good as the deed by the time it gets into print in that paper—of what

they all blunderingly call "Grimm's Law." Not content with his former discomfiture in Somersetshire, about what he then called "the mere coincidence of names," or else, hoping that his new flock of readers have never heard of it, he tries his hand again in the same "method." He says with all the assumed authority, necessary to mediocrity without a name, "We all know Miss Strickland's derivation of 'Charing Cross;' there are hundreds of similar examples;"—all yellow primroses to him. He then puts among them the identity of the ancient name "Caer Pensauelcoit" with "Penselwood." With such writers, all are "derivations" or "coincidences."

This specimen of what may be called his philological blindness, may acquit the Reviewer of all consciousness of the real import of his gross initial phrase above cited. Not being one of the wise men from the east, but an otherwise man from the west, he evidently does not perceive that in this bit of street slang, he is repeating an ancient antichristian scoff at one of the most symbolistic lines in the calendars of all Catholic Churches; as coarse in its origin as in its present usage. It was probably a fierce gibe of the much wronged early English Jews. But at their expulsion, A.D. 1290, it must have been already trituated, as a proverb, into the lowest current of our street speech; for, if its full meaning had even then been obvious, it must have gone into exile with its authors, and would not have lived on among our under million, to be stirred up, half way to the surface, to flavour the semi-fastidious columns of *The Saturday Review*. That journal is, however, still as squeamish as ever at the words "reliable," "party," and even at "Anglo-Saxon," although the original revolvers against this last have now submitted to it.

I will now take a Sir-Peter-Teazle departure from this School for Disparagement. I am becoming practically sensible of the truth of what the late Mr. J. Wilson Croker once remarked to me, as to another minute controversy, that "Life is too short for fighting shadows;" and will now finally rest from this wearisome

talking into ear-trumpets. I subjoin a literal reprint of the first twelve pages of my "Reassertion;" setting forth that contribution to the first century history of the place which I claim as mine, and as having been previously entirely unknown and unsuspected. Let them carp at this, as if it had been the smith's file in the fable. As to the old hundred years' dispute about the "Pen Pits," and Sir Richard Hoare's investigations, and even my own recital of it, let them amuse themselves in worrying it at their future pleasure. Whoever may be the jactator of the fourth glove, I thus, beforehand, and once for all, answer him and all his adherents.

THOMAS KERSLAKE.

A literal reprint of the first section (pp. 1-12) of

C A E R P E N S A U E L C O I T

A REASSERTION. 1882.

Being Mr. Kerslake's original restitution of the first century history of the place.

“When time is old, and hath forgot itself,

And blind oblivion swallow'd cities up,
And mighty states characterless are grated
To dusty nothing”

HISTORY, NAME, AND SITE.

That valuable substitute for historical scholarship, the “*Monumenta Historica Britannica*,” published by command of Her Majesty, 1848, is far from being the least charitable outcome of her beneficent reign. Prefixed to this Bible of our history is a collection of all the passages in the ancient Greek and Latin writers in which any mention whatever is made of the affairs of Britain. Among these are two extracts from Suetonius and Eutropius which the learned editors of the volume have ascribed to the year 47 of our era. The account given by both writers is very short and in nearly the same words in both, but is rendered very precise by the mention of one local name, the Isle of Wight, the identity of which name has no possible alternative, and, therefore, removes every shadow of uncertainty as to the part of Britain concerned. The narrative is, that Vespasian, on his, apparently second, expedition from Germany to Britain, under Claudius, fought thirty battles (Suetonius says thirty-two), and subdued to the Roman dominion two most powerful peoples or nations, twenty (Eutropius *more* than twenty) towns (or hill-cities? “*oppida*”), and the Isle of Wight close to Britain.*

The above is all that is recorded, by the historians of the conquerors themselves, concerning this transaction; and, as might have been expected, the mention of an unmistakeable local name—the Isle of Wight close to Britain—as, what it no doubt must have been, the basis of attack of the Imperial invader, has tempted a variety of speculations as to the route of his operations upon the

* “*Mon. Hist. Brit.*,” *Excerpta*. Compare pp. 1, and lxxii. Also the prefixed “*Chronological Abstract*,” A.D. 47, p. 131.

neighbouring main land. Although the extent and the breadth of area of these is obscurely indicated by the number of the unnamed towns subdued, and the necessity of their having been approachable from his basis, these speculations have had perfect liberty as to their itinerial direction, from the total absence of any indication of it which would have been supplied by even a single name, upon the mainland. Such a second name it is believed can now be supplied, from indigenous evidences furnished by the invaded people themselves, totally independent of, but concurrent with, the already quoted exotic testimony of the biographer and the historian of the conquerors themselves.

It is the present purpose to realise such a second landmark of the course of the conqueror's invasion, by the united testimony of three of these indigenous evidences that are totally independent of each other. A tripodic condition, the firmness and steadiness of which is common to a joint-stool and the best case to be submitted to an impartial jury,

The ancient British Chronicle of the Kings* thus supplements the Roman narrative, evidently describing the same expedition of Vespasian. It tells us that Vespasian, with a large fleet, first attempted to land at Thanet = "Rydipi" = Rutupia; but being repulsed by the British King or General Gweyrydd—usually and probably identified with the person better known to us through the Roman historians as Caractacus—with a numerous army, sailed to a port constantly mentioned for other landings in these "British Chronicles"; and in the earliest known text called, "draeth talnas"—though afterwards corrupted to "y draeth Toynus," and "y traeth twtneis," and, having landed, marched directly to besiege a place which in the various texts appears as "Caer Benhwelgoet," "Kaer Pen Hwylcoyt," "Chaer Penhwylgoet," "Kaerpen-Huelgoit," and other kindred forms of orthography.

The British story then goes on to say that, after seven days, Gweyrydd, by land, overtook Vespasian at that place, and commenced a bloody but unsuccessful battle, in which he was overpowered by the number of the Romans; that a peace was then concluded, and when the winter was over, Vespasian, having sworn Gweyrydd to perpetual fealty, departed for Rome. Here we have the British parallel account of, what is more concisely told by the Roman historians, the subjugation of the southern Britons; with the important incidental mention of a second name—the name of the city on the main land to which Vespasian's expedition was directed, and where his conquest was for that occasion fulfilled.

There is this further apparent agreement between the Roman historians and the British Chronicle. That this expedition of Vespasian, by which he occupied the Isle of Wight and the neighbouring country, appears from the Roman writers to be a second one against the southern Britons. The Brûts, or British Chronicles,

* Brut Tysilio, in "Myvyrian Archæology," vol. ii. 1801, p. 193. Roberts's translation, 1811, p. 88.

accordingly describe the incursion to Caer Penhuelcoit, as being intended to suppress a revolt of the Britons against a tribute which had already been imposed on them by Claudius, and had been earlier submitted to by Gweyrydd. The Roman accounts of Vespasian's two invasions are usually placed under A.D. 43 and A.D. 47.*

Although Llyr and Cunobelyn† are known to all of us to have been since inspired, this Chronicle of the Kings of Britain is not here cited as a self-sustained authority. The present writer, however, once had a letter from Sir Francis Palgrave, in which that learned writer—eminently gifted in the discernment which should constitute such an opinion—expressed a belief that in those Chronicles might be found, in solution, a large amount of the lost genuine early history of this island, much of which might be reclaimed from them. Above, it is thought, we have produced a particular example which most strongly confirms Sir F. Palgrave's more general observation.

There is, however, a second ancient written example of the name quite independent of the first as to the channel of its descent to later times. This is an ancient indigenous Catalogue of the thirty-three chief Cities of Britain in the earliest times, wholly unrelated to, and uninfluenced by, any of the contributions to our topography from the ancient foreign geographers. It is usually found printed in editions of the writing known by the name of "Nennius," and the catalogue itself is often still erroneously quoted by that name. In a dissertation formerly published‡ it was shewn by a process, too elaborate to repeat here, that this mention of the name is not only probably textually more ancient than that in the British Chronicle, but that the Catalogue of Cities that contains it is distinct from and more ancient than the text itself of "Nennius." The name of the city, also subject to the variations of orthography in different texts of the Catalogue which are the inevitable lot of such records, there appears as "Caer Pensauelcoit." This document did not come into comparison with the "Caer Penhuelcoit" of the Chronicle, until the sixteenth century; but the great antiquaries of that age, as Humphrey Llwyd, Camden, and Usher, immediately recognised the identity of the name in the two transmissions of it, although they were totally at a loss as to the place meant; as were also all later writers and editors, as Stevenson and Petrie. In truth, the change of the "s" into "h" is quite accounted for by the British Chronicle having only reached us through the vernacular Welsh and through trans-Sabrine scription, whilst the Catalogue of Cities has come down through the more open channel of historical literature. We may even venture to reckon the "s" as a tradition of the ancient Lloegrian usage and the "h" as the result of Cambrian later

* See Petrie's "Chronological Abstract," p. 131, prefixed to "Mon. Hist. Brit."

† Lear and Cymbeline.

‡ "A Primæval British Metropolis," Bristol, 1877, pp. 24—37.

dialectic influence. The same influence has converted "Sabrina" or "Severn" into "Hafren."*

These two ancient written examples of the name had been, for several years, already brought under the consideration of the present writer in the course of some enquiries for another purpose, and during that time he had shared, with those who had for several past centuries attempted in various ways to realise it, in the wish to find the locality of the city severally indicated by them. The two records of the name had, in fact, as already said, held separate careers for, at least, six or eight centuries, quite apart from each other, until they came together under the eyes of the learned about three hundred years since. The third example, next to be noticed, has had also a separate, and until now quite undiscerned, concurrence with them of at least eighteen centuries, and is still current in the living mouths of Englishmen; and the slight change necessary to this currency, although it has been enough to keep it apart from the other two, so far that its identity with them has been hitherto lost sight of, needs no more than a second glance at it to become obviously identical with them. This third example is "Penselwood," the still living name of what Camden called a "mean village." All that is necessary to identify this still current name with the ancient one is to re-translate back, into its compatriot Welsh, the only one of the three portions of it which has ever departed from that nationality,—English "-wood" into "-coed," the modern Welsh condition of the Ancient British "-coit." The frequent untranslated survival of this termination, in names of places in Wales, need only be referred to. The literal translation of this third part was all the tribute that was ever levied upon this indigenous British name by its West-Saxon appropriators; and so this third survival of the name has come down unrecognised, to our own times, thus slightly disguised.

It was at this point that a wish arose to see this place, Penselwood, and its surroundings. This induced several visits of inspection, from time to time, in which the tract of land concerned, which it will next be seen was of some extent, was approached from different points. The various distant points of the three counties, a large extent of which is in view of the place, and from which its situation might be observed, were also visited. A sketch of the results of this shall be here attempted. It was found, however, that one very conspicuous feature of the place itself had already, on its own account, and without the slightest suspicion of the historical associations of the name which are now being

* The principle of the virtual identity of *h* and *s* was present to the writing habit of learned Welshmen of the seventeenth century, for, in a book now lying open is this in the handwriting of the original collector of the luckless Wynnstay Library, concerning the founder of its more fortunate rival of Hengwrt:—"Robti Vachani *Senegortensis* Liber. teste Guil. Mauricio Lansiliens. 1658." The owner, however, has himself also thus written his own name in the same book:—"Rob. Vaughan de Hengourt. me possidet. 1658." These two famous Welsh collectors must have been then in each other's company.

presented, been for the last hundred years a subject of warm controversy among antiquaries and naturalists, but this controversy seemed to have been suspended, leaving decided votaries on each side of the question resting on their arms. It was unfortunate for the case now first presented, that this formerly disputed feature, having already become celebrated, was mistaken for the essence of the newly advanced proposition, whereas it is only an incident of it. So that this contribution of a new light from without has aroused the dormant controversy instead of settling it as was expected. The consideration of this controverted incident, therefore, shall here be postponed until the undisputed and newly-imported circumstances of the remarkable locality have been laid before the reader.

The tract of land claimed for our consideration is a large peninsular eminence, chiefly occupied by the parishes of Penselwood Somerset, and Stourton Wilts, including the Park of Stourhead. From a distance, Penselwood Church (St. Michael) is visible near the south-western quarter, and Stourton or Alfred's Tower is very conspicuous on the north-western point. It is bounded on all sides, except the east, by a lofty and precipitous natural escarpment said to be over 800 feet above sea-level. Any attempt to aid this description by geological particulars, it is hoped, will be tolerated. It is, then, a bold westward and southward projection of what appears to be called the "upper greensand," the eastward dip of which is well-known. The chalk heights have already deserted it two or three miles eastward, and that part of the chalk which approaches nearest to it is itself a promontory from the Wiltshire Downs which die out around Mere. The increased advance westward of our greensand promontory, with its cap of chert and gravel, increases the rise of the dip of this underlier of the chalk to a lofty precipice westward, where the formation terminates, so that it nearly rivals in height the chalk which it has left two miles behind. The north and western escarpments are a very striking feature of the landscape, on the left-hand, to the traveller from Frome to Yeovil, by the Dorset section of the Great Western Railway. This outcrop is then transversely intersected by a great "fault," in which the chalk eastward, along by Mere, participates. A sudden precipitous southern escarpment, and a rapid descent from the eminence to the lower open country on this side also, is the consequence, and this completes the lofty peninsulation so important for us to consider.

Although the eastern side of the area of the promontory is not precipitous, there is a broad valley between it and the chalk heights beyond Mere. This has been much scooped by denudation as appears from several knolls remaining in it.* This high chalk range, ex-

* The nearest available published section for reference is a woodcut in Dr. Fitton's paper in "The Transactions of the Geological Soc. of Lond.," series ii., vol iv., 1838, p. 258. But the cut certainly does not give credit to the elevation of the western outcrop. It discontinues the chert eastward of the promontory, and

tending eastward towards the Wily about Heytesbury, is covered with traces of British occupation, and its western point, towards the Penselwood and Stourton promontory, is surmounted by a large and strong entrenchment, called White Sheet Castle. The whole of this aspect can be well seen from the remarkable outlying chalk-berg, Mere Castle. The deep internal valleys of the promontory at Stourton must also have contributed to the strength from this side. On the north-east the promontory has an isthmus connecting it with the heights of Selwood, and "Penselwood" continues in its name a record that it is the abrupt southern termination of this range, which is, in fact, the backbone of the Forest of Selwood and the natural frontier of Wilts and Somerset. The southern part of the promontory is an open platform called Penridge, overlooking the great Vale of Blackmore, and its natural escarpment has been increased by an artificial acclivitation of great height along the top, running above a mile from a gorge by which the river Stour passes out, until the escarpment makes a rectangular turning, and continues for about half a mile northward along the western side, to where the modern road enters the village, apparently by an ancient entrance to the Caer, until it is exceeded in height and shut in by the natural western precipice now covered with plantations.

To these natural elements of position, and of external strength or impregnability, are added what are rarely or never else found combined with them, those of shelter or even comfort, amply sufficient for a municipality or condensed community of people, as large as almost the largest with which we are ourselves acquainted. The area included in the promontory is about three miles in length from north to south, and probably two in breadth. Within, towards the upper end, are the six sources of the Stour, which, after having carved the area into several deep internal valleys, or practically scooped nearly the whole of the high platform into a deep and capacious basin or crater, passes out into the more open country at the south side through a gorge, presumed to be also of its own making. The interior of the basin is partly in Wilts and partly in Somerset, mostly divided by the river, whilst the frontier line of Dorset passes along upon the southern rampart. The village and church of Penselwood is upon the south-west end of the height, looking out over many miles of the open lower country. Stourton nestles in one of the deep internal valleys, and the beautiful park and grounds of Stourhead occupy the northern half of the basin.

Other examples of the similar precipitous outcrop and outliers of the same geological formation, farther westward, have been adopted for great hill fortresses, such as Broadhembury and others around Axminster. In our case, however, the table promontory is

discontinued it probably is. But it is certainly again resumed on the heights of the outcrop where it is abundant, and if the line of it in the engraving should be carried out to it, it would show a great increase of height at the western precipice. The great elevation of the promontory above the denudated eastern valley is conspicuous on viewing it westward from Mere Castle [or White Sheet Castle (1858)].

not only larger, but commands a much more boundless expanse of the surrounding open country. To the other strong places also, the yet unsolved archæological question of garrison water-supply still adheres. In the case of our basin of Caer Pensauelcoit this difficulty, which in most other hill fortresses must be swallowed whole, does not exist; the internal sources of water being most abundant. In truth, as the position commands the entire south-western limb of our island, so is it also the water-shed or source of the rivers which departing from it fall into the two opposite seas. The Wily, after a wide circuit, falling into the Salisbury Avon, rejoins, at its mouth in Christchurch Haven, the Stour which had also started close to it herefrom. Here also rises the Brew which runs to the other sea, the Bristol Channel.

Except towards the north-east, where the view is limited by the heights of Selwood and the great eastward chalk ridge, the prospects, from the elevations which bound this basin, are almost unlimited in all directions. On each side, south and north-west, the two seas, the English Channel and the Bristol Channel, are almost, or it is believed, actually within sight. To the north the view includes the heights around Bath, and for some distance the ridge of the Wansdyke passing south of that city actually makes the sky-line, except where overcapped by Lansdown beyond, from which Alfred's Tower is in full view—is, in fact, a very prominent object from two such distant points as Lansdown and Windwhistle Hill by Chard; as it is also from the great camps or hill-cities around Warminster, as Bratton and Battlesbury. To the west and south, a great extent of Somerset and Dorset reaching to the great range of hills north of Dorchester. It is indeed too much to ask us to believe that a people, who held every coin of vantage throughout the land, were blind to the far greater resources of this remarkable district.

The place is indeed the centre and key of the territories that are now known to us as the shires of Dorset, Somerset and Wilts, which touch each other. These three counties would have formed a compact large territory south of the Severn, with strongly marked natural frontiers; and these three county names bear in their ending “-sæte,” a noteworthy uniformity left upon them by the earliest West Saxon settlers, and which seems to indicate a contemporaneous settlement of them upon three earlier peoples, to whose former names this must have been a suffix by the intruders. Of one of them, the “Dornsæte,” it certainly was the British name thus differenced. It is therefore likely that the present three counties continue to our time the boundaries of the three provinces or tribes of the older invaded nation, which had in British times acknowledged this strong spot, where they touch each other, for its capital; and that when the barbarian invaders possessed themselves of the three provinces of our British capital, they contented themselves with being called the *settlers* in each of them.

It is also quite consistent with this that Christchurch Harbour,

with its open mouth, opposite and in sight of the western end of the Isle of Wight, was the port of the mainland which invited the Roman invader desiring to stretch his grasp across the south-western peninsula of Britain.* This Bay of Christchurch is the estuary of the Stour; the Alaunus of the old geographers; the Talnas=tAlnas of the British Chronicle, at the source of which river we have found the Caer Pensauelcoit also of the British writers. The valley of this river, flanked by the hill fortresses Hengistbury Head, Badbury, Hod-hill, and Hameldon—some of the twenty “oppida” of the Roman writers—leads shortly and directly up to the great city where Vespasian’s incursion culminated. It is believed that one, or at most two, telegraphic stations would have maintained communication from Wight to the Caer itself.

No opinion is here ventured as to the occasion of the final desolation of this Metropolis, as we will now presume to call it: whether it had a *dies iræ* or a gradual decay. This last is most probable, seeing that the name remains on the spot, although dwindled to a village. But the desolation must have been at a præscript date or the name and the tradition of its greatness would not have parted company. There are no traces of the Roman after-occupation so frequently found. All that either the Roman or British accounts of Vespasian’s conquest point to is a mere subjugation, with exaction of “perpetual fealty” and tribute, leaving the internal framework of home rule undisturbed. Whether the desolation took place during any of the later campaigns against Caractacus, or Gweyrydd if the same, or whether during the many social and dynastic changes the altered purposes of later times induced that desertion which has evidently been the lot of so many of the great hill cities, whose vast areas are only now attested by their earthen ramparts, a decision is not here ventured. But the latter fate would go far to account for the scarcity of charcoal and of personal remains. Old Sarum is a parallel case, but very much later, and with the full light of written history upon it. What is the amount of personal relics that have been found at Old Sarum, even with Roman, Saxon, and Normam occupation, superadded to British? But, to go back nearer to our own case, what has been found within the great ante-Roman caers of Maiden Castle, Castle Neroche, Hamdon Hill, Eggardon, and many others of the like?

It will be seen then, that the fact that we have been dealing with was first brought to the knowledge of our own historians from without, by the historians of the Roman conquerors of Britain; and their record of it has always been built upon by our later writers as one of the most vivid and reliable glimpses at our history during the first century. With this has now been brought into contact an independent collateral narration of the same fact

* No doubt he did complete the belt of conquest to the Severn Estuary, as may be inferred from evidences of the mines of Mendip being worked under Claudius. See Mr. Scarth, in *Archæol. Journal*, xxxvi., 1879, pp. 326, &c.

by the chroniclers, such as they are, of the people whom they subjugated, in which the important addition of a second place-name, within the field of the recorded events, is brought to our knowledge. The reality of this second or chronicled name is confirmed by a second ancient written testimony in a schedular form, the transmission of which to us has been quite separate from the other for many centuries, to all appearance from the very beginning, through a route in which the other was totally unknown. We next find a third independent example of the same name, still living, though hitherto unsuspected to be the same as the other two, within the limit of the very narrowest possible estimate of an incursion upon the mainland from the Isle of Wight, such as that concisely detailed by the Roman writers. This place, again, when led by these considerations to examine it, is found to be the strongest in the path of an invader bent upon the subjugation of this entire south-western limb of the island, and is almost unique in its natural capacity for a large community, and is also found to have had its natural strength artificially completed.

If, in the preceding pages, we have not actually established an example of the rare contact of a pre-historic monument with the dawn of our written history, it may, at least, be confidently asked, if there is any parallel incident in the history of those obscure ages, so unanimously confirmed by such a convergence of so many uncontrived circumstances?

* * * * *

THOMAS KERSLAKE.

14 West Park, Bristol.

BY THE SAME WRITER.

CAER PENSAUELCOTT. A REASSERTION. 1882. pp. 45. *With Map.*
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Contents: The Pen-Selwood Pits and Stourhead. Caer Pensauelcoit. Penselwood. The Nennian Catalogue of British Cities, critically examined. Totnais or Talnas of the Welsh "Bruits," identified with Christ-Church Harbour (Alaunus). Æt Peonnum of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 658 and 1016, identified with Pointington. Celtic Hagiology of Somerset. Vespasian's Incursion, A.D. 47. Alauna Sylva of the Anonymous Ravennat. Dolbury and Exeter. Sceorstan, A.D. 1016, &c.

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THE CELTIC SUBSTRATUM OF ENGLAND. *Notes and Queries*, April 14th and 21st, 1883.

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DE L'ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE

LETTRE

A

UN AMI D'ALLEMAGNE



PARIS

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LETTRE

A UN AMI D'ALLEMAGNE

Mon cher ami,

Vous m'apprenez qu'un passage de mon discours de réception a été accueilli parmi vous comme la voix d'un ennemi. Relisez ce que j'ai dit, et vous verrez combien ce jugement est superficiel. J'ai défendu notre vieil esprit français contre d'injustes reproches, qui viennent presque aussi souvent de chez nous que de chez vous. J'ai soutenu contre des novateurs, qui sont loin d'être tous Allemands, que notre tradition intellectuelle est grande et bonne, qu'il faut l'appliquer à des ordres de connaissances sans cesse élargis, mais non pas la changer. J'ai exprimé des doutes sur la possibilité pour une dynastie de jouer dans le monde un rôle universel sans bienveillance, sans générosité, sans éclat. J'ai pu aller à l'encontre de certaines opinions des militaires et des hommes d'État de Berlin; je n'ai pas dit un mot contre l'Allemagne et son génie. Plus que jamais je pense que, si nous avons besoin de vous, vous aussi, à quelques

égards, avez besoin de nous. La collaboration de la France et de l'Allemagne, ma plus vieille illusion de jeunesse, redevient la conviction de mon âge mûr, et mon espérance est que, si nous arrivons à la vieillesse, si nous survivons à cette génération d'hommes de fer dédaigneux de tout ce qui n'est pas la force, auxquels vous avez confié vos destinées, nous verrons ce que nous avons rêvé autrefois, la réconciliation des deux moitiés de l'esprit humain. Oui, sans nous, vous serez solitaires et vous aurez les défauts de l'homme solitaire ; le monde n'appréciera parfaitement de vous que ce que nous lui aurons fait comprendre. Je me hâte d'ajouter que sans vous notre œuvre serait maigre, insuffisante. Voilà ce que j'ai toujours dit. Je n'ai nullement changé ; ce sont les événements qui ont si complètement interverti les rôles, que nous avons peine à nous reconnaître dans nos affections et dans nos souvenirs.

Personne n'a aimé ni admiré plus que moi votre grande Allemagne, l'Allemagne d'il y a cinquante et soixante ans, personnifiée dans le génie de Goethe, représentée aux yeux du monde par cette merveilleuse réunion de poètes, de philosophes, d'historiens, de critiques, de penseurs, qui a vraiment ajouté un domaine nouveau aux richesses de l'esprit humain. Tous tant que nous sommes, nous lui devons beaucoup, à cette Allemagne large, intelligente et profonde, qui nous enseignait l'idéalisme par Fichte, la foi dans l'humanité par Herder, la poésie du sens moral par Schiller, le devoir abstrait par Kant. Loin que ces acquisitions nouvelles nous parussent la contradiction de l'ancienne discipline française, elles nous en semblaient la continuation. Nous prenions au sérieux vos grands esprits quand ils reconnaissaient ce qu'ils devaient à notre dix-huitième siècle ; nous admettions avec Goethe

que la France, que Paris étaient des organes essentiels du génie moderne et de la conscience européenne. Nous travaillions de toutes nos forces à bannir de la science et de la philosophie ces mesquines idées de distinctions nationales qui sont le pire obstacle aux progrès de l'esprit humain.

Depuis 1848, époque où les questions commencèrent à se poser avec netteté, nous avons toujours admis que l'unité politique de l'Allemagne se ferait, que c'était là une révolution juste et nécessaire. Nous concevions l'Allemagne devenue nation comme un élément capital de l'harmonie du monde. Voyez notre naïveté ! Cette nation allemande que nous désirions voir entrer comme une individualité nouvelle dans le concert des peuples, nous l'imaginions d'après le modèle de ce que nous avions lu, d'après les principes tracés par Fichte ou Kant. Nous formions les plus belles espérances pour le jour où prendrait place dans la grande confédération européenne un peuple philosophe, rationnel, ami de toutes les libertés, ennemi des vieilles superstitions, ayant pour symbole la justice et l'idéal. Que de rêves nous faisions ! Un protestantisme rationaliste s'épurant toujours entre vos mains et s'absorbant en la philosophie, — un haut sentiment d'humanité s'introduisant avec vous dans la conduite des choses humaines, — un élément de raison plus mûre se mêlant au mouvement général de l'Europe et préparant des bandages à plusieurs des plaies que notre grande mais terrible révolution avait laissées saignantes ! Vos admirables aptitudes scientifiques sortaient d'une obscurité imméritée, devenaient un organe essentiel de la civilisation, et ainsi, grâce à vous et un peu grâce à nous, un pas considérable s'accomplissait dans l'histoire du progrès.

Les choses en ce monde ne se font jamais comme le veulent les sages. Aussi ceux qui réfléchissent parmi nous ne furent-ils pas trop surpris de voir proclamer à Versailles, sur les ruines de la France vaincue, cette unité allemande qu'ils s'étaient représentée comme une œuvre sympathique à la France. Grande fut leur douleur en voyant l'apparition nationale qu'ils avaient appelée de leurs vœux indissolublement liée aux désastres de leur pays. Ils se consolaient au moins par la pensée que l'Allemagne, devenue toute-puissante en Europe, allait planter haut et ferme le drapeau d'une civilisation qu'elle nous avait appris à concevoir d'une façon si élevée.

La grandeur oblige, en effet. Une nation a d'ordinaire le droit de se renfermer dans le soin de ses intérêts particuliers et de récuser la gloire périlleuse des rôles humanitaires. Mais la modestie n'est pas permise à tous. Vos publicistes, interprètes d'un instinct profond, ont pu être moins discrets à cet égard que vos hommes d'État et proclamer tout haut que l'ère de l'Allemagne commençait dans l'histoire. La fatalité vous traînait. Il n'est pas permis, quand on est tout-puissant, de ne rien faire. La victoire défère au victorieux, qu'il le veuille ou non, l'hégémonie du monde.

Tour à tour la fortune élève sur le pavois une nation, une dynastie. Jusqu'à ce que l'humanité soit devenue bien différente de ce qu'elle est, toutes les fois qu'elle verra passer un char de triomphe, elle saluera, et, les yeux fixés sur le héros du jour, elle lui dira : « Parle, tu es notre chef, sois notre prophète. » La solution des grandes questions pendantes à un moment donné (et Dieu sait si le moment présent se voit obsédé de problèmes impérieux !) est dévolue à celui que les destins désignent. Alexandre, Auguste, Charles-Quint, Napoléon n'avaient

pas le droit de se désintéresser des choses humaines ; sur aucune question, ils ne pouvaient dire : Cela ne me regarde pas ! Chaque âge a son président responsable, chargé de frapper, d'étonner, d'éblouir, de consoler l'humanité. Autant le rôle du vaincu, obligé de s'abstenir en tout, est facile, autant la victoire impose de devoirs. Il ne sert de rien de prétendre qu'on a le droit d'abdiquer une mission qu'on n'a pas voulue. Le devoir devant lequel on recule vous prend à la gorge, vous tue ; la grandeur est un sort implacable auquel on ne saurait se soustraire. Celui qui manque à sa vocation providentielle est puni par ce qu'il n'a pas fait, par les exigences qu'il n'a pas contentées, par les espérances qu'il n'a pas remplies, et surtout par l'épuisement qui résulte d'une force non employée, d'une tension sans résultat.

Faire de grandes choses dans le sens marqué par le génie de l'Allemagne, tel était donc le devoir de la Prusse quand le sort des armes eut mis les destinées de l'Allemagne entre ses mains. Elle pouvait tout pour le bien ; car la condition pour réaliser le bien, c'est d'être fort. Qu'y avait-il à faire ? Qu'a-t-elle fait ? Huit ans, plus de la moitié de ce que Tacite appelle *grande mortalis ævi spatium*, se sont écoulés depuis qu'elle jouit en Europe d'une supériorité incontestée. Par quels progrès en Allemagne et dans le monde cette période historique aurait-elle été marquée ?

Et d'abord, après la victoire, la nation victorieuse a bien le droit de trouver chez elle les récompenses de ses héroïques efforts, le bien-être, la richesse, le contentement, l'estime réciproque des classes, la joie d'une patrie glorieuse et pacifiée. En politique, elle a droit surtout au premier des biens, à la première des récompenses, je veux dire à ces libertés fondamentales de la parole, de la

pensée, de la presse, de la tribune, toutes choses dangereuses dans un État faible ou vaincu, possibles seulement dans un État fort. Ces grandes questions sociales qui agitent notre siècle ne peuvent être résolues que par un victorieux, se servant du prestige de la gloire pour imposer des concessions, des sacrifices, l'amnistie, à tous les partis. Donner la paix, autant que la paix est de ce monde, et la liberté, aussi large qu'il est possible, à cette Europe continentale qui n'a pas encore trouvé son équilibre, fonder définitivement le gouvernement représentatif, aborder franchement les problèmes sociaux, élever les classes abaissées sans leur inspirer la jalousie des supériorités nécessaires, diminuer la somme des souffrances, supprimer la misère imméritée, résoudre la délicate question de la situation économique de la femme, montrer par un grand exemple la possibilité de faire face en même temps aux nécessités politiques opposées que l'Angleterre a conciliées, parce que le problème se posait pour elle d'une manière relativement facile : voilà ce qui eût justifié la victoire, voilà ce qui l'eût maintenue. La victoire, en effet, a toujours besoin d'être légitimée par des bienfaits. La force qu'on a déchaînée devient impérieuse à son tour. Dès qu'il a reçu la première salutation impériale, le César appartient à la fatalité jusqu'à sa mort.

De ce programme que la force des choses semblait vous imposer, qu'avez-vous réalisé? Votre peuple est-il devenu plus heureux, plus moral, plus satisfait de son sort? Il est clair que non; des symptômes comme on n'en a jamais vu après la victoire se sont manifestés parmi vous. La gloire est le foin avec lequel on nourrit la bête humaine; votre peuple en a été saturé, et il regimbe!... Napoléon I^{er}, en 1805, 1806, avait imposé silence par

l'admiration à toute voix opposante; une centaine de personnes tout au plus murmuraient; l'idée d'un attentat contre sa personne eût paru un non-sens. Comment se fait-il qu'au lendemain de triomphes comme on n'en avait pas vu depuis soixante ans, votre gouvernement se soit trouvé en présence d'un mécontentement profond? Pourquoi est-il toujours préoccupé de mesures restrictives de la liberté? D'ordinaire, on n'a pas à réprimer après la victoire; la répression est le propre des faibles. Ce qui se passe chez vous, n'importe comment on l'explique, renferme un blâme contre vos hommes d'État. Si votre peuple est aussi mauvais qu'ils le disent, c'est leur condamnation. Après et durs, comprenant l'État comme une chaîne et non comme quelque chose de bienveillant, ils croient connaître la nature allemande et ne connaissent pas la nature humaine. Ils ont trop compté sur la vertu germanique, ils en verront le bout. On a fait de vous une nation organisée pour la guerre; comme ces chevaliers du xvi^e siècle, bardés de fer, vous êtes écrasés par votre armement. S'imaginer qu'en continuant de subir un pareil fardeau sans en retirer aucun avantage, votre peuple aura la souplesse nécessaire pour l'industrie et les arts de la paix, c'est trop espérer. Ces sacrifices militaires vous mettent dans la nécessité ou de faire la guerre indéfiniment, — et vous avez trop de bon sens pour ne pas voir que ces parties à la Napoléon I^{er} mènent aux abîmes, — ou d'avoir une place désavantageuse dans la lutte pacifique de la civilisation. Les agitations socialistes sont, comme la fièvre, à la fois une maladie et un symptôme; on doit en tenir compte; il ne suffit pas de les étouffer, il faut en voir la cause et à quelques égards y donner satisfaction. Les erreurs populaires s'affaiblissent par la publicité; on les fortifie en essayant de ramener le

peuple à des croyances devenues sans efficacité. Vos maîtres d'école auront beau revenir au pur catéchisme, cela n'y fera rien. Les lois répressives n'y peuvent pas davantage ; on ne tue pas des mouches à coups de canon.

Et dans l'ordre politique, dans la réalisation de cet idéal du gouvernement constitutionnel qui nous est si cher à tous et où l'Europe continentale n'a pas encore réussi, quel progrès avez-vous accompli ? En quoi votre vie parlementaire a-t-elle été plus brillante, plus libre, plus féconde que celle des autres peuples ? Je n'arrive pas à le voir, et ici encore, au lieu de cette largeur libérale qui est le propre des forts, je trouve vos hommes d'État surtout préoccupés de restrictions, de répressions, de règlements coercitifs. Non, je le répète, ce n'est pas par ces moyens-là que vous séduirez le monde. La répression est chose toute négative. Et si, pendant que vos hommes d'État sont plongés dans cette ingrate besogne, le paysan français, avec son gros bon sens, sa politique peu raffinée, son travail et ses économies, réussissait à fonder une république régulière et durable ! Ce serait plaisant. L'entreprise est trop difficile et trop périlleuse pour qu'il soit permis d'en escompter le succès ; mais ce qui est incroyable est souvent ce qui arrive. Les soldats écervelés du général Custine, les grenadiers héroïques et burlesques qui semèrent à tous les vents les idées de la Révolution, ont réussi à leur manière.

La gloire nationale est une grande excitation pour le génie national. Vous avez eu quatre-vingts ans d'un admirable mouvement littéraire, durant lesquels on a vu fleurir chez vous des écrivains comparables aux plus grands des autres nations. Comment se fait-il que cette veine soit comme tarie ? Après notre âge littéraire classique du ^{xvii}^e siècle, nous avons eu le ^{xviii}^e siècle, Mon-

tesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, d'Alembert, Diderot, Turgot, Condorcet. Où est votre continuation de Goethe, de Schiller, de Heine? Le talent ne vous manque certes pas; mais il y a, selon moi, deux causes qui nuisent à votre production littéraire : d'abord, vos charges militaires exagérées, et, en second lieu, votre état social. Supposez Goethe obligé de faire son apprentissage militaire, exposé aux gros mots de vos sergents instructeurs, croyez-vous qu'il ne perdrait pas à cet exercice sa fleur d'élégance et de liberté? L'homme qui a obéi est à jamais perdu pour certaines délicatesses de la vie; il est diminué intellectuellement. Votre service militaire est une école de respect exagéré. Si Molière et Voltaire eussent traversé cette éducation-là, ils y auraient perdu leur fin sourire, leur malignité parfois irrévérencieuse. L'état de conscrit est funeste au génie. Vous me direz que ce régime, nous l'avons adopté de notre côté. Ce n'est peut-être pas ce que nous avons fait de mieux; en tout cas, on ne voit guère encore venir le jour où nous serons malades par exagération du respect.

Votre état social me paraît aussi très peu favorable à la grande littérature. La littérature suppose une société gaie, brillante, facile, disposée à rire d'elle-même, où l'inégalité peut être aussi forte que l'on voudra, mais où les classes se mêlent, où tous vivent de la même vie. On me dit que vous avez fait depuis dix ans de grands progrès vers cette unité de la vie sociale; cependant je n'en vois pas encore le principal fruit, qui est une littérature commune, exprimant avec talent ou avec génie toutes les faces de l'esprit national, une littérature aimée, admirée, acceptée, discutée par tous. Je n'ignore pas les noms très honorables que vous allez me citer; je ne peux trouver néanmoins que votre nouvel empire ait réalisé

ce qu'on devait attendre d'un gouvernement concentrant en lui toutes les forces du génie allemand. C'était à vous de faire sonner bien haut le cliron de la pensée; ces accents nouveaux qui devaient faire battre tous les cœurs, nous les attendons, et nous ne voyons pas bien comment, de l'état moral que certains faits récents nous ont révélé, sortirait un mouvement de libre expansion et de chaude générosité.

Vous étiez forts, et vous n'avez pas fait la liberté! Votre campagne contre l'ultramontanisme, légitime quand elle s'est bornée à réprimer l'intolérance catholique, n'a pas fait avancer d'un pas la grande question de la séparation de l'Église et de l'État. Vos ministres sont toujours restés dans le vieux système où l'État confère à l'Église des privilèges et a pour elle des exigences, sans voir que ces exigences, qui ont une apparence tyrannique, sont loin d'égaliser les privilèges qu'on lui accorde d'une autre main. Certes, vous n'irez pas à Canossa. Léon XIII n'est pas Grégoire VII; c'est lui qui viendra où vous voudrez. Mais ici encore nous attendions du grand et du neuf, et nous ne le voyons pas venir.

Je ferais sourire vos hommes d'État si je disais que votre empire, dans ces premières années qui sont toujours les plus fécondes, n'a pas non plus rempli ses devoirs envers l'humanité, et que l'avenir lui demandera compte de beaucoup de questions auxquelles il a tourné le dos comme à des rêves d'idéologues. Nos habitudes d'esprit et notre histoire nous donnent peut-être des idées fausses en ce qui concerne l'idéal d'une grande hégémonie nationale et dynastique. Nous pensons toujours à Auguste, à Louis XIV; nous ne comprenons pas qu'on règne sur le monde sans grandeur, sans éclat, sans rechercher l'amour du monde et forcer sa reconnais-

sance. Une nation ou une dynastie dirigeante nous apparaissent comme quelque chose de noble, de sympathique, comme une force chargée de patronner tout ce qui est beau, de favoriser le progrès de la civilisation sous toutes ses formes. Éclat, générosité, bienveillance nous semblent des conditions nécessaires de ces grands règnes momentanés qui sont tour à tour dévolus à chaque nation. Louis XIV n'entendait pas parler d'un homme de mérite, de quelque pays qu'il fût, sans se demander : « Ne pourrais-je pas lui faire une pension ? » Il se croyait le dieu bienfaisant du monde ; l'Europe a vécu pendant cent ans de son soleil en cuivre doré. Vanité des vanités ! L'humanité est quelque chose d'assez frivole ; il faut le savoir si l'on aspire à la gagner ou à la gouverner.

Pour la gagner, il faut lui plaire ; pour lui plaire, il faut être aimable. Or vos hommes d'État prussiens ont tous les dons, excepté celui-là. Force de volonté, application, génie contenu et obstiné, ils ne se sont montrés inférieurs pour les qualités solides à aucun des grands génies politiques du passé. Mais ils se sont trompés en se figurant qu'avec cela on peut se dispenser de plaire au monde, de le gagner par des bienfaits. Erreur ! On ne s'impose à l'humanité que par l'amour de l'humanité, par un sentiment large, libéral, sympathique, dont vos nouveaux maîtres se raillent hautement, qu'ils traitent de chimère sentimentale et prétentieuse. On ne discute pas contre des poses, contre des modes passagères ; mais il est bien permis de dire qu'une ostentation d'égoïsme et de froid calcul n'a jamais été le ton des grands hommes qui méritent de figurer éternellement au Panthéon de l'humanité.

Traitez-moi d'arriéré, mais je ne reconnaitrai jamais comme ayant réalisé l'ancien idéal allemand ces hommes

durs, étroits, détracteurs de la gloire, affectant un terre-à-terre vulgaire et positif, prétextant un dédain de la postérité qu'au fond ils n'ont pas. Dans le passage de mon discours de réception qui vous a blessés, je n'ai pas voulu dire autre chose. Le génie de l'Allemagne est grand et puissant; il reste un des organes les plus essentiels de l'esprit humain; mais vous l'avez mis dans un étau où il souffre. Vous êtes égarés par une école sèche et froide, qui écrase plus qu'elle ne développe. Nous sommes sûrs que vous vous retrouverez vous-mêmes, et qu'un jour nous serons de nouveau collaborateurs dans la recherche de tout ce qui peut donner de la grâce, de la gaieté, du bonheur à la vie.

ERNEST RENAN.

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SIXPENCE.

ON EVOLUTION.

*Address delivered at the opening of the Owens College
Medical School, October, 1888.*

BY

JAMES ROSS, M.D., LL.D., F.R.C.P.,

PHYSICIAN TO THE MANCHESTER ROYAL INFIRMARY, AND JOINT PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE
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ON EVOLUTION.

BY the good will of my colleagues has devolved upon me this year the pleasing duty of addressing a few words of welcome to you on the occasion of the opening of the Medical School for the forthcoming session. Before me, I observe, refreshed and reinvigorated, I trust, by a holiday, the familiar faces of many who have in past sessions been a source of pleasure and pride to their teachers, and the faces of many others who are as yet strangers to us, but who, I doubt not, are destined in the coming years to win a large share in our affections—to all of you I bid, in the name of the Principal of the College and the Professors and Lecturers of the Medical School, a warm and hearty welcome.

When the Principal did me the honour of conveying to me the desire of the Senate that I should give this address, I naturally revolved in my mind the choice of a subject, and soon discovered that the preliminary task of making a selection was not an easy one. I might have discoursed upon

the subject matter of your future studies, but it seemed to me best that you should come in contact for the first time with the facts you will have to master, in the dissecting room, the physiological laboratory, and the hospital wards. Anything that I could at present say to you with regard to these studies would be apt to degenerate into mere talk and platitude, which would have upon your lives no influence of a permanent or beneficial kind. I might have selected for remark the mental processes which are operative in the acquirement of a knowledge of the healthy and diseased form and the healthy and diseased actions of the body—a subject which would be by no means uncongenial to me—but I was warned off it, as from sacred ground, by my vivid recollection of the charming address “On Observation” to which we listened with such rapt attention last year, as the words fell from the eloquent lips of the Nestor of British Pathologists—Sir James Paget.

It occurred to me that I might employ this hour most profitably if I addressed to you a few words on the manner in which I conceive you ought to pursue your studies after you have passed from these benches, with their trammels and swathing clothes of class and pass examinations, in order to take your part, worthily I trust, in conducting the affairs of the great world into which you have been born, by applying for its benefit the heritage of ideas you have acquired, and the enlarged capacities for appropriating and discovering new ideas which will have been organised in you during your period of special training. After you have passed

your examinations, and been admitted to the privileges, honours, and responsibilities of the noble profession to which you aspire, the first few years may bring, and I trust will bring to some of you at least, a period of comparative leisure. To be drafted off at an early period to perform the arduous duties of a large and active practice is not, believe me, an unmixed benefit; and should the public demands upon your time be at first comparatively small, there is not much matter for regret in this if the time be only wisely employed in extending the sphere of your knowledge, for increased knowledge is sure to bring with it sooner or later a corresponding expansion of your power and influence. I will assume that all of you, whatever may be the other demands upon your time, will make opportunities for keeping fresh your knowledge of the sciences upon which medicine is based, and will acquaint yourselves with any new discoveries in science and any new rules of practice which may perfect your skill in the treatment of those who may place themselves under your care. But in order to fulfil the highest functions of a learned profession like medicine, aright, it is not enough that we should be able to prescribe according to the rules of our art—we ought to be examples of worthy living by being men of refined tastes and wide culture. Some of you will doubtless be attracted to the ever verdant fields of literature, where you will find great thoughts clothed in noble language; or profitably spend your spare time in the study and contemplation of the great ideals of the past, as they are embodied in history

or in poetic creations, or find expression in painting, sculpture, or music. Others may select for the subject of study the works of the solid and systematic thinkers of the present and past ages, and it is my earnest hope that some of you will yourselves take rank amongst the great thinkers of your generation. There is no more inspiring idea that can come to your teachers than the thought that on these benches sits a young Jenner, a Lister, or a Paget, or possibly even a Faraday or a Darwin, one who by laborious study and the force of genius may yet expand the bounds of knowledge so as to confer incalculable benefits upon the race.

To those of you, then, who aspire to be thinkers, I would say that, besides cultivating a particular department of science, and adding to our knowledge by special researches, you ought to make a profound study of the problems of knowing and being, which is the subject matter of philosophy, and which since the dawn of speculation in Greece up to the present time, have never ceased to exercise a marvellous fascination upon the greatest minds.

It is not for me to determine the form in which these problems will present themselves to the coming generation, but they were pressed upon the notice of the generation, now rapidly passing away, in the form of an acute and violent collision between the expanding conceptions of science, and, I will not say religion, but the traditional beliefs and dogmas in which our religious ideas were clothed. Of the wonderful book which has for 2,000 years—and part of it

for a much longer period—been the main source of our religious ideas, and which is likely to continue in the future, as in the past, to be our chief manual of devotion, I desire to speak with the utmost reverence ; but when I heard the late Bishop of Manchester (Bishop Fraser) admit that the first chapter of Genesis was possibly what he called a poetic history ; and when I heard our present Bishop, in the remarkable sermon which he preached last year during the Meeting of the British Association in this city, assert, without any reservation, that “ nature is the sphere of invariable law ; and that the energy which has fashioned the world has operated by the method of development rather than by that of sudden and creative impulse,”¹—I say, when I heard such willing admissions as these from the men who are and have been the official heads of our national ecclesiastical organisation in this district, it may be permitted to me to subject the Mosaic cosmogony to a respectful examination without fear of wounding the religious susceptibilities of the most tender conscience.

The first chapter of Genesis is a great historical fact, and we might as well quarrel with a great natural fact, like the Alps, as quarrel with it. In it we find, clothed in dramatic form, the mysterious ideas of the formation of the universe, the beginning and succession of life on the globe, and the origin and destiny of man—ideas which to count-

¹ Three Sermons preached in the Manchester Cathedral, on Sunday, September 4th, 1887. John Heywood, 1887, p. 52.

less generations of our predecessors were a living faith, elevating their minds to a near contact with the Eternal. A conception which has, moreover, given birth to the grandest epic in our own or in any language—Milton's "Paradise Lost"—is not one to be lightly treated. There are, indeed, no objections to the Mosaic Record if it is regarded in itself, or if it is regarded as simply intending to give dramatic unity to the great events which led to the formation of the earth and its denizens in their present form ; the objections to it arise when, in the interpretations of unimaginative minds, it is treated as if it were an introduction to a scientific treatise, and is thus crystallised into a rigid and lifeless formula which bars the way to further progress.

The idea of the origin of the world regnant a few years ago, has just now come prominently under our notice in the famous couplet on the ruins of Petra, by the recently deceased Dean Burgon. In reference to the intensely red colour and to the antiquity of these interesting ruins, the Dean exclaims—

Match me such marvel, save in eastern clime,
A rose-red city half as old as time !

In plain language, Petra is known to have been a flourishing emporium 3,000 years ago, and twice 3,000 years brings us to the date when by a creative fiat time itself, and with it space and the whole visible universe came into existence, and six days afterwards man appeared upon the globe as a divinely sent being.

The first rude shock which this cosmological theory received came from a small and obscure laboratory in Manchester, where Dalton carried on his life work by means of old cups and ink bottles for chemical apparatus. When this great man had once enunciated his atomic theory, chemistry, henceforward, became a strictly quantitative science, and the idea of the indestructibility of matter, long held by certain philosophers as a speculative doctrine, became one of the corner stones of science. But, although the idea of the indestructibility of matter held within it the germ of a great movement of thought which was to end in the complete overthrow of the reigning cosmogony, yet the new and the old ideas did not at once come into direct collision. It was readily admitted by men of science, on the one hand, that the doctrine of the indestructibility and ingenerability of matter did not necessarily imply the eternity and uncreatedness of matter; and by theologians, on the other hand, that the history of creation referred less to the creation of matter than to the breathing of the energy of movement into dead matter, by means of which the chaos in which it previously existed was reduced to order. But this modification of the theory of creation was not long to remain unchallenged, and the first shock to it also came, in part at least, from Manchester, when Dr. Joule, almost contemporaneously with Mayer, determined the mechanical equivalence of heat. The idea that one form of energy could be transmuted to another had been familiar to scientific men for some time previously, under the name of the ^a "correlation of the physical forces,"

but with the determination of the mechanical equivalence of heat dynamics became a quantitative science, and the indestructibility and ingenerability of energy took, like the cognate doctrine with reference to matter, its rightful position at the foundation of science.

The constancy of the quantity of energy in the universe was asserted by Descartes, although his definition of energy was inaccurate, and the doctrine was enunciated with strict scientific accuracy by Leibnitz, while subsequently Kant advanced in accordance with it a theory of the origin of the solar system, which was at a later period elaborated by La Place, and has since been well known under the name of the "nebular hypothesis." If our sun and its revolving planets had become developed, as this theory asserted, by the integration of nebulous matter diffused through space, it is manifest that not 6,000 years; but incalculable æons of time must have elapsed since the appearance of the sun and planets, and along with them of the world, in their present form. This speculation, however, was too remote from man's life and destiny to have exercised much influence upon popular thought. But towards the latter end of the last and the beginning of this century the infant science of Geology, which deals on the one hand with cosmical changes, and on the other with the record of past life on the globe, was pressing for recognition, and the observations of the cultivators of this science, as Professor Huxley remarks, "tended to show that the fabric of the earth itself implied the continuance of processes of natural causation for a period of time as great in

relation to human history as the distances of the heavenly bodies from us are in relation to terrestrial standards of measurement." "The abyss of time," he continues, "began to loom as large as the abyss of space."¹

In order to meet this difficulty, it was maintained that the forces of nature acted in a more violent manner during the youthhood of the world than at present, and it was supposed that the earth's crust was subjected to extensive changes in a comparatively brief space of time; that, in fact, these changes were produced not by a gradual process, as at present, but by *cataclysms*, or *catastrophies*. This theory, however, could not withstand serious criticism, and the *uniformitarian* theory as upheld by Sir Charles Lyell, was soon left in possession of the field—and thus it had to be admitted that life must have existed on the globe for millions of years. A final effort was made to square the Mosaic record with the facts of geology, by a Scotch Geologist, Mr. Hugh Miller, a name I am unable to utter without experiencing feelings of the greatest reverence and respect, as he was one of the heroes of my boyhood. Mr. Miller² suggested that the "days of Creation were not natural, but prophetic days and stretched far back into the bygone Eternity;" in other words, he maintained that the Mosaic record simply describes the order in which life appeared on the earth, and leaves quite indeterminate

¹ "The Reign of Queen Victoria." Edit. by T. H. Ward, M.A. Art. Science, by Prof. Huxley, F.R.S. Lond. 1887, p. 363.

² Miller (Hugh). "The Testimony of the Rocks, or Geology in its bearings on the two theologies—Natural and Revealed." Edinburgh, 1857, p. 11.

the question of time. But not even the ingenuity of Hugh Miller and his marvellous graphic power, which makes his history of Creation read like a great epic, could for long reconcile the mind of man to this strained interpretation. It was seen that the real order of vegetable and animal distribution in time, as disclosed by fossil remains, did not correspond to the requirements of this theory, and consequently it was soon forgotten rather than refuted.

But if it had to be conceded that life had appeared upon this globe at a very remote period, the creation of man at a recent period of the world's history was still left to us. I well remember the profound impression made upon my own mind as a young man, when I was told that Sir Charles Lyell had given his sanction to the opinion that man had been a denizen of this earth thousands and thousands of years before the historic period—and so narrow had been the circle of ideas in which I was brought up that I could not then imagine any grounds upon which such an idea could have been entertained, except by attributing a grave moral defect to the distinguished geologist. But if the antiquity of man had by and by to be admitted, the origin of species by a creative act was still secure against the march of these destructive ideas. The text-book of Botany,¹ which was in our hands when I was a student, informed us that "by species is meant so many individuals as are presumed to have been formed at the creation of the world and to

¹ Balfour (John Hutton). "A Manual of Botany." New Edit. Edin., 1863, p. 305.

have been perpetuated ever since." In those days naturalists saw in species stable groups of plants or animals, which perpetuated their own characteristics to their progeny, and were marked off from allied species by a broad line of demarkation which was not and could not be crossed, and was not filled up by any intermediate forms. Now came Mr. Darwin, and he said in effect to his brother naturalists: "You are quite right in regarding two allied species as stable groups marked off from each other by a broad line of demarkation, but this limiting boundary has been naturally caused in the course of time by a struggle for existence, in which the intermediate forms connecting the species being less fitted to survive than the divergent forms on either side of them, have become extinct. You are also right in saying that in the comparatively brief period of time which alone comes within the ken of our observation the variations which occur within a species never amount to specific difference, even although these variations are much greater than has hitherto been supposed ; but if you will go back in thought to the incredibly long periods of time demanded by the geologist for the explanation of cosmic phenomena, then it will be found possible that two or more allied species will own a common ancestor ; nay, if instead of looking at the adult forms of existing species you do but contemplate their embryonic forms, you will find that at a particular stage of their development allied species are indistinguishable, and so far is it from being true that specific differences

exist between allied animals at all ages, that the embryo of man at a certain stage in its development can hardly be distinguished from the embryo of an animal so remote from it as the dog.¹ By Darwin's life work the theory of special creations was banished from animal and vegetable morphology, but the upholders of this theory endeavour still to find a refuge for it in some of the obscurer problems of life and organisation.

It has been asserted, for example, that *life* could not have been derived by a slow process of development, and it is consequently assumed, often more by implication than by direct statement, that it must have had its origin in a distinct creative act. The arguments in favour of this belief are, *firstly*, that there is a wide cleft between the living and the not-living, which is not bridged by intermediate forms, and, *secondly*, that life has not yet been explained, either by the production in the laboratory of the living from the not-living, or by the reduction of the vital principle into the physical forces of light, heat, electricity, and chemical affinity.

Dr. Martineau,² who is known as one of the ablest and fairest of the opponents of evolution, asserted that "the *door of life* is still closed to it." In replying to this argument, Mr. Herbert Spencer³ pointed out that if we

¹ See Darwin (C.), "The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex." Lond., 1871. Vol. I., p. 14.

² Martineau (the Rev. James), "The Place of Man in Nature and Intuition in Man." *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XIX., 1872, p. 616.

³ Spencer (Mr. Herbert), "Mr. Martineau on Evolution." *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. XX., 1872, p. 143.

take, on the one hand, the Protogenes of Haeckel, and on the other, certain inorganic substances whilst undergoing isomeric change, the chasm between the living and the not-living is by no means so great as it has been represented, and he further added that the chasm was being gradually lessened by chemists who were daily producing by synthesis of elementary substances more and more complex compounds. In commenting upon Mr. Spencer's reply, Prof. Max Müller¹ says, "the question was not whether we can imitate some of the productions turned out by the laboratory of a living body, but whether we can build up such a living organic body out of dead and inorganic matter." "But," he continues, "I should be satisfied with much less. If I give Mr. Spencer carbonic acid and water, will he make starch out of them?" About the time that this defiance to Mr. Spencer was being published to the world, Drs. Emil Fischer and Tafel² were engaged in the chemical laboratory of Würzburg in producing by synthesis a peculiar kind of sugar, which appears to be a mixture of dextrose and laevulose, and which, therefore, is only removed one stage in complication from starch.

Gentlemen, are you willing, as Prof. Max Müller seems to be, to stake your philosophy and religion upon the probability that chemists can never produce starch from carbonic acid and water? I know you are not, and

¹ Müller (Prof. F. Max.), "The Science of Thought." London, 1887, p. 109.

² See *Nature*, "Synthesis of Glucose." Vol. 37, Nov. 3rd, 1887, p. 7.

although what I have said is not a full reply to Dr. Martineau's objections to evolution, it shows that in a question of the possibilities of chemical science in the future Prof. Max Müller is not a safe guide, and likewise reveals the kind of arguments which seem to satisfy some of the opponents of evolution.

For my own part, I have no wish to deny the wide chasm existing between the living and the not-living, but on the supposition that life was, not suddenly created, but gradually evolved, what should one expect? Suppose that in the youthhood of the world and under different telluric conditions from the present, the laboratory of nature had gradually evolved more and more complex substances, until at last protein had been produced, and that in the further course of time specks of this protein had become endowed with the functions of assimilation and reproduction—is it not evident that the struggle for existence would commence, and that the living protein would assimilate into their substance the partially-living and the non-living protein as well as many of the higher hydrocarbon compounds? In other words, life being once developed, the intermediate forms between it and non-living matter would disappear and produce this very chasm we find in nature. I do not say that life was developed in the manner just described; all I wish to assert is, that this supposition makes the origin of life congruous with the rest of our scientific knowledge, and that the possibility of making such a supposition shows that the existence of a wide

chasm between the living and the non-living does not afford a sufficient justification for the counter-supposition that life had its origin in a sudden creative act.

But if the existence of this chasm affords no grounds for the assertion that life was suddenly created, still less grounds are afforded by the fact that life has not yet received any adequate scientific explanation. Let us at once acknowledge that the mystery of life has hitherto proved inexplicable. But what then? Must we come to the conclusion that life was miraculously produced? We have not yet found an explanation of the origin of cancer, or of many other diseases, but do we assume that they came into existence by distinct creative acts? What mean our presence here to-day, the laboratories to which you will pass for instruction, and the apparatus to which you will by and by have access for carrying on original research, but that we are encompassed by the inexplicable, and that it is your privilege and duty to reduce one inexplicable after another to the explicable—the unknown to the known? The truth is that the word inexplicable has a double meaning, being used to indicate, *firstly*, that which *has not* been explained, and *secondly*, that which *cannot be* explained under any conceivable circumstances of time or place. Writers who are found using this argument of inexplicability begin by proving that a particular fact, like the origin of life, is inexplicable in the sense that it *has not* been explained, but in the conclusion the statement covertly emerges that it is inexplicable in the sense that it *cannot be*

explained—a universal negative proposition which is itself the greatest possible inexplicability, because, under no circumstances of time or place, can any positive evidence be adduced in its favour.

Some years ago Prof. Max Müller¹ declared it to be his conviction “that the science of language will yet enable us to withstand the extreme theories of the evolutionists, and to draw a hard and fast line between spirit and matter, between man and brute”; and in his recent charming volume “On Science and Thought,”² his opposition to the Darwinian theory of the evolution of species, and of the origin of man is fully elaborated. It is impossible in an address like the present to notice even briefly the line of argument adopted by the author, but it may be permitted to me to refer to his main conclusion by quoting his own words: “With all my opposition to Darwin,” he says, “I have really gone far beyond the point where he stopped, for I have always treated man not only as a descendant of an animal, but to all intents and purposes an animal. No one can understand human nature, no one can form a true conception of the origin of language who does not clearly see that, for a time, every human individual, and therefore the ancestors of the human race themselves, were without language, without reason, and, so far, mere animals, till they made that small step of using the *clamor concomitans*

¹ Müller (Prof. F. Max). “Selected Essays on Language, Mythology, and Religion.” Lond. 1887. Vol. I., p. 199.

² Müller (Prof. F. Max). The “Science of Thought.” Lond. 1887, p. 580.

of their social occupations as a *clamor significans*, and thus entered on that loop-line which, though at first diverging by an almost invisible angle only, carried them in the end to a destination which no speechless animal can ever reach." The phrases *clamor concomitans* and *clamor significans* find their explanation in Noiré's theory of the derivation of the roots of language. Noiré starts with the well-known fact that whenever men are excited they are apt to utter certain sounds, and in working together, as in digging, marching, rowing, they are inclined to accompany their occupations with more or less rhythmical utterances ; this is the *clamor concomitans*. And when by and by a particular sound was abstracted from the occupation, and used for the purpose of reminding others of the repeated acts of which it was an accompaniment, it then became *clamor significans*. In other words, from being a mere automatic sound, it became equivalent to an intellectual proposition, and took its place as one of the roots of language. This theory seems to me to be a great advance upon the somewhat crude onomatopœic hypotheses of the origin of language, but I see nothing in it to conflict with Darwin's general theory of evolution, and no reason why he should not have, with his usual openness to new ideas, adopted it for himself had he been living.

In any case, it is important for you to observe that Prof. Max Müller's opposition to Darwin resolves itself into his having to propose a rival scheme for the development of man as well as of language. Of creation as an act he says,¹ that

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

“it is inconceivable to any human understanding, and that if we speak of it at all we can only do so anthropomorphically or mythologically.” The upholders of the hypothesis of special creations and the catastrophists find not a crumb of comfort in Prof. Müller’s latest work, and I would consequently have passed over his other opinions altogether, were it not for the opportunity afforded of giving you an example of the kind of arguments by which he endeavours to overthrow the Darwinian theory of evolution. He says :¹—“Drop species, as a used-up word, and all becomes clear and simple. There are no species in nature, unless we foist them in. Our mistake of seeing in nature species, whether few or many, arose from the wrong use of the word species.” It thus appears that the whole of the intricate problems which Darwin endeavoured to solve in his remarkable work “On the Origin of Species” vanish into thin air, as if by the wand of a magician, if we only cease to use the word species—and this from the man whose great aim in life has been to show that there is an impassable gulf between the lower animals and man. Does this gulf exist or does it not? if *no*, then what becomes of the hard and fast line which Prof. Müller promised to establish by the science of language between man and the brute—if *yes*, we are entitled to ask, how it was caused? The only possible answer to this question is that it must have been suddenly created or gradually developed. It could not have been created,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 580.

inasmuch as according to the author an act of creation is inconceivable, and, consequently, this hard and fast line, the existence of which we do not for a moment deny, must have been developed, and the question of its development is in no way solved by the banishment of an inconvenient or improperly used word from our vocabulary. The broad line between monkey and man persists after this banishment, and most of us will be inclined to think that Darwin's theory of survival of the fittest, with its correlative of extinction of the less fit, affords at least a plausible explanation, by showing us a principle by means of which the animal who had only reached to the level of the *clamor concomitans* had disappeared, without leaving progeny, in the presence of his more powerful relative who had attained to the level of the *clamor significans*.

And in the gradual disappearance of inferior races like the Red Indian and the aborigines of Australia which we see going on under our eyes, the already hard and fast line between brute and man is ever becoming harder and faster, and the conditions for diminishing and obliterating it have for ever disappeared from the earth. This explanation has at least the merit that it endeavours to account for the phenomena by causes which we see in operation at the present day—which are therefore *veræ causæ*, while the attempt to get over the difficulty by omitting a word from the language seems to me altogether preposterous, and to be comparable only to the attempt of the ostrich to hide itself by burying its head in the sand.

In the imperfect survey of modern controversies just given, we have found reason to believe that they are not wise guides who would endeavour to exclude God from the greater part of his universe, in order that He may be supposed to take a special interest in a few corners of it. Creation is proceeding under our very eyes as surely as it did 6,000 years ago, and the daily preservation of the universe is as mysterious in its essence, and as miraculous as was the origination of it ; and if we speak of the Laws of Nature, what are they but the manifestation of God's working in nature, a revelation of the manner by which He framed the things that are seen out of the things that are not seen !

Gentlemen, God is within and around you. He is without you in the movements and affections of much derided matter, and in the transformations of energy ; He may be found in the dust which you tread under your feet as in the stars which shine upon you from afar ; and above all He is within you in your reverential feelings, in your instinctive longings after the Eternal, and in the still small voice of your conscience ; but you will not find Him in portends, and cataclysms, and sudden creations, and violent interruptions of law.

Do not imagine that the transition from an unreasoning belief in the hypothesis of instantaneous creative acts to a profound belief in a fixed and invariable order of the universe, was an easy one. On the contrary, there are few more painful experiences a man has to bear than when

he finds that he has to change the soil, rubbish-heap though it may be, in which the tree of his religious life has had its roots ; with this transplantation the plant itself may wither and fade, and it may, and often does require, many years of cultivation and cruel experiences ere it again is covered with budding leaves, and may even never come to efflorescence and fructification. In the words just addressed to you, I have briefly described the manner in which the Time-Spirit acted on my own mind, how in its onward march, irresistible as the wheels of fate, it ground into powder old beliefs and fossilised dogmas. With other minds it acted in other ways, but with all of us it brought doubt and uncertainty, even unbelief and scepticism, or, as Carlyle calls it, spiritual paralysis. In his "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," the late Mr. Matthew Arnold¹ describes, with inimitable grace and tenderness, his own mental condition during the transition period of doubt which followed his escape from the "rigorous teachers" that seized his youth—

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,
Like these on earth I wait forlorn,
Their faith, my tears, the world alike deride,
I come to shed them at their side.

I hope you will not understand anything I have said as implying that an assent to the theory of evolution carries with it as its natural consequence religious doubt. In this connection I gratefully quote the words, not of an upholder,

¹ Arnold (Matthew), Poems by. Lyric and Elegiac Poems, Lond., 1885, p. 211.

but of a distinguished opponent, of evolution, Dr. Martineau,¹ who, in the article already alluded to, said that "in the idea of a gradual unfolding of the creative plan and the maturing it by rules of growth there is nothing necessarily prejudicial to piety." The scepticism which befel our generation arose as a natural rebound against the unreasoning demands made upon our credibility by the teachings of a former generation. And although a revolution in thought equal to the one the passing generation has had to face in its magnitude, in the sacredness of the questions it involved, and in the acuteness of the feelings it evoked, is not likely to occur in the intellectual and religious problems of the coming generation ; yet your own problems await you. Amongst these it is probable that evolution as applied to the development of mind, of morals, of societies, and of theology, subjects of which I felt unable to speak to-day, will take a prominent share. So long as you have to contemplate the indwelling thought in man, and the mighty power which underlies the Universe, and which carries us on its bosom like wavelets on the surface of the great ocean, so long there will not be lacking subjects for profound contemplation and for rational and reverential discussion, or opportunities for the birth of alternating periods of doubt and trusting faith. As Carlyle² says in one of his grand outbursts of poetic eloquence, "if our era is the era of

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 607.

² Carlyle (Thomas), "Sartor Resartus," Lond., Chapman and Hall, 1871, p. 78.

Unbelief, why murmur under it, is there not a better time coming, nay come? As in long-drawn systole and long-drawn diastole must the period of Faith alternate with the period of denial; must the vernal growth, the summer luxuriance of all opinions, Spiritual Representations and Creations, be followed by, and again follow, the autumnal decay, the winter dissolution."

It must be admitted that in the minds of many of our generation the state of doubt had crystallised into permanent denial, but in the minds of the nobler amongst us it acted as a living force which impelled them to scale the heavens and to bring from thence the Promethean fire of a new revelation. You will naturally ask whence came deliverance and a new enlightenment to our age? It was found, *firstly* in a practical, and *secondly* in a speculative solution of our more pressing difficulties.

The *practical* solution of our doubts consisted in following a precept which Carlyle¹ said was of invaluable service to him; namely, "Do the duty which lies nearest thee, which thou knowest to be a duty; thy second duty will already have been clearer." On the supposition that we were derived by a slow process of development from brutes, we still could not doubt that this process had led to the formation in man of capacities, emotions, and aspirations of which hardly a trace could be discovered in the lower animals, and if progressive development had carried the race so far upwards, properly directed, it could, doubt-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

less carry us further on the same road. It was a clear duty, therefore, not only to secure what had already been rescued from mere brute life, but also to increase the distance already travelled by a further elevation of the human race. The fulfilment of this duty had led to the formation of innumerable societies and other agencies for the repression of crime and for holding out a helping hand to the unfortunate, to the building of new churches and schools, to the passing of an education bill with numerous other legislative enactments intended to improve the moral and social condition of the masses of our population, and to missions of educated and religious men being sent to help in the rescue of the lapsed populations of our large cities. And, Gentlemen, perhaps in no department of life is this practical change for the better to be seen in greater perfection than in contrasting the medical student of the past generation, of which Bob Sawyers was but too true a type, with the earnest, and refined young men who fill our classrooms at the present day, and who show themselves to be as enthusiastic in the cause of humanity as they are eager in search of knowledge.

The marvellous activity manifested in every direction in the search for truth, and the sacredness which came to attach to any work, whether material or mental, which tended to advance the social and moral welfare of mankind, brought the age into nearer contact with the life of the founder of the Christian religion, who taught us the happiness and peace that is to be found in self-renounce-

ment and doing good to others. The generation thus found a corrective against the everlasting *Nay*¹ of critical and sceptical philosophy, in the everlasting *Yea* of practical life.

The *speculative* solution of our doubts is more difficult to deal with, partly because there is not the same unanimity of opinion in reference to it as with the practical solution, and partly because it carries us to a region of difficult and abstract thought, which few men can securely tread. It presented itself to my own mind something in the following manner. It is at least undoubted that the Religious sentiments exist in the present ; it is even probable that in one form or another they exercise a more overwhelming sway over our minds than at any period in the world's history. Now, to put the matter at its lowest, if these sentiments have like the rest of our intellectual and emotional nature been gradually evolved by concourse with the world in which we live, it is clear that in surviving they must have been on the whole beneficial to mankind. And when we come to contemplate the historical development of the race, or even take into consideration our individual experiences of life, we have to acknowledge that the Power which underlies this universe is on the whole working for the predominance of the good and the evanescence of the evil ; or, as the late Mr. Matthew Arnold² expresses it, we have to acknowledge that there is in and around us "an enduring

¹ See Carlyle, "Sartor Resartus," p. 110, *et sequ.*

² Arnold (Matthew), "Literature and Dogma," London, 1873, p. 57.

Power, *not ourselves*, which makes for righteousness." And when we allow our sentiments of dependence, of reverence, of awe, and of love to go out towards this Eternal Power, morality is kindled with emotion and glows into a religion.

One word now with regard to the *Nature* of this Power. Can it become an object of consciousness? or is it altogether inscrutable and inconceivable? You are probably aware that Descartes drew a sharp distinction between matter and mind, and regarded them as mutually exclusive principles, the essence of the former being *extension*, and of the latter *thought*. But the aim of philosophers¹ in all ages has been by analysis to ascend from the *many* to the *one*, and again, by synthesis to descend from the *one* to the *many*. The possibility of applying that method to the whole of our knowledge implies the truth of the law of continuity or evolution, and until this law had been extended, as it has been only in our own day, to organic and super-organic phenomena, the great design of philosophy was incapable of being completed, and is, indeed, for the first time being systematically realised through all orders of phenomena in the great works of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Another barrier that stood in the way was the philosophy of Descartes; and the chief aim of modern philosophy has been, not to perpetuate the hard and fast line he established between matter and spirit, but to reduce his dualism to a unity. The principles by which this reduction is effected

¹ See Plato, *The Dialogues of*, translated by B. Jowett, Oxford, 1871, p. 346.

are to be found in the writings of Berkeley, Hume, and Kant. There are three possible systems of philosophy, by means of which this unity may be established.

1. *Materialism*, in which mind is regarded as a function of matter ;
2. *Idealism*, in which matter is regarded as a product of mind ; and
3. *Monism*, in which our knowledge of mind and matter is regarded as merely symbolic of the working of an Unknown, and Unknowable Power which underlies both.

Materialism appeared to find for a time its chief stronghold in physiology. Discoveries in cerebral physiology with which most of you are already familiar, had proved conclusively that our thoughts and feelings are dependent upon molecular changes in the brain, and it appeared for a time as if these conclusions had condemned us to materialism, and the efforts of theologians to combat this opinion by the dualism of Descartes only helped to confirm it. The true solution was obtained on referring to the analysis of our knowledge to be found in the writings of Berkeley and Kant ; it was then seen that whatever matter may be in itself, we know nothing of it except as it affects our consciousness, and, consequently, the statement made by materialists that thought is a function of matter is less likely to be true than the counter-statement that matter is a function of thought.¹

¹ See Caird (John, D.D.). "An introduction to the Philosophy of Religion." Glasgow, 1880, p. 94 *et sequ.*

Materialism, as a theory of the universe, may be rejected ; and I believe that it has been abandoned by most of the great thinkers of our day.

Turning now to *Idealism*, it is manifest that our own individual minds, of which alone each of us has direct cognisance, could not have formed the universe, and, consequently, this theory assumes that it was formed, and is now maintained by an Infinite Mind. The objection to this view is that it erects the mind of finite intelligences—ephemera like ourselves—into a standard of the Nature of the Eternal. I am compelled at once to confess that this is to my mind a strong objection to Idealism as a completed theory of the Universe. But when we speak of the *nature* of God we are apt to confound two meanings. If I endeavour to form a *constitutive*¹ idea of the Deity, I can assert nothing of Him beyond simple existence and a general acknowledgement that He is incomparably greater than anything I can conceive, and with regard to ourselves, I must own, in the language of Carlyle,² that “We are—we know not what—Light-sparkles floating in the

¹ Consult Kant (Immanuel), “Critique of Pure Reason.” Translated by F. Max Müller. Lond. 1881. Vol. II., p. 502 *et sequ.*

Hamilton (Sir W.), Discussions on Philosophy and Literature. Philosophy of the unconditioned. 3rd Edit., Edin. and Lond., 1866, p. 14.

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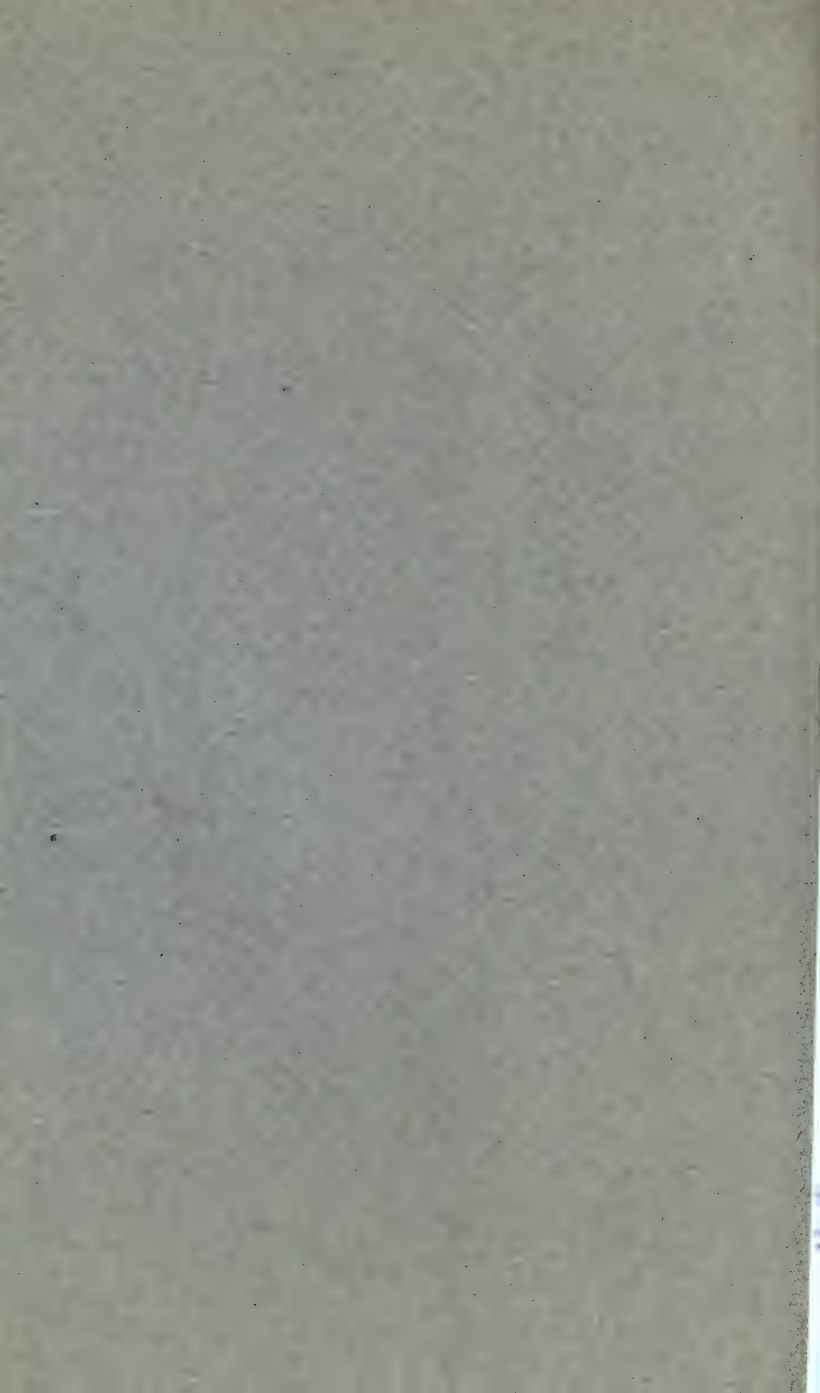
² Carlyle T. “Sartor Resartus,” p. 37.

æther of Deity." But if I form a *regulative* idea only, and think of Him as He is manifested to me in my moral nature and in the order of the universe, then the only revelation I can have of Him is in mind and through mind, and I am compelled to conceive Him by Idealism, and in reference to ourselves I shall own that we are His children, and owe Him love, reverence, and obedience. Now although the regulative idea cannot be erected into the constitutive one, and is quite inadequate as a representation of its Object, yet it is not on that account false; and if in a future state of being I am able to form an incomparably higher conception than at present, I will then have to acknowledge that my present conception was the highest possible to my present faculties, and that it sufficed for my guidance. If, then, I endeavour to frame a constitutive idea of the Deity, I must confess myself a Monist or even an Agnostic, and am ready to exclaim that "His greatness is unsearchable"; but if I attempt to form a regulative conception only, then I am an Idealist, and have no hesitation in addressing the Deity in the language of human thought and emotion, and saying "His eyes are upon the ways of a man, and He sees all his goings."



ON THE

Platonism of Wordsworth.



ON THE
PLATONISM
OF
WORDSWORTH.

A PAPER READ TO THE WORDSWORTH SOCIETY,
JULY 19TH, 1881.

By J.^{os}ph^{ph} Henry SHORTHOUSE,

AUTHOR OF "JOHN INGLESANT; A ROMANCE."

BIRMINGHAM:

CORNISH BROTHERS, 37, NEW STREET.

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It is hoped that the reader will perceive that no allusion is made in this Essay to the general religious opinions of the Poet. The writer has simply attempted to trace certain lines of thought which seem to him to exist in Wordsworth's philosophic poetry.

THE
PLATONISM OF WORDSWORTH.

A Paper read to the Wordsworth Society,

July 19th, 1881.

TO write of Wordsworth would seem futile. Wordsworth is himself; to paraphrase or parody his words or characters is unspeakably painful; nay more, it is useless, it will convey no adequate idea to the man who is ignorant of Wordsworth's poetry. It is the perfection of certain passages which induces the wish to call attention to them, but this perfection leaves nothing to be desired or added; nor can any want of variety be pleaded as an excuse for using any words other than the poet's own. The stage is crowded already. Think of the press of fairy folk who throng upon your memory as you turn over his pages in your recollection—the miller and his maids on their island platform in the river—that strange woman and her no less weird mate beneath the tower of Jedburgh—the stealthy mystic form of the leech-gatherer—the stately march of figures which fill the pathways of the White Doe—the valleys and

hill-slopes gay with blithe or hallowed with solemn figures which delight our fancy in the pages of the Excursion—the churchyard where the brother sleeps—the mountain sheepfold where Michael toiled and sorrowed—the foot plank which bore the last impress of Lucy's feet—the dusty highway along which the Cumberland beggar moved, and will move now for ever—the ghastly fellowship that haunted the prosaic everyday walks of the travelling potter, Peter Bell—Matthew, the school-master, and his mysteriously provoking witty rhymes—Simon Lee—old childless Timothy and the hunt, and that exquisite apologue which genius heard even in the chance echo of the cuckoo's cry—

“unsolicited reply
To a babbling wanderer sent.”

Wordsworth was a leader of men in the truest sense. On his guidance the jaded and perplexed intellect may safely depend; he possessed a power of cheerful calm, clear as the dawn and unvarying as the stars.

“The Kitten and
Fallen Leaves.”
p. 130, Ed. 1849.

“That, when time brings on decay,
Now and then may I possess
Hours of perfect gladness;
Keep the sprightly soul awake,
And have faculties to take
Even from things by sorrow wrought,
Matter for a jocund thought;
Spite of care and spite of grief
To gambol with life's falling leaf.”

“ It is the spirit of Paradise,
 ————— a spirit strong,
 That gives to all the selfsame bent
 Where life is wise and innocent.”

p. 121, Ed. 1849.

It may be that there are lines of thought which the poet merely indicated, but which it is possible to trace out more clearly, and to follow farther on, not only to our own delight and advantage but also to the appreciation of the poet.

It has been suggested that one of these lines of thought is the similarity of Wordsworth's teaching to that of Plato. I have said the *similarity* of Wordsworth to Plato, because it is not asserted that Wordsworth consciously Platonized; on the contrary, it is not likely that he ever read the Dialogues. It is not impossible that Coleridge may have talked to him upon the matter. We know he discoursed at length to him upon Spinoza, and Mr. Frederick Pollock fancies that he can trace the effect of those conversations in the poet's work.

I should suppose that any ordinarily educated man would, if asked, describe Wordsworth as a poet of nature, and he has with the utmost emphasis described himself as a “worshipper of nature;” nevertheless it would seem that Wordsworth is essentially the poet of *Man*. He is in fact less of a poet than of a Seer. It is *man* whom he chiefly busies himself about. It is the emotions and thoughts of *men* which fill his thoughts. Nature is the type of permanence and reality, man is transient and ever changing; nevertheless nature is ever sub-

Excursion.
Wanderer.
p. 447, Ed. 1849.

p. 449.

Despondency
Corrected.
p. 482.
idem, p. 487.

idem, 1st edition

servient to man. Seen by man's intellect inanimate nature becomes "an ebbing and a flowing mind." It is intellect projected upon the bleak side of some tall peak "familiar with forgotten years," that gave to it its "visionary character." It was the transitory nature of the being that stood upon its bank that gave to the flowing stream its lesson of "life continuous—being unimpaired." By these forms of nature, "In the relation which they bear to man" are evoked "The spiritual presences of absent things, convoked by knowledge."

The Excursion.
The Churchyard
p. 504, Ed. 1849.

"Amid the groves, beneath the shadowy hills
The generations are prepared."

The Excursion.
The Wanderer.
p. 449, Ed. 1849.

"Their manners, their enjoyments and pursuits,
Their passions, and their feelings; chiefly those
Essential and eternal in the heart."

But, though man consecrates nature, nature elevates man—man and nature act and re-act. That glorious universe, the intelligent succession of conditioned existence, has

The Excursion.
The Wanderer.
p. 450, Ed. 1849.

"meanings which it brought
From years of youth. Which like a Being made
Of many Beings, it has wondrous skill
To blend with knowledge of the years to come;"

and thus to lure mankind from a superstitious manicheism into a state of abiding and gracious calm, in which he is at last able to recognize the eternal unity which pervades all things, the synthesis of thought and matter, the clear dawning of the perfect intellectual day.

“ 'Tis nature's law
 That none, the meanest of created things,
 Of forms created the most vile and brute,
 The dullest or most noxious, should exist
 Divorced from good—a spirit and pulse of good,
 A life and soul to every mode of being
 Inseparably link'd.”

The
 Cumberland
 Beggar.
 p. 425, Ed. 1849.

If this is the nature of Wordsworth's poetry what is the result? He has himself told us that he did not intend to found a system; but the effect produced by his teaching is a sacred peace, in the presence of pure and absolute Being. The petty troubles of existence vanish before the passionless face of nature, and in the presence of invariable Law an entrance is won into the kingdom of the pure Intellect,

“ by mystery and hope,
 And the first virgin passion of a soul
 Communing with the glorious universe.”

The Excursion.
 The Wanderer.
 p. 449, Ed. 1849.

“ Immutably survive
 For our support the measures and the forms
 Which an abstract intelligence supplies,
 Whose kingdom is, where time and space are not.”

The Excursion.
 Dependency
 Corrected.
 p. 476, Ed. 1849.

Now let us turn for a moment to the banks of the Ilissus and we shall find something of the same character.

Standing under the shady plane trees, which have long since vanished, groups of earnest looking

young men are discussing those themes which, as the years roll on, generation after generation will discuss: while among them a queer looking little man whom all reverence, and make way for, and listen to, walks about asking questions, and showing each one of them, to his own satisfaction, how great a fool he is. Plato's dialogues, just as much as Wordsworth's poems, form a volume of Philosophical Romance. For his groundwork he seized upon a wonderful and unique man. His philosophy is based upon the story of a life and death, his pages are crowded with men; without the aid of narrative he can create character: but story is not wanting. Anecdote and incident, apologue and poetry enliven the page. The trials, the difficulties, the follies and aims of men are his theme. Nor does he stop here, his philosophy (transcendental as it has been called) is human, his ideas are those of earth. Unlike Aristotle and the schoolmen he does not occupy himself with Existence, Substance, Attribute, Essence, Eternity, but with matters of everyday life; in the first place destroying false and pedantic notions, and then basing his idealism upon recognised facts, such as love, hatred, strength, and even horses, dogs, and mud.

Let us endeavour to trace this likeness still more clearly by two examples before we attempt to realise the metaphysic result, and the particular mode in which it forced itself on the poet's imagination and by which he is still enabled to communicate it to us.

He speaks of

“another gift
Of aspect more sublime ; that blessed mood
In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lighten'd : that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motions of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul ;
While, with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.”

Tintern Abbey.
p. 160, Ed. 1849.

Such an extract as this has said everything that need be said on the subject. It covers all possible ground. Let us remain silent, and turn to the other master.

“And what think you would happen were it given to anyone to behold beauty itself, clear as the light, pure and undefiled, not daubed with human colouring, nor polluted with human fleshlyness, and other kinds of mortal trash ; so that, in its singleness of form he were able to see the beautiful and the god-like in one. Think you that the life of a man would be of little account if he look thitherward (without fear) and has such fellowship as this? Do you not see that to him alone will power be given (who alone has the power to behold the beautiful) to beget, not the deceitful show of virtue, as not being tempted by deceitful shows, but the truth itself, as one who embraces a reality :—and so begetting virtue (as a lovely daughter) and bringing her up, it will happen to him to be God-beloved, and, if any man can be, immortal.”

Plato
Symposium
xxix. E.
Ed. Stallbaum.

Apart from all the distracting terminology of metaphysic, then, the meaning of the English poet and the Greek philosopher seems to be this—The forces of life, which we call intellectual, may be actually of similar birth with the physical, but phenomenally they stand out in clear distinction. Love, self-sacrifice and self-denial, courage, and the other virtues are so far immaterial at least that they are indestructible, invisible, invariable in action, unregulated by the laws which attach to matter. So long as the race endures they are eternal. But a difficulty seems to present itself at the outset. Love and self-denial, courage and the rest, are all that you state them to be, but so are hatred, revenge, fear and the like. Will then the eternal world of Pure Intellect, which an abstract intelligence has peopled, prove nothing more than a repetition of this?—with all its unintelligible gloom, its perplexities, its cruelties, its Sphinx-riddles which lead to despair and death?

To grapple with this difficulty Plato fell back upon what may be called a principle of excellence, which rules the formation and government of all animate and inanimate things. What this principle was he was often at a loss to decide, but he appealed boldly to the experience of his hearers to acknowledge that there was such a principle, and to pronounce upon the success or failure of any Work or Being in proportion as it adheres to or departs from it. This being so it follows that all temporary, accidental, and unsuitable adjuncts being eliminated, nothing but the pure idea of the perfect object will

exist in the intellect; so that to the perfectly instructed man there would be no such thing as evil or bad workmanship in the world. Indeed this is really the case in the pure intellect, in which alone all things exist, (all things, that is, in their perfect form,) and which is God.

The general truth of this I think will not be denied. The latest efforts of modern speculation have declared that the world of thought and that alone is subjective and objective at once, and that all conceivable attributes turn out to be objective aspects of thought itself. "The ultimate elements of thought are not merely correlated with the ultimate elements of things. They are the elements of things themselves."

vid. Mr. Fred.
Pollock's
Spinoza, pp.
176-9.

Nor is Platonism antagonistic to any older or later form of philosophic thought. You may make matter as eternal as you like. You may deny the argument of design, and conclude that no evidence exists of a Creator, beneficent or otherwise. You may endow matter with such vital energies and such faculties of thought as you may require. You may satisfy yourself that force, or motion, or extension is the immanent cause of all things: but the Platonic theory can never be antiquated or impossible.

From every phenomenon you will always be able to eliminate the transitory and the accidental, until you arrive at an abstract idea which exists only in the pure intellect. It is into this world of ideas that the Platonist forces his way. In this fourth dimension of intellectual space he finds himself in a

world familiar and yet wonderful. Into this world, neither change, nor corruption, nor decay can enter. This is the true eternal life. Of all earthly things the ideas are eternal, and this pure intellect, this world in which they live and move and have their being, and some portion of which we have each of us received, is none other than the all-perfect, all-containing intellect, the mind of God.

In what way then does Wordsworth speak of this world? Under what aspect did its eternal glories present themselves to him? He tells us that

Michael.
p. 96, Ed. 1849.

"The power
Of nature, by the gentle agency
Of natural objects, led me on to feel
For passions that were not my own, and think
On man, the heart of man, and human life."

* * * * *

Preface to
Excursion.
p. 445, Ed. 1849.

"How exquisitely the individual mind
————— to the external world
Is fitted, and how exquisitely too
The external world is fitted to the mind."

Excursion.
The Wanderer.
p. 447, Ed. 1849.

"From that bleak tenement
He many an evening to his distant home
In solitude returning, saw the hills
Grow larger in the darkness; all alone
Beheld the stars come out above his head,
And travelled through the wood with no one near,
To whom he might confess the things he saw.
So the foundations of his mind were laid
In such communion not from terror free."

* * * * *

"While yet a child and long before his time
 Had he perceived the presence and the power
 Of greatness : and deep feelings had impressed
 Great objects on his mind, with portraiture
 And colour so distinct, that on his mind
 They lay like substances, and almost seem'd
 To haunt the bodily sense."

idem, 1st Ed.
 p. 10.

I venture to think that these lines deserve the closest study. They seem to me to contain the key not only to Wordsworth's Platonism, but to that peculiar conception of his that an entrance into the world of abstract thought may be won by the help of material objects.

"The presence and the power of greatness"—this is that "principle of excellence" in which Plato believed. This expression includes all that can be conceived of absolute perfection—of immutable morality, absolute in itself—independent of space and time, of locality and temperament. It includes that power within us which, in Mr. Matthew Arnold's phrase, "makes for righteousness," that consciousness which assures us that, in the Divine Intellect, love must rule and not hatred, confidence and not fear.

By deep feeling, the poet goes on to tell us, this greatness is impressed upon our mind, so that its attributes lie like substances upon us and haunt the bodily sense. It is evident, I think, that he uses the word "substance" in this place not in the strict metaphysical sense, but in that secondary sense which has vitiated all the terms which express essence or reality, popular use and wont invariably

attaching these two last terms to that which is not essential or real. The poet evidently refers to that lower substantiality which belongs to matter, and which is perceived by the senses. He seems to affirm that by the help of the vast objects of nature, perceived in silence and in solitude, we are enabled to understand and to conceive the great realities of abstract thought, and to

Preface to
Excursion.

"Breathe in worlds
To which the Heaven of Heavens is but a veil."

Excursion.
The Wanderer.
1st Ed., p. 14.

"But in the mountains did he feel his faith,
There did he see the writing—all things there
Breathed immortality, revolving life
And greatness still revolving ;—infinite.
There littleness was not, the least of things
Seemed infinite : and there his spirit shaped
Her prospects."

The Excursion.
p. 497, Ed. 1849.
To H.C.,
Six years old.
The Excursion.
The Wanderer.
p. 455, Ed. 1849.

This is that "divine hope of pure imagination,"
that "fittest to unutterable thought," "the passing
shows of being."

To H.C., p. 62.

"The silence and the calm of mute insensate things."
"Where earth and heaven create one imagery."

Despondency
Corrected.
p. 487, Ed. 1849.
The Parsonage,
p. 523.

Matter therefore is a thought of God. The rural
gods of Greece would seem to have occupied a
similar position in the mind of the Platonist as did
these "spiritual presences of absent things," "This
soul imparted to brute matter," in the poet's "pure
imaginative soul."

Despondency
Corrected.
p. 482.

"We live by admiration, hope, and love."

“A spirit hung,
 Beautiful region o'er thy towns and farms,
 And emanations were perceived, and acts
 Of immortality, on nature's course,
 Exemplified by mysteries, that were felt
 As bonds.”

Excursion,
 p. 482, Ed. 1849.
 Despondency
 Corrected.

The means are not very different, the result is the same. This absolute being is described as including within itself, as the sea its waves, all adoring and conscious and apprehending existence.

“————— Life continuous—being unimpaired,
 That hath been, is, and where it was, and is,
 There shall be—seen, and heard, and felt, and known,
 And recognised—existence unexposed
 To the blind walk of mortal accident,
 From diminution safe, and weakening age.
 While man grows old, and dwindles and decays,
 And countless generations of mankind
 Depart, and leave no vestige where he trod.”

Despondency
 Corrected,
 1st Ed.

“Thou, thou alone
 Art everlasting, and the blessed spirits
 Which thou includest as the sea her waves :
 For adoration thou endurest. Endure
 For consciousness, the motions of thy will,
 For apprehension those transcendent truths
 Of the pure intellect that stand as laws
 Even to Thy Being's infinite majesty.”

Despondency
 Corrected.
 p. 476, Ed. 1849.

The inborn conscience of humanity has recognised the perfection of Being in a variety of forms—by diverse myths and it may be grotesque imaginations at which a misdirected intellect may sneer. The “secret spirit of Humanity” has consented

The Wanderer,
 p. 455, Ed. 1849.

with a marvellous unanimity to conceive of a world where wrong is made right, where suffering is turned to joy, where inequality is removed, and the rough places of misery and oppression made smooth—where the poor and the afflicted who have seen or felt little in this life to delight or elevate may find existence somewhat more worthy to be lived. That this blessed consummation may never arrive in the form religionists have dreamed may be true: but that the idea can ever be aught else than true and righteous is impossible.

Despondency,
p. 469, Ed. 1849.

“The life where hope and memory are as one,
Earth quiet and unchanged, the human soul
Consistent in self-rule, and heaven revealed
To meditation in that quietness.”

Miserable indeed would the world become were this ideal of righteousness ever entirely lost.

Despondency
Corrected,
1st Ed. p. 195

“Who in this spirit communes with the forms
Of nature, who with understanding heart
Doth know and love such objects as excite
No morbid passions.”

p. 196.

“the light of love
Not failing, perseverance from his steps
Departing not, he shall at length obtain
The glorious habit by which sense is made
Subservient still to moral purposes,
Auxiliar to divine.”

p. 197.

“Thus deeply drinking in the soul of things
He shall be wise perforce, and while inspired

By choice, and conscious that the will is free,
 Unswerving shall he move, as if impelled
 By strict necessity, along the path
 Of order and of good. Whate'er he see,
 Whate'er he feel of agency direct
 Or indirect, shall tend to feed and nurse
 His faculties, shall fix in calmer seats
 Of moral strength, and raise to loftier heights
 Of love divine, his intellectual soul."

It would be easy to go on. This synthesis of thought and matter is the key-note of every line in the poem. But the line of thought has been sufficiently laid down; who will follow it up?

"He excels," says Jewish proverb, when at loss for words of highest praise, "He excels upon Sheminith"—the eighth string of the world to come which shall be added to the Kinnor of the Sanctuary when Messiah begins his reign. Listening, weary and sad, amidst the rustling echoes of the *selva selvaggia* of metaphysical tradition, we may catch from these two master-singers, as Dante heard in the stately rhythm of the volume he so long had conned, the clear resonance of this mystical string.

AN EDITION DE LUXE

OF

JOHN INGLESANT,

BY

MR. J. H. SHORTHOUSE.

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with the Miller, and no regret
(Reprinted from the "Manchester Quarterly," January, 1890.)

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

WITH PORTRAIT.

BY
C. E. TYRER, B.A.

JOHN HEYWOOD,
DEANSGATE AND RIDGEFIELD, MANCHESTER;
1, PATERNOSTER BUILDINGS,
LONDON.





*petition of Jones
Maltese Board.-*



MATTHEW ARNOLD.

BY C. E. TYRER, B.A.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis ?*

“**H**E was always our friend.” In these words a well-known citizen of Manchester, after speaking to me of the shock which Matthew Arnold’s recent death had caused him, expressed his sense of the loss we had sustained. The words seemed to me so excellent and appropriate, they represented my own feelings so well, that I have ventured to take them as a kind of text on which to hang a few observations on the great man who passed away from us so suddenly in April, 1888. Perhaps I ought to begin by saying that I was not, in the strict sense, acquainted personally with him, and therefore what I have to say about him will contain nothing in the way of reminiscence or anecdote ; nothing but such comments as any intelligent reader might make, or such expressions of feeling as any sympathetic nature might share. And yet I have called him a friend, and the language is just. Friend ! how lightly we use the word,—of chance acquaintances, of the foolish and vain and frivolous people with whom we are

brought into contact day by day! How religiously we should preserve it to express the deepest feelings of our nature! And these may surely be called forth by those who have helped on our inward life, who have strengthened and sustained our spirits (even though they were personally strangers to us, or perhaps belonged to an earlier generation), as well as by the friends who are bound to us by personal ties, and who make our lives brighter by their presence and affection. And to few contemporaries were so many of the more thoughtful spirits of our day drawn, delightedly and irresistibly drawn, as to Matthew Arnold; and probably many will feel with me that they are more indebted to him for instruction and delight as a prose writer, for charm and consolation as a poet, than to any other of this generation.

Something, perhaps, of the feeling of almost intimacy which he inspired in many was due to his engaging style as a prose writer, to his way of taking his readers into his confidence, as if he were conversing with them and only used the medium of print for the sake of greater convenience. This was never more strikingly shown than in one of the last papers he ever wrote, the essay on "Civilization in the United States," which appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* a fortnight before his death, and in which he tried to show his American friends the want of distinction and beauty in their civilization; narrating with the greatest good humour and *naïveté* the personalities to which he had been exposed at the hands of American journalists, as a specimen of the sort of thing considered allowable to the press over there when dealing with public men. The whole paper, though keen in its insight, and touched here and there with sarcastic humour, was, in its general tone, so frank and kindly, so free from any trace of bitterness, so full of ripened wisdom, that it should have disarmed

anger and been taken in the spirit in which it was intended, as a piece of wholesome and disinterested criticism, instead of arousing violent outbursts of wrath and irritation. But, doubtless, even across the Atlantic, all such feelings were, for the most part, stilled by the news of his sudden death; and even those who smarted the most under his criticism would confess that in him they had lost a critic who was also a friend; whose judgments, if sometimes mistaken, were always kindly in motive, and who aimed truly at advancing the best interests of mankind. When, on that April day, the news of his death came to us, thousands who never knew him personally must have felt, as Mr. Alfred Austin says he did on seeing in Florence the brief announcement in an Italian journal, that the flowers had lost their brightness, and the music had passed from the singing of the birds, that nothing for the time had any reality but the meaning conveyed in those simple words: "Matthew Arnold is dead."

And yet, so far as he personally is concerned, there is nothing to regret in his death or in the manner of it. Happy, on the whole, in his life, he was pre-eminently happy in his death. It was a death such as he seems himself to have desired—such as with his unfailing clear-sightedness he must have known would one day be his. Not only was he spared—

"the whispering, crowded room,
The friends who come, and gape, and go ;
The ceremonious air of gloom—
All that makes death a hideous show."

Not only did no "doctor, full of phrase and fame," shake his sapient head over him, nor "his brother doctor of the soul"—

"Canvass with official breath
The future and its viewless things,"

but he never knew what to a keen and vigorous intellect must be more terrible than even the thought of

the death-bed itself—that slow decline of the mental and physical powers which precedes the decrepitude and inertness of age. His nature seems to have been ardent and energetic to the last, and it was in a fit of almost boyish playfulness that he appears by his indiscretion to have hastened the end. Buoyancy seems the word best descriptive of his temperament, a buoyancy which rose superior to all outward circumstances and inward trials, and never deserted him to the last. Though he had early learned to brood on “the riddle of the painful earth,” though the difficulties of life, the decay of religious faith, and the melancholy problems of modern society perplexed and harassed him, and his poems continually reflect the profound dejection of his spirit; yet there was something in him which seemed to rise superior to all these things—something which prevented him from wearing out his heart, like his friend Clough, in fighting against the inevitable, and which enabled him to find joy and refreshment and consolation in Nature, in literature, and in some of the aspects of human life. Probably no English poet, save Wordsworth, has found a deeper or more constant source of delight in Nature; few men of culture have reaped a richer harvest of enjoyment from the best literature of the world; while he could find, even in the human scene which surrounded him, and whose tragical side he so keenly realised, matter for flashes of gay humour and a not ungenial sarcasm. How excellently well this faculty of humour must have served him amid the troubles of life, and how it must have helped to preserve that buoyancy of spirit which, as I have said, was one of his leading characteristics! Of the beauty of his character, I must leave others to speak. An intimate personal friend* has written of him: “Something more

* Mr. G. W. E. Russell, in the *Manchester Guardian*, April 17, 1888.

than nature must have gone to make his constant unselfishness, his manly endurance of adverse fate, his noble cheerfulness under discouraging circumstances, his buoyancy in breasting difficulties, his life-long solicitude for the welfare and enjoyment of those who stood nearest to his heart. He lived a life of constant self-denial, yet the word never crossed his lips." And again: "The magnificent *insouciance* of his demeanour concealed from the outside world, but never from his friends, his boyish appreciation of kindness, of admiration, of courteous attention. By his daily and hourly practice he gave sweet and winning illustration of his own doctrine that conduct is three-fourths of human life. To those who have known him intimately, life without him can never be quite the same as it was before." In the "Guesses at Truth," Julius Charles Hare has described the character of Schleiermacher in words which might almost be applied, it would seem, to the poet and friend we have just lost. After defending the use of wit and irony in the warfare with folly and wickedness, he proceeds:—

"In like manner Schleiermacher, who was gifted with the keenest wit, and who was the greatest master of irony since Plato, deemed it justifiable and right to make use of his powers, as Pascal also did, in his polemical writings. Yet all who knew him well declare that the basis of his character, the keynote of his whole being, was love; a love which delighted in pouring out the boundless riches of his spirit for the edifying of such as came near him, and strove with unweariable zeal to make them partakers of all that he had. Hereby was his heart kept fresh through the unceasing and often turbulent activity of his life, so that the subtlety of his understanding had no power to corrode it; but when he died he was still, as one of his friends said of him, *ein fünf-und-sechzigjähriger Jüngling* (a boy of five and sixty)."

Thinking of Arnold I could not but think too of another friend we have lately lost, who was the dear personal friend of many of us, and who likewise died somewhat suddenly at nearly the same age. As we listened to William Anderson O'Connor while he preached his eloquent sermon on the "Poetry of the Bible," could any of us imagine that it was for the last time; that the mortal tenement which held that glowing spirit, that keen intellect, that rich and radiant humour, that tender and affectionate and beautiful nature, would henceforth for ever pass away from our eyes? With less transcendent gifts, comparatively unknown to fame, he too—like Matthew Arnold—was a man of genius; like him, too, he was not, nor could ever have been, a man of the world. Like him, he never ceased to be young in spirit, and to each we may fitly apply the beautiful classical adage: *Quem Dî diligunt adolescens moritur*; for the gods loved each for the loveableness of his nature, and in spite of his five and sixty years, each died young.

It is not my intention to attempt a general estimate of Matthew Arnold's work, or to give him his place and rank in English literature; probably the time has not arrived for such an estimate, and in any case, it would be presumption on my part to essay one. What I might diffidently venture to do, is to point out a few of the services which he has rendered to us, services which entitle him to be called a true friend of humanity. From one point of view his nature was a many-sided one, and has expressed itself in many directions: we may regard him as a critic, a social and political reformer, a humourist, a theologian, a poet. But taking a wider view, all these characters may be summed up in one—he was pre-eminently, using the word as he used it, the critic. Even in his poetry, the critical faculty is rarely, if ever, wholly

dormant, and those who know it best will best understand how he should have been led to adopt the curious definition of literature, and of poetry as its most important kind, as "a criticism of life." But then the word *criticism* in his use of it has a meaning of vastly wider significance than it bears in the popular acceptance. This is how he defines it: "A disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world," and, as he elsewhere adds, "thus to establish a current of fresh and true ideas." We get here, I think, the master thought, the guiding motive which shaped and impelled the whole course of his activity as a student and as a writer. He is thus, above all, the critic and the apostle of culture, culture in the widest conception of the term being in his view the end and aim of all true criticism. Culture, with him, is "a study of perfection," it "places human perfection in an *internal* condition; in the growth and predominance of our humanity proper, as distinguished from our animality. It places it in the ever-increasing efficacy, and in the general harmonious expansion of all our gifts of thought and feeling which make the peculiar dignity, wealth, and happiness of human nature." It is very important to bear in mind that culture, as he conceived it, was not a thing for the few, but for the many, and it was towards this general diffusion of culture that the true critic in his view must aim, and against the monopolisation of its blessings by an exclusive intellectual aristocracy. Thus, he says: "Perfection, as culture conceives it, is not possible while the individual remains isolated. The individual is required, under pain of being stunted and enfeebled in his own development if he disobeys, to carry others along with him in his march towards perfection, to be continually doing all he can to enlarge and increase the volume of the human stream sweeping thitherward." Only (and in this

Arnold separates himself from the ordinary educational reformer with religious or political ends to serve) culture "does not try to teach down to the level of inferior classes, it does not try to win them for this or that sect of its own, with ready-made judgments and watchwords. It seeks to do away with classes . . . to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light." I have dwelt a little on this subject, and have given these quotations, because Arnold has often been regarded (and some I dare say still regard him) as a sort of elegant *dilettante*, too much occupied with the delicacy of his own feelings and perceptions to have any real solicitude for the toiling multitudes around him, or recommending as a panacea for the world's ills some superfine nostrum begot of priggishness and affectation. That he had a sincere regard for the well-being of his fellowmen seems to me unquestionable; that he did what seemed to him best to advance it, seems unquestionable likewise. He was not, perhaps, in the strict sense, a great teacher; he had not sufficient moral and spiritual ardour for that, nor would he have aspired to the title. He was, rather, as he would himself have said, an enquirer after truth, not its expounder or professor; an enquirer who sought to put others in the right way to find it so far as it can be found; a critic who believed that by recommending culture as a study of perfection, an inward condition of the mind and spirit, a general and an harmonious expansion of the human faculties, he was doing the best that in him lay (using words which he quotes from Bishop Wilson) "to make reason and the will of God prevail."

In the "Essays in Criticism" Matthew Arnold first expounded his critical views, and this delightful book contains many of the best of his literary judgments, as well as the germs of several of the developments—social,

political, and theological—afterwards taken by his critical faculty. This book perhaps contains fewer of the writer's mannerisms than any of the later ones, and he has certainly never since surpassed, if he has equalled, the beauty, freshness, and transparent clearness of its style; a style which he might have formed under the guidance of a maxim of Joubert quoted by him: "One must never quit sight of realities, and one must employ one's expressions simply as media, as glasses, through which one's thoughts can be best made evident."

Arnold's professed attitude as a critic is not that of a dogmatist, but of a seeker after truth, who aims, by bringing knowledge, a current of fresh and true ideas (to use his favourite phrase), to bear upon the matter in hand, at illuminating it and making its true nature manifest. Thus, he says, "Judging is often spoken of as the critic's one business; and so in some sense it is. But the judgment which almost insensibly forms itself in a fair and clear mind, along with fresh knowledge, is the valuable one; and thus knowledge, and ever-fresh knowledge, must be the critic's great care for himself." Again, in the "Essay on Heine:—" "I wish to decide nothing as of my own authority; the great art of criticism is to get one's self out of the way, and to let humanity decide." Whether he succeeds always and altogether in sustaining the rôle of a Socratic enquirer, humbly seeking to disengage the truth, and anxious to get himself out of the way, may be doubted. There seems, in spite of himself, to have been a latent dogmatism in his nature, a turn for laying down the law (natural, perhaps, in the son of a schoolmaster), which is hardly reconcileable with such an excessive modesty of attitude. This, however, hardly appears unpleasantly in the "Essays in Criticism," and certainly many of the papers it contains, especially, perhaps, those on the two Guérins, on Heine,

on Joubert, and on Marcus Aurelius are so charming in style, so fresh in treatment, so stimulating to a thoughtful mind, that it is quite impossible to wish them other than they are. For delicacy of discernment they can hardly be matched in our language, and the book which contains them, and much more of the highest interest and charm, has probably, among all Arnold's prose writings, the greatest likelihood of becoming a classic.

The posthumous second series of "Essays in Criticism" has hardly perhaps the same piquancy and freshness as the earlier volume, and, being largely occupied with personages well known to fame, is less unique in subject as well as in treatment, but it is, nevertheless, full of interesting matter. The essay on Keats, which appeared originally as the preface to the selection from that poet in "Ward's English Poets," seems to me especially valuable for the light it throws on the little-understood nobler qualities of that poet's nature.

Two other books on subjects purely literary must be briefly referred to, the "Lectures on the Study of Celtic Literature," and the "Lectures on Translating Homer." Both of these, apart from their critical value (and in that regard the value of one of them, that on Homer, is unquestionably high), are to the Arnold-lover most delightful and fascinating reading. The concluding lines of the latter volume, which is now one of the treasures of book collectors, may be quoted as a good example of Mr. Arnold's prose style:—

"Homer's grandeur is not the mixed and turbid grandeur of the great poets of the North, of the authors of Othello and Faust; it is a perfect, a lovely grandeur. Certainly his poetry has all the energy and power of the poetry of our ruder climates; but it has, besides, the pure lines of an Ionian horizon, the liquid clearness of an Ionian sky."

Arnold's social, political, and theological criticisms have excited far more general attention than his literary ones, and been of much wider influence. In all his criticism, however (but especially in dealing with matters outside the field of literature) his habit of mind was, perhaps, less detached, less disinterested, to use his favourite expression, and more governed by prepossessions than he himself imagined it to be. Moreover, in his writings on social and theological subjects, and his later prose books generally, he shows an addiction to phrase-making, to ringing the changes on some brief sententious expression, original or transferred, seeking thereby to give it a validity it by no means always possesses. These writings are thus apt to be somewhat unsatisfactory to serious thinkers with a turn for following the lines of an argument, and are likewise robbed thereby of much of the literary charm they would otherwise possess. That Arnold, by this habit, did less than justice to himself, is, I think, certain. As Horace asks, so we may imagine Arnold asking—" *Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat?*" The air of flippancy his writing often has is only superficial, he is always at bottom serious. His repetition of catch-words and short phrases, for which he seemed almost to claim the validity of axioms, was due to his wish to impress on his readers certain truths he deemed of paramount importance; and probably the love of chaff and badinage, which he derived partly from his Oxford training, was indulged in no shallow or irreverent spirit, but to keep his hearers amused and in good humour.

"Culture and Anarchy" is mainly a criticism of our present social system, and of some of the popular schemes for improving it and rendering it worthier of our vaunted civilization. Though, as already said, he recommends culture in its widest sense as the best medicine for the ills of society (and culture may be regarded as a sufficiently

positive) idea, yet it is in negative criticism, rather than in any positive efforts at construction, that Arnold spends most of his energy, and is on the whole most successful. How happy, for example, is his characterization of our upper, middle, and lower classes respectively, as Barbarians, Philistines, Populace; and what a flood of light do these names themselves, expounded and enforced in his own happy manner, serve to throw on the subject! Again, how admirable as a criticism of the Englishman's mental and moral nature in its strength and in its weakness is the chapter on Hebraism and Hellenism! The choice of the words themselves was almost a stroke of genius, and helps to bring home to us forcibly the two main elements necessary in building up a perfect life; the moral one, the sense for conduct, and the intellectual and æsthetic one, the desire for beauty and knowledge.

"Culture and Anarchy" contains, however, one important contribution towards a re-construction of society in the doctrine it expounds of the State as the organ of our collective best self. This collective best self, in the view of Dr. Appleton ("A Plea for Metaphysic," *Contemporary Review*, November, 1876), is identical with the *ego* of Fichte and Schelling, the collective consciousness of man as a member of society. It occupies in Arnold's system the same function in regard to morals and practice as the *Zeitgeist* in the domain of intellect, and is, indeed, but another side of the same transforming influence, though Arnold never explicitly combines the two. "By our every-day selves," says he, "we are separate, personal, at war; we are only safe from one another's tyranny when no one has any power; and this safety, in its turn, cannot save us from anarchy But by our *best self* we are united, impersonal, at harmony." It is in some such embodiment of the collective right reason of the community, in the idea of the State

in a true and living sense (such as, in Arnold's view, it by no means exists among us at present) that we shall, he thinks, find our safety, if we are to find it at all, in the democratical era which is already upon us. It is largely in virtue of this positive element in "Culture and Anarchy" that Dr. Appleton considered Arnold the most important constructive intellect in the domain of politics and religion since Strauss. And beneath its calm and measured phrases lies half hidden a real warmth of feeling, a glow which sometimes reaches the surface, and reveals under the writer's scholarly and severe exterior a heart kindly, generous, true. "We are all of us," he says in one place, "included in some religious organisation or other; we all call ourselves, in the sublime and aspiring language of religion, "children of God." *Children of God*; it is an immense pretension!—and how are we to justify it? By the works which we do, and the words which we speak. And the work which we collective children of God do, our grand centre of life, our city which we have builded for us to dwell in, is London! London, with its unutterable external hideousness, and with its internal canker of *publicè egestas, privatim opulentia*, to use the words which Sallust puts into Cato's mouth about Rome, unequalled in the world!" Mr. Ruskin himself could hardly have described the contradiction between our profession and our practice in more telling or emphatic language. Again, in reproving the dull mechanical round of our life, our confidently expressed belief that it is in our enormous wealth, our vast commerce, our mineral treasures, that the true greatness of England lies, Arnold has done excellent service. Indeed, in his prose writings, and nowhere more than in "Culture and Anarchy," there is always manifest a high seriousness, the seriousness of an intellectual nature, not keenly emotional, at least in its

outward manifestation, but always having a high aim before it, and sincerely striving for that.

The most delightful, perhaps, of Mr. Arnold's contributions to the social and political criticism of his countrymen is the book which he called, as if with half-conscious irony, "Friendship's Garland." Here he displays his happiest satirical gifts, and this, one may perhaps agree with John Burroughs,* is the only one of his books which can properly be called delicious. It professes to be a record of the conversations, letters, and opinions of a young German, Arminius, Baron von Thunder-ten-Tronckh, collected and edited after his death by his English friend, Matthew Arnold. It consists mainly of letters supposed to be addressed by Arnold and Arminius to the *Pall Mall Gazette*—Arnold, while reporting the views of English society and politics announced by the young Prussian, professing all the while to look at them askance and to be in the main an orthodox Britisher, though occasionally troubled with qualms of scepticism. By this means Arnold was enabled to give a fuller scope to his shafts of witticism than he might have cared to do *in propria persona*, and he directs them without mercy against many of the current political and social panaceas; the fetish-worship of liberty, the compulsory education of the lower orders, marriage with a deceased wife's sister. From the mouth of Arminius we get the first exposition of the doctrine of *Geist*, and the whole book may be looked upon as a brilliant embodiment of that doctrine. Arnold has given us many specimens of his gifts as a humorist (e.g., in the preface to "Essays in Criticism"), but nowhere has he displayed his peculiar humour—a gentle irony, or banter, unique in its way, that plays like flashes

* *Matthew Arnold's Criticisms in the Century Magazine for June, 1883.*

of sheet lightning all round a subject—more remarkably than in “Friendship’s Garland.” An example of this may serve to enliven a tedious paper. Arminius, as related by his English friend, goes out with him into the country; and one morning, on arriving at the door of the inn of the town where they are staying, they find the magistrates sitting and engaged with a poaching case. From considering old Diggs, the poacher, they go on to the subject of the magistrates and their qualifications for performing the functions with which they are entrusted. The aristocracy is represented by Lord Lumpington, the church by the Rev. Esau Hittall, and commerce by Mr. Bottles, and the qualifications of each are satirized with genial impartiality:—

“‘That is all very well as to their politics,’ said Arminius, ‘but I want to hear about their education and intelligence.’ ‘There, too, I can satisfy you,’ I answered. ‘Lumpington was at Eton. Hittall was on the foundation at Charterhouse, placed there by his uncle, a distinguished prelate, who was one of the trustees. You know we English have no notion of your bureaucratic tyranny of treating the appointments to these great foundations as public patronage, and vesting them in a responsible minister; we vest them in independent magnates, who relieve the State of all work and responsibility, and never take a shilling of salary for their trouble. Hittall was the last of six nephews nominated to the Charterhouse by his uncle, this good prelate, who had thoroughly learnt the divine lesson that charity begins at home.’ ‘But I want to know what his nephew learnt,’ interrupted Arminius, ‘and what Lord Lumpington learnt at Eton.’ ‘They followed,’ said I, ‘the grand, old, fortifying, classical curriculum.’ ‘Did they know anything when they left?’ asked Arminius. ‘I have

seen some longs and shorts of Hittall's,' said I, 'about the Calydonian Boar, which were not bad. But you surely don't need me to tell you, Arminius, that it is rather in training and bracing the mind for future acquisition, a course of mental gymnastics, we call it, than in teaching any set thing, that the classical curriculum is so valuable.' 'Were the minds of Lord Lumpington and Mr. Hittall much braced by their mental gymnastics?' enquired Arminius. 'Well,' I answered, 'during their three years at Oxford they were so much occupied with Bullingdon and hunting that there was no great opportunity to judge. But for my part I have always thought that their both getting their degree at last with flying colours, after three weeks of a famous coach for fast men, four nights without going to bed, and an incredible consumption of wet towels, strong cigars, and brandy and water, was one of the most astonishing feats of mental gymnastics I ever heard of.' 'That will do for the land and the Church,' said Arminius. 'And now let us hear about commerce.' 'You mean how was Bottles educated,' answered I. 'Here we get into another line altogether, but a very good line in its way, too. Mr. Bottles was brought up at the Lycurgus House Academy, Peckham. You are not to suppose from the name of Lycurgus that any Latin and Greek was taught in the establishment; the name indicates only the moral discipline, and the strenuous earnest character imparted there. As to the instruction, the thoughtful educator who was principal of the Lycurgus House Academy, Archimedes Silverpump, Ph.D.—you must have heard of him in Germany?—had modern views. "We must be men of our age," he used to say. "Useful knowledge, living languages, and the forming of the mind through observation and experiment, these are the fundamental articles of my educational creed," or, as I have heard his pupil Bottles put

it in his expansive moments after dinner (Bottles used to ask me to dinner till that affair of yours with him in the Reigate train): "Original man, Silverpump! fine mind! fine system! None of your antiquated rubbish—all practical work—latest discoveries in science—mind constantly kept excited—lots of interesting experiments—lights of all colours—fiz! fiz! bang! bang! That's what I call forming a man." 'And pray,' said Arminius, impatiently, 'what sort of man do you suppose this infernal quack really formed in your precious friend, Mr. Bottles?' 'Well,' I replied, 'I hardly know how to answer that question. Bottles has certainly made an immense fortune; but as to Silverpump's effect on his mind, whether it was from any fault in the Lycurgus House system, whether it was that from a sturdy self-reliance thoroughly English, Bottles, ever since he quitted Silverpump, left his mind wholly to itself, his daily newspaper, and the Particular Baptist minister under whom he sat, or from whatever cause it was, certainly his mind, *quâ* mind—' 'You need not go on,' interrupted Arminius, with a magnificent wave of his hand, 'I know what that man's mind, *quâ* mind, is, well enough.'"

To Matthew Arnold's excursions in the region of theological criticism it is impossible to give the praise which in other fields he generally deserves. Some of us, who have both admired and loved him, have felt a keen personal regret that he should have embarked on an undertaking for which alike by his nature and his training he was probably unfitted, namely, the reconstruction of religion on a rational basis. To a future generation of students of our literature it may seem a curious and insoluble problem that a man with Matthew Arnold's subtle intellect, so keen-sighted, so conscious and generally so regardful of limits, should have essayed such a gigantic task and with such a ridiculously inadequate equipment. We, it is true, may partly explain the

matter, from our knowledge of his antecedents, and the peculiar circumstances under which he grew up. If "Literature and Dogma" and "God and the Bible" survive the wrecks of time, they are likely to do so merely as literary curiosities; it is almost impossible that they can have any permanent influence as contributions to religious thought. Admirably in his poems has Arnold touched on religion—would that he had never discussed it at length in prose!

"Children of men! the unseen Power, whose eye
For ever doth accompany mankind,
Hath look'd on no religion scornfully,
That men did ever find.

Which has not taught weak wills how much they can?
Which has not fall'n on the dry heart like rain?
Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man:
Thou must be born again?

Children of men! not that your age excel
In pride of life the ages of your sires;
But that you think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well,
The Friend of Man desires."

It is in such strains as these, and not in attempting to prove that the Hebrew Jehovah was not a personal God, or that the valuable and vital part of Christianity is untouched by the total rejection of its supernatural element, that Matthew Arnold has done his true work as a spiritual teacher.

We may, indeed, take great and grave exception to some parts of Arnold's teaching and criticism; but taking his work as a whole, and considering what a flood of light he has thrown upon the most important matters, how he has made people think for themselves and saved them from the trammels of convention, how laboriously and earnestly he has worked in the great cause of education, what an exquisite legacy of verse he has bequeathed for the charm and solace of mankind—it is not too much, perhaps, to give him the

tribute of praise which he pays to his father in "Rugby Chapel," where he numbers him among the soldiers in the army of human progress—

"Not like the men of the crowd
Who all round me to-day
Bluster or cringe, and make life
Hideous, and arid, and vile;
But souls temper'd with fire,
Fervent, heroic, and good,
Helpers and friends of mankind."





(Reprinted from the "Manchester Quarterly," October, 1889.)

THE LIBRARY TABLE.

A WANDERER, BY H. OGRAM MATUCE.

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THE LIBRARY TABLE.

A Wanderer. By H. OGRAM MATUCE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1888.

OF making books there is literally no end in these favoured days—and of no books, except perhaps novels, is the multiplication more striking than of books of travel. And yet how little of that endless stream, inexhaustible, ever renewed, which keeps circulating through the medium of Messrs. Smith and Mudie, can be rightly accounted literature? To this small, this very small class—to which belong “*Eothen*,” “*Lavengro*,” “*The Bible in Spain*,” “*Travels with a Donkey in the Cevennes*”—I do not hesitate to say that “*A Wanderer*” is a genuine and delightful addition. Yet to call it a book of travel is perhaps to convey an imperfect idea of its character—so much does it contain of reflection, criticism, natural history, humour, pathos, and what the writer calls the *Dichtung des Lebens*, the poetry of life. To me at least—for reasons which will presently appear—it has appealed most powerfully. Would that I could be certain it is in all respects the faithful record of a genuine experience!

The writer, whose name is, or professes to be, H. Ogram Matuce, was, or professes to have been, a London clerk

who by the exercise of the strictest economy was enabled, while still in the prime of life (*nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*), to purchase his freedom from a servitude which galled him. Having done so he resolves to give himself a whole year's holiday-travel—a *Wanderjahr*, like the young German workman's, after his long apprenticeship to toil—"to travel about where the fancy takes him, and in such a fashion as to know what travelling really is." Leaving England about Midsummer he goes, first of all, to Sweden, and the chapter describing some of his experiences there is one of the most delightful in the book. "Some sixty hours" (says he) "after leaving the smoke and roar of London, where the morning train, the seat at your desk, the luncheon hour, the bustle to finish before the end of the day, seemed to succeed each other as if by the express command of the Eternal Himself, you may find yourself in some antique forest of Sweden, where the rare sounds of human neighbourhood seem but a chance impertinence amid the everlasting silence of Nature." It is beside the Falls of Trollhätta (and well do I know how beautiful the scene is on a bright June day) that he experiences what he calls his second-birth, the full awakening of his spirit so long enthralled to the unutterable mysterious loveliness of Nature. Thence, shouldering his knapsack, he marches on through that land of forest and lake, lake and forest—a magical and soul-soothing land. One more quotation I must give, in which he describes his walk in a Swedish forest on one of those lovely northern nights, where—in Longfellow's words—"morning and evening sit together, hand in hand, beneath the starless sky of midnight."

"During my interval of rest the night seemed somehow—I can scarce tell how—to have put on an enchanted look. It rained no more; and in the dusk of midnight a few glow-worms had lighted their lamps upon the roadside,

and stood there at such regular intervals that you might swear that Oberon and his rout were expected to come by. I looked under the trees, and there, in the open spaces of the wood, the elfin tufts of cotton-grass caught the light, and in the light wind nodded their heads in unison. Once, yes, I caught distinctly enough the notes of an accordion, breathing far off in the night stillness. Presently, along a glade of the wood where I had been walking for hours, and where I felt awhile ago so utterly deserted, I came suddenly upon two figures strolling quietly side by side. The Fates did not please that they should be a boy and a girl, but two youths. You could only have seen such a thing at such a time—near one o'clock—on one night of the year, even in Sweden; and the whole spirit of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' seemed to awake at the sight. Here, questionless, were a reconciled Demetrius and Lysander; Helena and Hermia, I doubt, were not far off."

From Sweden he passes into Norway; and then, at the approach of autumn (as if to gain as complete a contrast as possible to his Scandinavian experiences), takes a steamer on the Baltic to Königsberg, in East Prussia, the birthplace and the home of Kant. Walking one day along the desolate shore, he comes to a primitive fishing village in the sand-hills, and thus muses upon the scene—"These little fires among the sand-dunes, glancing upon nothing but pale-coloured reeds and sea-holly, will, I know, remain for ever in my memory—a sort of symbol of earth's ending, the beginning of a metaphysical world. What a thing it were, forgetting the rushing torrents and moaning pines of Norway, forgetting the carpeted hillsides and eternal snows, to settle here in this far corner of the Baltic, to find one's-self a cell, dug out of one of these sand-dunes, looking seaward. Here should the gentle rain for ever fall and make no noise. Here should the waves send up a

dull voice out of the misty rain. In the ground you should have an iron coffer, containing all Kant's works, all Hegel's, all Schopenhauer's, what you please, surely matter enough to occupy your thoughts for the rest of your little life, for 'the little vigil of your senses that remains,' as Dante says—

'A questa tanto picciola vigilia
De' vostri sensi, ch'è del rimanente.' "

Pursuing his course our wanderer visits the Marienburg, the great convent fortress built by the Teutonic knights to guard the Vistula, and walks up that river as far as Thorn; thence takes a southwestern course to Posen, and on into the highlands of Silesia, and the Saxon Switzerland, finally settling down for the winter, for purposes of study—literary and social—in a quiet German university town. With the advent of spring he walks through Bohemia into Bavaria and Swabia; just as spring is ripening into summer passes by the Lake of Constance into Switzerland, pays a visit to the Tyrol, returns to Switzerland, and crosses one of the Alpine passes into Italy. At Rome, where he arrives about Midsummer—thus completing his *Wanderjahr*—he is seized with typhoid fever, which brings him within an inch of death. This last chapter—with its painfully vivid pictures of the thoughts and feelings of a man who knows, or thinks he knows, that death is certain and imminent—strikes, to my mind, a somewhat jarring note, and damps the spirit of holiday humour with which the writer has infected his readers. Perhaps, however, he would have us look upon the experiences of this one year (to use his own phrase) as "a sort of epitome of life"; and from such a record the darker—nay, the darkest experiences (especially if true in the particular instance), must not be omitted.

This is but a bare, a bald outline of a delightful book. Some, I hope, will be induced to fill it up for them-

selves. The writer is no mere diarist of travel; he is a thinker, a critic, a humourist, nay, a poet. He takes with him, on his long tramp, two of the world's best books—a thin “Faust,” and a tiny Pickering copy of “Dante”; and his chapter on Dante's favourite similes is most striking and beautiful. There are touches in his account of some of his friends—who belonged to the great company of the unsuccessful—not unworthy of Lamb, as, *e.g.*, that of F——, the metaphysician; “the only person who ever opened, or tried to open for me the door of that strange region called Metaphysics. F—— himself lived there perpetually. His body, and a kind of outside mechanical mind of him, you might discover any day sitting upon the highest of high desks in the front office of Messrs. Brander and Hughs, stock and share-brokers, Canon Court, Cornhill. You entered the office, and were hailed by a voice from the skies.” In the chapter specially devoted to these friends, the *Ratés*, as he calls them—borrowing the phrase from Daudet—the Episode of D—— may be specially commended for its simple and unstudied pathos. On the other hand, one finds here many a bit of loving and minute observation of nature, which recalls to mind Thoreau, the poet-naturalist. With one of these I shall close my quotations. He is describing his autumn walk along a high bank by the side of the Vistula:—“For ever across this high bank came a constant succession of moving things, for a strong west wind was blowing; head after head of thistle-down, innumerable white butterflies, and once what (if the season had been different) one must have supposed a swarm of bees. We are rather apt to look down upon white butterflies; but on a bright day like this, when hundreds are moving over the grass, you see that they are by far the most beautiful kind. The thistledown looked as much alive as the butterflies, advancing in squadrons and armies,

covering a whole plain, sometimes creeping along the grass as in an ambush, sometimes flying high in the air. Who could but be gay in such a jocund company?" But though there is, as I have tried to show, much of nature in the book, there is much of humanity too.

I return then to the question which I hinted at at starting—Did the writer of this book, while devoting the greater part of his time and energy to the meaningless and worrying details which make up the monotonous round of a city clerk's life, really acquire all this varied culture and this admirable literary style? I can only put the question; it is out of my power even to suggest the answer. If he did not—if, while the experiences of travel are genuine, the assumption of the previous experience is only a literary trick, adopted in order to add greater piquancy to the volume—the writer is practising on his readers what to some of them can only appear a cruel fraud. Perhaps the best piece of evidence that the writer, with all his literary skill (though he occasionally stumbles even here), has had no large experience as an author, is supplied by the fact of the very great number of errors of the press. The few that are corrected are but a tithe of those which require amending before the book attains, as it speedily deserves to do, the honour of a second edition.

C. E. TYRER.



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PYTHAGORAS AND INDIA.

BY H. H. HOWORTH, M.P.

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with every reason, that Pythagoras (or, rather, his school), drew his theory, as he did those of metempsychosis and his mathematical notions, from India (*Op. cit.*, p. 65).

The Pythagorean fantastic comparison of the five elements with the five regular solids—earth with the cube, fire with the tetrahedron, air with the oktahedron, water with the ikosahedron, and æther with the dodekahedron—is again, as Schroeder urges, quite consonant with the similar speculations of the early Brahmanas.

The cardinal feature of the philosophy of Pythagoras, as I pointed out on a former occasion, is the fantastic notion, so difficult to translate into our modes of thought, that the various objects of the universe are identical in essence with numbers. He apparently did not use this comparison in a metaphorical sense, but in a very real one, in which he somehow identified things and the laws which govern them with numbers. This theory, so apparently fantastic, so foreign to all Western modes of thought, never assuredly developed itself separately in two such widely-separated areas as Greece and India, yet we find that in the very oldest system of Indian philosophy, the so-called Samkhya philosophy, the same extraordinary theory prevailed. Samkhya means number, and a Samkhya philosopher means a philosopher of number (Schroeder, p. 73). The development of the world from an imperfect to a perfect one was apparently taught in the Pythagorean schools. It also formed part of the teaching of the Samkhya philosophers. The Pythagoreans taught, apparently, and it was a very new idea in the West, that the world was eternal, and had neither beginning nor end. This is precisely on a par with the Samkhya teaching about the eternity of matter.

Music filled an important rôle in the Pythagorean system, and one witness tells us that Harmony was first discovered by Pythagoras. Others urged that scientific music was

first taught by his school (Schroeder, p. 77). Harmony with the Pythagoreans meant the octave. Now music was scientifically treated in India from very early days, and the seven tones of the musical scale are mentioned in commentaries on the Vedas apparently of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C., and therefore a long time before Pythagoras. This, again, is a remarkable coincidence, for other nations have adopted other tonic scales, and it would be odd to find that the Greeks and Hindoos had hit upon this exceptionally improbable coincidence, together with so many others, quite by accident.

The Pythagoreans, like the early Hindoos, were great cultivators of and adepts in the healing art; and, like the latter, employed exorcisms very freely. The triple division of the universe taught by the Pythagoreans into Olympos Kosmos, and Uranos, is assuredly the Indian notion of the triple world. Again, the Pythagorean brotherhoods and societies were founded on the pattern and were direct imitations of the Indian brotherhoods which existed so plentifully among the Buddhists, but existed long before Buddhism (*Id.*, pp. 78-79).

The Pythagorean system, again, is remarkable among those favoured by the Greeks for its mystical and symbolical character, which comes forward especially in its treatment of numbers and the laws regulating numbers. The same kind of fantastic play which seems so foreign to good sense permeates completely the early Brahmanas and the Yajur Veda; the same kind of virtue attaching to certain numbers, such as 7, 9, etc.; the comparing together and identifying of most contrary and apparently irreconcilable notions.

I have now finished my hurried survey, and feel that I have failed to do justice to the subject, and especially to do justice to the very interesting issues which it raises.

That the Greek mind should have been awakened from its early torpid condition by a graft of exotic thought is what we might have expected, but that this importation was contemporary with the great outburst of speculation in India, which, among other things, produced Buddhism, and that it was not only coeval with that outburst, but was essentially an impulse of the same wave, is very interesting indeed. In these matters proof is always circumstantial. We step out beyond the realms of recorded history; we step out into those byeways where we can only piece together our theory from a number of converging probabilities; but this kind of proof is to my mind the most convincing of all. One or two coincidences of thought might pass muster as occasional and sporadic accidents, but a cumulative argument, involving a great number of such coincidences, becomes in effect an irrefragable proof. I cannot think that a question like this, foreign though it be to our daily routine of life, is altogether unwelcome to this society. Whatever views of existence we may take, whatever doubts and difficulties traverse our minds in trying to unravel the skein of human progress, we cannot but be interested in knowing how the most glorious epoch of human culture originally came into existence; whence the reed was brought which grew into such a stately tree, and where the earlier dawn existed to that brightly-tinted horizon which we have often treated as the further limit of our inquiries. Our outlook is not less romantic when we trace the golden youth of Greece. The quick-witted, mystical, and exceedingly acute race of Hindostan worked out a scheme of the creation, the origin, and the government of the universe which has many wonderful aspects, some of which you may pardon my bringing before you on another occasion.





Papers.

THE PRIMARY DATA OF KNOWLEDGE.

"TRUTH BELONGS TO GOD AND INQUIRY TO MAN."

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

[Read October 20, 1879.]

PHILOSOPHY, which originally meant the love of disputation, has for its object the verification of knowledge. It professes to inquire into and to determine the conditions upon which truth may be known, and to define the limits within which the human mind can work. Its materials range themselves under two heads—the subject matter of knowledge, and the process by which it is put together. The former is the special province of Metaphysics, the latter of Logic.

In the rhetorical language of Duns Scotus, Logic is the art of arts and the science of sciences. In the more sober prose of our own day it has been described by some as a science and by others as an art. If we deem with some that the province of Logic is to discover and formulate the laws of thought, we may fairly deem it a science. If with others we regard it as laying down the rules by which we may reason correctly, we ought more justly to describe it as an art. It was a very early discovery of the Greeks, and one elaborated in detail by Aristotle, that any argument or reasoning process may be broken up into a number of factors linked together in a chain all similar in form and in their component parts. Each one of these factors it was seen constitutes a perfect argument in itself—an argument in its most elementary form.

Thus it follows that there is no intrinsic difference between a complex and a simple argument, except that one is a chain while the other is a single link. Each of these elements, or factors of these links, constitutes what is called an inference. We may therefore take it as an elementary fact that every argument consists of an inference or a series of inferences. Let us carry the analysis still further. All inferences it is easily seen are similar in form, that is to say are made up of similar factors in a similar manner. Every inference involves the granting of certain data which are called premises, and the inferring of a certain conclusion from them. The process by which this inference is made is what we call reasoning, and the art of drawing inferences correctly is in fact the art of logic.

As I have said, the factors that make up every inference consist of certain premises and a conclusion. These are absolutely indispensable elements of every argument. Before we can arrive at any conclusion whatever, we are obliged, by the very nature of things and the constitution of our minds, to grant something, to admit something, to postulate something; and so long as we hold by any conclusion, we can only do so by anchoring it firmly to its premises. We are bound to continue admitting the premises as long as we claim to hold the conclusion, as we are bound to retain the lower story of a house if we mean the upper stories to remain standing. We cannot, while we deem the conclusion irrefragable, treat the premises as hypothetical and doubtful; or even worse, as some keen reasoners have done, after reaching some conclusion in the early part of their work upon which the whole of their argument is based, find themselves in the end calling in question the premises upon which that conclusion is founded, and thus knocking out the most important links in the chain, and yet fancying the chain holds together and is continuous as at first. This is a frailty of very many reasoners, but it is not the frailty to which I wish to call your attention to-night. Everybody, in fact, except the impossible and hypothetical sceptic invoked by Mr. Mill, admits that without something being granted nothing can be proved. This is admitted by all in regard to individual inferences and to simple arguments, yet there are students of this difficult subject who argue that although no inference can be made without data, yet that we can have a

philosophy without assumptions; and not long ago one of the acutest and most original thinkers in Lancashire wrote a work propounding such a philosophy. By some hallucination it is supposed that although every link in the chain must necessarily have its premises, the conclusion of one link being the premises of the next one, yet that the chain itself need have no ultimate premises. Like the famous tortoise which supports the universe, it need have no foothold anywhere. On this question Mr. Herbert Spencer has published some pregnant sentences. Speaking of empiricism, the philosophy of experience, which has so long dominated over our thinkers, he says:—

Throughout its argument there runs the tacit assumption that there may be a philosophy in which nothing is asserted but what is proved. It proposes to admit into the coherent fabric of its conclusions no conclusion that is incapable of being established by evidence, and thus it takes for granted not only that all derivative truths may be proved, but also that proof may be given of the truths from which they are derived, down to the very deepest. The consequence of this refusal to recognize some fundamental unproved truth is that its fabric of conclusions is left without a base. Giving proof of any special proposition is assimilating it to some class of propositions known to be true. If any doubt arises respecting the general proposition cited in justification of this special proposition, the course is to shew that this general proposition is deducible from a proposition of still greater generality, and if pressed for proof of such still more general proposition, the only resource is to repeat the process. Is this process endless? If so, nothing can be proved. The whole series of propositions depends on some unassignable proposition. Has the process an end? If so, there must eventually be reached a widest proposition—one which cannot be justified by shewing that it is included by any wider one which cannot be proved. Or, to put the argument otherwise: Every inference depends on premises. Every premiss, if it admits of proof, depends on other premises; and if the proof of the proof be continually demanded, it must either end in an unproved premiss or in the acknowledgment that there cannot be reached any premiss on which the entire series of proofs depends. Hence philosophy, if it does not avowedly stand on some datum underlying reason, must acknowledge that it has nothing on which to stand.

John Stuart Mill makes the same admission in a few important words in the preface to his work on logic. He says: "We never could arrive at any knowledge by reasoning unless something could be known antecedently to all reasoning;" and it may be taken as incontrovertible, notwithstanding the paradoxes of some recent writers, that if we insist upon nothing being taken for granted as the foundation of our reasoning, that we also transcend

the conditions upon which reasoning or proof is possible, and that in every train of reasoning we necessarily must begin with certain assumptions or data which have to be taken for granted without being proved. This conclusion, however, seems to imply consequences which are hardly sufficiently recognized by writers on logic, nor by the great masters of the art whom I have quoted, and, as it seems to be, are in fact ignored by them. It seems to me inevitable that we must accept one of two conclusions—either there is a class of propositions which are incapable in themselves of proof, which are vouched for by themselves only, and which we must accept without question as incapable of being analyzed further—a class of propositions which we may take to be the universal postulates of all reasoning, the substantive atoms of thought which do not admit of being broken up any further; or else we must allow that all propositions are in essence alike, all of them depend upon others, and in accepting any of them as the basis of our reasoning, we are merely accepting an arbitrary and conventional foundation which is as much a matter of inference as the superstructure we have built upon it, that although necessary to the particular argument we are using, and consequently making it inevitable that if we tamper or question or doubt them, we as inevitably taint in the same way every subsequent link in the chain; yet they have no higher warranty and no superior foothold than the several inferences which follow.

These two seem to me to be the only alternatives. Either our knowledge consists of two distinct factors differing in authority, in origin, and in kind, namely, immediate and mediate knowledge—knowledge which comes to us directly from the fountain source and mint in the way of intuition, or knowledge which we acquire by inference; the former incapable of proof, the latter the subject matter of proof; the former incapable of further analysis, the latter concrete and susceptible of analysis, and of a verification of the process by which it has been synthetically put together, or its factors are all alike, all involving inference, all mediate and derived. This does not affect the main question which separates the empirical from the intuitional school in philosophy. Into that Sorbonian bog I do not propose to enter. The frailty I am arguing against is common to both these schools and underlies the arguments of both.

I wish you to clearly understand the problem that I want to illustrate. Either knowledge consists of two entirely different elements, one of which is capable of proof and the other is not—one of which is the matter of inference and the other is not, or else all knowledge is more or less derivative and inferential, all of it capable of being analyzed into antecedent forms. The problem is one of interest in every way, since upon it depends the possibility of the existence of philosophy as understood by many writers, and upon it certainly depends the validity of a great deal of reasoning which comes before us with very high credentials.

In one form or other every philosopher known to me makes a distinction between certain forms of knowledge and certain others. Every one tacitly or otherwise assumes the existence of immediate and of mediate knowledge, and postulates that there exists a kind of knowledge in which there is no inference, and which therefore may be accepted as the datum or data upon which we can argue with confidence. Let us verify this by one or two quotations. Hallam, in describing the discoveries of Descartes, sums up the opinions of the majority if not of all logicians in the neat sentence: "Reasoning would be interminable if it did not find its ultimate limit in truths which it cannot prove." (*Literature of Europe*, ii., 455.)

Sir William Hamilton it is hardly necessary to quote. He takes the evidence of immediate knowledge for granted all through his works, and expressly says of it that it is not and cannot be the subject of proof; that it comes before us with no other credentials save itself; that it merely reveals itself, and not how or why it is; for if it revealed the reason of its existence this would be relatively prior, and to it or its antecedent must we ascend until we arrive at the primary fact upon which it rests. (Hamilton's *Lectures*, i., 270.)

Mill speaks thus:—

"That we must know something immediately or intuitively is evident if we know anything, for," as he elsewhere says, "what we know mediately depends for its evidence on our previous knowledge of something else; unless, therefore, we knew something immediately, we could not know anything mediately, and consequently could not know anything at all."

And again, in another place, he adds:—

Truths are known to us in two ways : Some are known directly, and of themselves ; some through the medium of other truths : the former are the subject of intuition or consciousness, the latter of inference. The truths known by intuition are the original premises from which all others are inferred. Our assent to the conclusion being grounded on the truth of the premises, we never could arrive at any knowledge by reasoning, unless something could be known antecedently to all reasoning. (Mill's *Logic*, Introduction, 5.)

In the passage I shall presently quote from Herbert Spencer, and which he concludes by making beliefs the primary data of knowledge, a similar view is upheld. If this view, sustained by such great names, is the true one, then assuredly knowledge rests on a basis which is at least beyond the reach of cavil or scepticism, for it is beyond the reach of argument, and has to be accepted *volens volens* on its own testimony only ; and philosophy becomes not only possible, but a perfectly simple matter, for I take it that mere inference is a very mechanical process, which has few rules and can be easily verified. If our foundations are thus firm and solid, there need not be much fear about the superstructure. But is this quite so clear as it is assumed to be generally ?

It is a very singular and significant fact that although every philosopher professes to admit that a portion of his knowledge consists of primary facts or data which are not the subject matter of inference, that hardly two philosophers agree as to what are to be deemed primary, and nearly every one treats his neighbour's primary datum as a derived truth, and nearly every one has his peculiar axioms out of which he develops his structure of knowledge, deeming them primary and incapable of further analysis. This remarkable divergence upon so critical a point is assuredly very embarrassing to an ingenuous and unsophisticated student, and suggests the inquiry whether there are any absolutely primary facts at all or not : facts which to all minds under all conditions have the character of axioms, or whether such primary facts, if they exist at all, are not different and distinct for each individual mind, are not the necessities of each individual thinker, and are not in every thinker different from those of his neighbour, are really relatively and not absolutely primary.

In this inquiry we must guard ourselves in another direction. As Sir William Hamilton said : "Errors may arise by attributing to intelligence as necessary or original data what are only contingent generalizations from experience, and consequently make

no part of its complement of native truths." Or, as Mr. Mill said: "Many of the facts of knowledge which are deemed primary and ultimate by the vulgar are so deemed because they do not remember the time when they did not know or believe them, and because they are not aware in what manner they came by the belief." (*Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, 141.) We must therefore be sure that what seems to us now to be primary was always so; we must trace not merely the topography, but also the genealogy of our knowledge.

This aspect of the matter, coupled with the fact that we find philosophers of different schools disputing the validity of their neighbours' test of a primary truth, makes it assuredly a very important thing to inquire whether there is any test at all—any organon by which we can discriminate one.

Inference is of two kinds, and has given rise to two different forms of logic, and in fact to two different schools of philosophy. One form of inference is from generals to particulars, from laws to individual examples of the law, from principles to their application. This is the subject matter of the old or Aristotelian logic, and is known as Syllogism or Ratiocination. The other form of inference is from particulars to particulars, or particulars to generals, from a number of individual cases to a law. This form of inference is known as Induction.

In accordance with this division we find two systems of philosophy, one of which is based on an axiom or a series of axioms propounding some wide and comprehensive abstraction. The other system is founded by induction on a series of individual experiences, of individual statements of fact. Let us first consider the former school of thought, which has deemed it possible to evolve a philosophy by postulating some very generalized expression as the foundation stone of the scheme, and making it support the whole fabric. It being argued that it is impossible to question the validity of such a structure legitimately based upon one great generalization; the widest generalization the mind is capable of, which men may accept as the universal ovum or seed whence all our knowledge can be developed, the *fons et origo* of all philosophy. To take a crucial example, the famous Descartes founded or professed to found the Cartesian philosophy on the aphorism "*cogito ergo sum*"—"I think, therefore I am." On this he attempted

to build up all his knowledge. Granting that such a generalization could possibly be a primary, unconditioned element of knowledge, in no sense the result of inference, but planted substantively on its own credentials, incapable of analysis into anything simpler, which we shall shew presently could not be the case, it would still be vitiated by an insuperable objection. An objection formulated with his usual felicity by Mr. Herbert Spencer. He says :—

When we try to reduce the genesis of our knowledge to scientific ordination, and when to this end we search for the fundamental fact, the fact on which all knowledge depends, we meet the difficulty that there are apparently several facts answering to the description. Personal existence, the existence of ideas, of consciousness, of beliefs; these look equally primordial; each seems to presuppose one or more of the others, and yet each in turn may be assigned with some plausibility as the basis of the others. Personal existence may be held the most certain fact of all. Yet it may be argued that personal existence is merely a belief, and that the existence of belief is therefore more certain than personal existence. To which again there is the reply that a belief implies something believed, and that this something believed must be antecedent and more certain than the belief. . . . Thus we are driven from one position to another only that we may relinquish that for a third, until there appears no alternative but to assume these facts to be equally fundamental, to be on the same plane either as mutually dependent facts, or as different aspects of the same fact. (*Westminster Review*, lx., 517 and 18.)

After this admirable criticism Mr. Spencer goes on immediately to postulate belief as the foundation and support of all other inferences. *Pro tanto*, however, he destroys the effect of this postulate when he says that all our beliefs are predications concerning pre-existing things, sensations, ideas, consciousness; that until these exist there can be no predications about them,—no beliefs; and that in reasoning, or in forming beliefs, we, as it were, look down upon and inspect these sensations and ideas, and observe certain of their properties which we could not do unless they were previously there. (*Id.* 518 and 519.) But we may come to closer quarters with this subject, and dispute the possibility of any generalized expression, such as the dictum of Descartes, having the characteristics of a primary datum. The matter seems so plain that it hardly needs arguing at all. A very slight analysis of our knowledge will show us that all the general expressions, all the laws, of which we have knowledge, have been gradually abstracted from a number of particular instances; that the very terms we apply to them, such as “abstractions,” “gene-

ralizations," etc., etc., prove that they are the result of much inference, and are in nowise fundamental factors of knowledge. These are always concrete and not abstract propositions. To the child abstractions are largely unknown, and also to the grown-up child, or savage; and it has become, in fact, almost an axiom among logicians that all deduction, all syllogism, which consists of inferring particulars from generals and including individual cases in laws pre-supposes a more or less long course of induction. The dictum of Descartes and similar dictums are abstractions of so complete a character that each one is supposed to be commensurable in its comprehension with all knowledge. Assuredly such an abstraction is no seed which we plant in the ground that our philosophic tree may grow out of it, but is the harvested grain which, after long toil and harass, has rewarded the husbandman. To understand the proposition requires no mean effort of a mature mind, and it does not answer in any sense to the definition of a primary datum of knowledge.

Before we pass on let us consider another aspect of the problem which seems to have taken captive some thinkers. It is the fashion of some writers to cite the axioms of Euclid as examples of primary data unconditioned by inference and incapable of analysis. On this subject I prefer to quote such a brilliant mathematician as Sir John Herschel. Speaking of axioms, he says: "They are a string of propositions concerning space, time, force, number, and every other magnitude susceptible of aggregation and subdivision. Such propositions, when they are not mere definitions, as some of them are, carry their *inductive* origin on the face of their enunciation." Another great mathematician says: "Geometry is thus founded likewise on observation; but of a kind so familiar and obvious, that the primary notions which it furnishes might seem intuitive." While Mr. Mill, in the admirable fifth chapter of the first volume of his *Logic*, has put the matter beyond the reach of cavil. The axioms are, in fact, mere generalizations from experience; and, as they cover an experience which is not only very wide, but also very uniform, they have acquired the character of necessary truths. Perhaps it is not impossible to state cases where their universal truth is contingent on our making certain limitations. Thus, if we take a pint of water and a pint of sulphuric acid and mix them

together, we shall find that the mixture is not two pints in bulk, but less than two pints. That is, two halves are less than a whole. Again, if we have a gas in a receiver at the pressure of two atmospheres, and open the tap, one-half of the gas will escape, yet the remaining half will equal in bulk the original whole. Again, if we fill a receiver with hydrogen as full as it will hold at ordinary pressures, we can turn on a tap which shall pour in as much nitrogen as the receiver would hold if empty. That is, one gas, although filling the receiver, will not exclude any of the other gas, or in effect two things may, under certain conditions, fill the same space.

It is true that we can so qualify our descriptions of these experiments as to make them come within our axiom; but it is really by sophisticating our terms and, at least superficially, we have here exceptions to our axioms shewing them not to be necessarily *universal*, but only universal in our experience; and if we turn to force and its laws, and not matter, we shall find that our axioms are still less universal in their application. To revert to our original position. It is clear that, take what datum we will, it is a futile matter to set up the pyramid of knowledge on its apex—an apex consisting of some general proposition which shall have the character of an immediate and not a mediate fact of knowledge, for none such exists. The wider and more comprehensive our general fact, and the more tempting therefore to make it the basis of our inverted pyramid, the more induction does it imply, and consequently the less is it a primary datum of knowledge.

Let us now turn to the other school of philosophy to which I referred, and of which the best modern representative is John Stuart Mill. The great feature of Mr. Mill's *magnum opus* (his *Logic*) is the insistence upon inductive logic being the only fertile logic, being the basis of all other logic; and upon deductive and syllogistic logic being in fact based upon results obtained by induction. He therefore was not likely to fall into the mistake of basing his philosophy on a wide generalization, on a comprehensive term. To him the elements of knowledge were particular cases, particular experiences, out of which laws and generalizations are evolved by long processes of inference. So far his position seems incontrovertible. Anyone who has tracked out with any patience the genesis of thought in any particular mind will agree in his

conclusion that the ultimate factors of knowledge are particulars and not generals, and that induction and not deduction is the root of our tree of knowledge.

At this point, however, we deferentially part company with him. Although he saw that the Cartesian and all similar systems were based on a false notion of the genesis of thought, he was none the less an advocate for the existence of immediate as distinct from mediate knowledge. His own words are :

That we must know some things immediately is evident if we know anything, for what we know mediately depends for its evidence on our previous knowledge of something else. Unless, therefore, we knew something immediately we could not know anything mediately, and, consequently, could not know anything at all. (*Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, 126-7.)

Mr. Mill's position is naturally much stronger than that of the rival school. We admit that the mind in its early stages of growth only deals with particulars, with concrete and not abstract factors. If there be immediate factors of knowledge, therefore they must be of this individual and not of an abstract nature. But we, in fact, hold that Mr. Mill's position when duly analyzed is as unstable as that of the rival school of Philosophy. Let us first see what he claims and defines to be immediate factors of knowledge. These he limits to the facts of consciousness—the mind's own acts and affections. (*Id.* 126-132.) He then goes on to enlarge on the difficulty of discovering and of reaching these in their elementary form :

We have it not in our power to ascertain by any direct process what consciousness told us at the time when its revelations were in their pristine purity. It only offers itself to our inspection, as it exists now, when those original revelations are overlaid and buried under a mountainous heap of acquired notions and perceptions. (*Id.* 145 and 6.)

Notwithstanding the difficulty, however, he speaks in no hesitating terms about the existence of such original data :

Truths are known to us in two ways. Some are known directly and of themselves; some through the medium of other truths. The former are the subject of intuition or consciousness; the latter of inference. The truths known by intuition are the premises from which all others are inferred. Our assent to the conclusion being grounded on the truth of the premises, we never could arrive at any knowledge by reasoning, unless something could be known antecedently to all reasoning. (*Mill's Logic*, 5.)

He then goes on to limit these intuitions to the mind's acts and feelings. Whatever I am conscious of feeling, whatever I can express by a verb attached to the pronoun I, is with him a primary fact, viz., consciousness—I eat, I love, I think, I remember, I will do, etc. At first sight, this position seems reasonable ; but let us get somewhat closer, and consult Mr. Mill at another page.

But we may fancy that we see or feel what we in reality infer. A truth, or supposed truth, which is really the result of a very rapid inference, may seem to be apprehended intuitively. It has long been agreed by thinkers of the most opposite schools that this mistake is actually made in so familiar an instance as that of the eyesight. There is nothing of which we appear to ourselves to be more directly conscious than the distance of an object from us. Yet it has long been ascertained that what is perceived by the eye is at most nothing more than a curiously coloured surface. That when we fancy we see distance, all we really see is certain variations of apparent size and degrees of faintness of colour. That our estimate of the object's distance from us is the result partly of a rapid inference from the muscular sensations accompanying the adjustment of the focal distance of the eye to objects unequally remote from us, and partly of a comparison made with so much rapidity, that we are unconscious of making it between the size and colour of the object as they appear at the time and the size and colour of the same, or of similar objects as they appeared when close at hand, or when their degree of remoteness was known by other evidence. The perception of distance by the eye, which seems so like intuition, is thus in reality an inference grounded on experience ; an inference, too, which we learn to make, and which we make with more and more correctness as our experience increases, though in familiar cases it takes place so rapidly as to appear exactly on a par with those perceptions of sight which are really intuitive—our perceptions of colour. (*Mill's Logic*, vol. i., 6-7.)

All this may be true ; but assuredly Mr. Mill should have carried his analysis further. Hobbes, the famous philosopher of Malmesbury, long ago probed the real issue to the root, although he saw not its application. The fact of the matter is that Mr. Mill apparently shrank from defining his position in regard to this fundamental question ; and I can nowhere find that he gives an example, or enables us to discover what he really understood by a primary fact unconditioned by any inference.

I believe most implicitly that there is no such fact to be found anywhere, that however simple and unconditioned it may appear, every thought is more or less composed of inferences ; that we cannot reach any nucleus or germ which is free from inference, nor bring ourselves face to face with any unconditioned factor or kernel of knowledge directly presented by sense or intuition.

Take the very simplest fact we can concentrate our attention upon, and which at first seems incapable of further analysis, and standing apart from all inference, a feeling say of heat or cold, an impression of shape or colour, and we shall find that there is one inference at least which we cannot separate from it. We can only comprehend a thought by *defining* it, *i.e.*, by noting its difference to some other thought. Hobbes showed long ago that this act of definition or separation, the recognition of a change from one thought to another, is connected with the very first act of consciousness.

When I say I see red, I mean much more than the simple affirmation ; I also mean I do not see "not red." How much is contained in the latter phrase depends on the amount of my experience. If my experience is a wide one, "not red" will comprehend a great deal and *vice-versa*. This is obvious enough, for although we cannot define or isolate anything absolutely, that is, without at the same time defining or isolating it from something else, we are not, of course, limited to one thing for comparison ; we may change our object of comparison indefinitely. The contrast may be indefinitely varied. One child first distinguishes red by contrasting it with green, another with blue, etc., etc. ; but in all cases the thought must be grasped as the complement of some other thought. I therefore hold that there are no such things as immediate facts of knowledge, of primary data differing from the rest of our knowledge in being substantive and unconditioned, but that all our data involve inference. This is a very important conclusion. It takes away all that basis of absolute certitude which is the Jack-o'-Lantern of philosophy. It insists upon every philosopher justifying his premises as well as his inferences ; but it does more than this. If it be absolutely necessary that we must have data for our arguments, and if we cannot grasp any data which are not subject to inference, it follows that all our arguments are in fact based on a tentative foundation, and it becomes more or less easy for sophistical reasoners to build up a very plausible structure in one chapter, and in a subsequent one to treat his original premiss as a subject of analysis. That is to detach the bricks from the foundation of his building, and make believe that the building still stands. While nothing is more clear than that however tentative our data are, we cannot question them without destroying our conclusion.

Again, if the analysis we have given is the correct one, it follows that if we are to trace the river of knowledge to its source, we can only do so by following back our memory, our record of experience to the days of our childhood. If we could ascend to the time when the mind was a *tabula rasa*, if it ever were so, and discover how knowledge grew in it, seize upon the first impression it received, then upon the second, and so on, we might perhaps for that individual mind construct a linear arrangement of knowledge. This however would not be a genealogical arrangement in which each idea grew naturally out of a previous one, but a calendar of experience, and such a calendar would be different for every mind, as the experience of every mind is different—differently rooted and differently grown. What one mind acquires among its elementary lessons, another learns only in mature age. The axiom of one is the laboured logical conclusion of another.

We cannot trace in the web of thought any continuous thread by which the course of the shuttle may be followed. The pattern is rather that of a felted fabric, in which every portion merges into its neighbour. Our philosophy stands not upon one primitive foundation-stone, but upon many which are closely interlinked, and we must always beware that, in analyzing one of these base-stones, we do not jeopardize the stability of our building. This, again, affords ample assistance to those who indulge in metaphysical jugglery, for it seems plausible sometimes to build up one pillar with the *débris* of its neighbour, and to make the base of one the capital of another. On a future occasion you may perhaps allow me to give some concrete examples of this jugglery; at present it must suffice to have shown that we cannot collect a class of primæval, substantive axioms to put at the base of our philosophic induction which have a greater warranty than all other knowledge, nor isolate any fact of knowledge from inference; to have shown in fact that there are no such things as immediate factors of knowledge; but that every argument, every train of reasoning, every form of philosophy, is based on tentative premises.





PYTHAGORAS AND INDIA.

BY H. H. HOWORTH, M.P.

THE distinction between Greek and Barbarian is one which comes naturally to us all, and is one which every man of culture is especially disposed to emphasize. That the world is divided into two strata, a thin superior stratum in which philosophers are found, and a thicker and ruder layer in which the common herd take shelter, is very generally conceded by superior people. Nor is it always easy to grant that both strata are formed at bottom of the same paste, and that the veneering element, like the cream in the bowl, is only a superior secretion from the blue milk below. Leaving metaphor aside, let us apply ourselves to a concrete case. To the student of classical times Greece dominates the position so completely, and fills up the canvas, whether we look at literature or art, or even at politics (Roman civilisation being only a reflection of Greek as moonlight is of sunlight), that it is difficult to think of any part of it being otherwise than Greek, and to realize that after all Greece was only a fragment of Europe, and Europe a small continent among four. The products of the Greek mind at its best are so perfect—when we measure them by

human standards—so immeasurably superior to what had been done elsewhere, and, in some respects, to what has been since done elsewhere, that we are apt to begin by considering the Greek as specially inspired, and as made of a different material to ourselves. We find in the Italian Renaissance a bold and vigorous effort made to rival the triumphs of old Greece, by men whom we rightly deem to have been very much more highly endowed than men now living, with the gifts of the artist. We see these great men of the 16th century lagging far behind the great men of the age of Pericles in Greece, and treating the majestic repose, grace, and finish of the older masters as the *ne plus ultra* of art and poetry, while all other men and schools have failed to reach even the standard gained by the middle age folk in Europe, and we are apt to conclude that there were giants in the old days, specially gifted, specially endowed, made of other materials than ourselves, and standing really and not metaphorically on an Olympian height to which modern mortals cannot aspire.

It is easy to see that, as in the Italian Renaissance, and the best artistic period of any country, the contemporaries of Pericles did not jump into their foremost place without a period of apprenticeship and training. We can, in fact, trace the story for some distance, for in sculpture, in painting, in poetry, and in philosophy we can put our hands on more than one *earlier* stage of growth, as we can upon more than one *later* stage of decay and decadence, and can see that the best was, as all human effort is, but the highest point in a rising and an ebbing tide of power. This fact increases the *prima facie* suspicion that what we so much admire is entirely home grown, is, from beginning to end, the natural growth of the Greek soil, owing obligations to no other source, and constituting the Greek from the beginning an entirely different being from the Barbarian.

It is thus that Pausanias, the native historian of Greek art, constructs a very plausible pedigree for most of the crafts in which the Greek was superior, and eventually traces them to their fountain sources in certain early Cretans or Greeks, to whom are attributed the actual inventions of the arts of the sculptor, the painter, the enameller, the moulder, the potter, etc. This highly patriotic, and, perhaps, natural opinion of the origin of Greek art, as viewed by Pausanias, was transferred to the modern historians of art, and for a while it was the fashion with them to treat these quaint stories as worthy of some credit, and as really based upon some authority. It was forgotten that a Greek living in the third century A.D. could not be an authority of supreme value upon the artistic products of nine or ten centuries before, unless he had access to historical materials of whose existence we have no evidence; that the temple records and the inscriptions on statues, etc., were at least not older than the introduction of writing, while the legends attaching to particular works of art were of the same value as corresponding legends elsewhere. No doubt, by examining the oldest temples, very crude and early forms were discovered, which it was seen from internal evidence were the precursors of less rude specimens, and so on till the better-attested remains were reached, and so far the chain was perfect; but it was in these early links that the difficulty really arose, and it was only when modern critical methods were applied to them that the weakness of the argument was shown.

Rudeness has two aspects. It may be the initial step towards perfection of a master in his prentice stage, or it may be the imitation by rough hands of a nobler and a better model. The older theory of the beginnings of Greek art, which postulated that Minerva was born on Greek soil,

having in her ample head the whole body of ancient culture, took the former view, and treated these rude beginnings as the natural start of a race beginning its own culture from the starting place. The later and more critical school sees everywhere in these rude beginnings reflections, rough copies, and inspiration in form, in decoration, in idea, in technique of and from the works of the older races, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Hittites, and this view now prevails almost universally among the more scientific students of art. Again, it is well known that, although the human mind is a most subtle instrument, and multifarious in skill and capacity, that two human races which are completely isolated exceedingly seldom hit upon the same discovery in the arts, the same ornaments or the same forms, save in the very simplest and rudest of human products; and when we see in two different areas a similarity not merely in general outline but in details, and not in one instance but in many, we may be sure that there has been an interchange of ideas, and that the ruder forms, if contemporary, are an imitation of the more perfect ones. We may go further. Art, like a tree, has a perfectly natural development along certain definite lines, and we can foretell in a measure the flower from the seed. If presently, when the progress has been quite continuous along certain lines, we find a sudden change, a new departure along a fresh groove—such a departure, for instance, as Japanese art has taken during the last twenty years—we may be sure that we have to summon the same explanation as that given by a gardener when a branch of a camellia produces scarlet blossoms, whereas the rest of the tree produces white ones only—we must formulate a foreign graft upon the old stock.

This is a general law—a law which applies to Greek art as well as to that of the Japanese. In both cases we first need the seeds to be planted, and when the tree has grown,

if we find a new line taken, we may be fairly certain that a new graft has been imported from somewhere. Just as when in walking down some muddy river we come to a point where a clear blue stream begins to run alongside of the murky water we have been in company with, we may be sure that another tributary, tapping another area where different conditions prevail, has joined our immortal Irwell. This generalisation is now widely accepted in the world of art. Art begins with most races by the planting of seeds from other areas, where it has already developed considerably. The new soil, the new climate, the new gardener, the new conditions, do not more surely modify the American field flower in our greenhouse than does the new human thought modify the artistic growth thus sown; and although when fully developed, the mother country and the colony (speaking of art only) may have produced widely divergent products in which the colonial product shall far outstrip that of the older country, there can be no mistake about both having diverged from a common standard or common root. There can be no doubt, to revert to our earlier phrases, that Greek and Barbarian at bottom are made of the same paste. What is true of art is true also of literature. Many races seem absolutely sterile until the seeds of literature are brought into them from outside. The Danish pirates needed contact with the old culture and the bright imagination of the Western Celts before they acquired the gift of constructing Sagas. The romantic literature of early mediæval Europe has been traced with some show of proof on the one hand to the Arabian storytellers whom the crusaders met, and on the other to the Welsh bards. French romances and French *contes* were the stepfathers of Chaucer's muse. Boccaccio and the Italian romance writers were largely the fountains of inspiration of the Elizabethan dramatists, and so we might go on.

Minerva was nowhere born fully equipped with knowledge. Minerva was in fact a chain of goddesses, each one handing her increased store to her successor, and not a single divinity. Wherever we turn, we find the same law operating. We do not find men or nations abandoning their hereditary thoughts, and prejudices and tastes, by a kind of internal movement, such as converts the caterpillar into the glorious butterfly. Such changes in man are not spontaneous. They are the result of external influences, of external teaching, of external inspiration; and when we meet with them in those dim and early ages of human culture, where records are uncertain and scanty, we may fill in the story with a firm hand, so far at least as to affirm that the new writing on the page is due to the influence, if not the hand, of another scribe.

I am not sure whether you will not consider this argument superfluous, so generally supported does it seem to be in the field of literature as in that of art. I have elaborated it somewhat, because I mean to apply it to another sphere, where many students still question its application. Among those who have been attracted by the history of early Greek philosophy, there are two rival theories which are in fierce conflict on this very issue. We find in early Greece that first one school, then another, of philosophy fundamentally different, based upon largely different premises and coming to different conclusions, follow each other in rapid succession, not when the mind of Greece had attained its mature stage, but in the earlier days of its culture. This fact is admitted by all. The explanation of the fact, however, has caused a marked feud. One school, headed by the very important name of Zeller, the famous historian of Greek philosophy, to whom some of us are under deep obligations, represents, if I may so call it, the older and more orthodox tradition that all these different schools

and forms of speculation were of home growth in Greece, were started there, and were the natural outcome of the fertility of Greek speculative thought working upon the materials it found at hand. To use Zeller's own words:—

“The doctrines of the most ancient Greek philosophers have, as Ritter well observes, all the simplicity and independence of first attempts, and their ulterior development is so continuous that the hypothesis of alien influences is never required to explain it. . . . All develops itself quite naturally from the conditions of Greek national life, and we shall find that even those systems which have been supposed to be most deeply influenced by doctrines from without are in all essential respects to be explained by the internal civilisation and spiritual horizon of the Greeks.” This view he maintains with the dexterity and ingenuity of an accomplished special pleader, and it is a view which has dominated most historians of philosophy. They have, in nearly all cases, begun their story with the Greeks, treating the Greeks as the originators and makers of their science, and constructing pedigrees of thought upon this supposition, which are very interesting, and if only to be depended upon, simplifying the outlook very materially.

On the other hand, another school of enquirers in Germany, in recent years, in which the most prominent names are those of Roth, Gladisch, and Schroeder, have taken an entirely different view, namely, that the new departures in Greek thought which succeed one another so quickly in early times were no more the spontaneous growth of Greek thought than were many of the early Greek myths, much of early Greek art, and much of early Greek civilisation. That they were imported from other quarters where philosophy had been studied and had developed to a very remarkable extent long before Greek thought had awoke from its primitive crudities; long

before there was any trace, so far as we know, of Greek speculation; and assuredly whatever the value of the evidence and its importance, it must be concluded that *primâ facie* this theory has everything to recommend it. That a child should work out for itself a great scheme of knowledge, unaided and uninspired, verges on the miraculous; that a child should learn its early wisdom from its mother, and presently outstrip its mother and all its teachers in learning, is the every-day experience of us all; therefore, I repeat, that the latter is *primâ facie* the more probable theory by far; but *primâ facie* reasons are very poor reasons now-a-days, unless substantiated by very cogent inductive evidence. It seems to me that such evidence exists in a sufficient degree to make our *a priori* hypothesis almost a certainty.

In the first place, I would refer shortly to one or two side issues, which are laboured by Zeller and his school to the exclusion of more direct methods. To judge from the general tenour of his argument, the Greeks were a self-contained nation, having little or no contact with outsiders, and therefore having few opportunities for inoculating their culture with foreign influences. Can anything be further from the facts? Even in the earliest heroic times, the siege of Troy brings upon the stage a concourse of tribes and races from various parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, etc., which is remarkable, while the voyage of the Argonauts show us how far into the recesses of the Black Sea Greek enterprise had penetrated in mythical times. No doubt so long as the Phœnicians held the keys of the world's commerce they were the chief importers into Greece of the wares of East and West, and no doubt also of much mythological lore and of many curious ideas, but presently the Phœnician power at home was sapped, and Phœnician trade decayed, and was replaced by the

Greeks who, in the seventh century before Christ, seem to have been possessed with a sudden afflatus for colonising, and were speedily found planting towns in all parts of the Mediterranean and the Euxine. Each one of these colonies was no doubt a feeder of Greek thought, notably in those places where an older culture had long existed, such as Egypt, where the Greeks not only founded a great commercial emporium, Naukratis, whose ruins are being at this moment explored by Mr. Flinders Petrie and others, but they entered the service of the Egyptian King, Psammetichus, in large numbers, as mercenaries, and have left in writing on the older monuments there, traces of the earliest Greek inscriptions which we possess. The voyage of Pythias as far as the Baltic and around the British Isles was another proof of energy in another direction, while in a third we have the accounts of the journey of Aristæas of Proconnesus, who apparently set out from the Greek colonies on the Black Sea, and made his way along the routes by which gold found its way to Europe in those days into the recesses of Siberia. The Greeks, so far as we can judge, were everywhere to be found where money was to be made, just as Jews and Armenians are now, and were no doubt, as they always have been, something more than merchants, namely, inquisitive, mobile, and given to disputation and culture; and far from Zeller's view being correct, we may postulate with all certainty that the most intelligent and best educated of the Greeks would as naturally find their way to the older seats of learning, and there learn what there was to learn and see what there was to see, as Americans find their way now to Europe, and notably to Italy, for similar reasons. On the other hand, there can be as little doubt that, occasionally, adventurous and inquisitive men from the outer world would find their way to Greece, whose famous oracles were so renowned. We cannot think

that Abaris, the Scythian, who, according to Pindar, travelled in Greece in the reign of Cræsus, or Anacharsis, the Scythian, who is said to have visited Athens in 592 B.C., were the only Eastern philosophers who traversed Greece, nor that Cræsus, King of Lydia, was the only great Eastern chief who consulted the oracles. The world was never separated off by ring fences into absolutely isolated communities, such as some historians of philosophy seem to fancy, but was ever producing vagabonds and adventurers who travelled far and wide over its surface, and thus distributed in a rude perfunctory way many ideas, just as the apparently motiveless currents of the ocean carry seeds and germs to clothe the isolated coral islands with their drapery of leaves and flowers. As I have said, the great afflatus of mental activity displayed by the Greeks commenced about the seventh century B.C. It was then that their greatest colonies were founded, that their most famous earlier temples were built, and that in several ways their skill as legislators and practical politicians began to show itself. Perhaps it was due, to some extent, to the fact that they then acquired the art of building larger vessels from the Phœnicians, whose decay made way for them. To whatever due, the fact remains, and we cannot help connecting the circumstances that at the very time when the Greeks were forcing their way into contact with foreigners, a fresh departure took place in their mode of thought, due, as I believe, to foreign inspiration.

Let us now try and realise the outlook of the earliest Greek mind in regard to the problems which distract us all when we think seriously, and which we condense in the word Philosophy.

The state of the Greek mind in regard to these questions can only be gathered from the earlier poets, Homer and Hesiod; and on turning to their pages, we shall find that

their ideas—their home-spun ideas—were crude and primitive enough. Nature to them was created and controlled by an innumerable number of deities subordinated to one another, each of which was embodied in some natural object. The sky was a living creature, the earth was a living creature, the sun another, and so on. To quote the graphic and admirable account of Grote: “That which to us is interesting as the mere creation of an exuberant fancy was to the Greek genuine and venerated reality. Both the earth and the solid heaven (*Gæa* and *Uranos*) were conceived and spoken of by him as endowed with appetite, feeling, sex, and most of the various attributes of humanity. Instead of a sun, such as we now see, subject to astronomical laws, and forming the centre of a system the changes of which we can ascertain and foreknow, he saw the great god *Helios*, mounting his chariot in the morning in the East, reaching at midday the height of the solid heaven, and arriving in the evening at the western horizon, with horses fatigued and desirous of repose. *Helios* having favourite spots wherein his beautiful cattle grazed, took pleasure in contemplating them during the course of his journey, and was sorely displeased if any man slew or injured them. He had, moreover, sons and daughters on earth; and as his all-seeing eye penetrated everywhere, he was sometimes in a situation to reveal secrets even to the gods themselves, while on other occasions he was constrained to turn aside in order to avoid contemplating scenes of abomination. . . . In his view the description of the sun, as given in a modern astronomical treatise, would have appeared not merely absurd, but repulsive and impious. Even in later times, when the positive spirit of inquiry had made considerable progress, *Anaxagoras* and other astronomers incurred the charge of blasphemy for dispersonifying *Helios*, and trying to assign invariable laws to

the solar phenomena." (*Op. cit.* I., 466-468.) Grote, in regard to this point of view of early Greek thought, appositely refers to the idea still current among the Hindoos. "Any Englishman," says Colonel Sleeman, "can easily conceive a poet in his highest culture of the brain, addressing the ocean as a steed that knows his rider, and patting the crested billow as his flowing mane; but he must come to India to understand how every individual of a whole community of many millions can address a fine river as a living being, a sovereign princess who hears and understands all they say, and exercises a kind of local superintendence over their affairs without a single temple in which her image is worshipped, or a single priest to profit by the delusion. As in the case of the Ganges, it is the river itself to whom they address themselves, *and not to any deity residing in it, or presiding over it.* The stream itself is the deity which fills their imaginations and receives their homage." (*Ibid.*, 464.)

Such was the primitive creed of the Greeks, as we gather it from our only witnesses, the earlier epic poets. The impersonation and separate life of each natural object was as much a living faith to them as the similar faith which we call Fetishism is to the African. This may have been a degradation from an earlier pantheistic creed, but of this we have literally no evidence. The evidence available points to the contrary. While this was the belief of the Greeks, it was supplemented—as I tried to show in an earlier paper—by elaborate genealogies of the gods, in which they were linked to one another as the generations of men are, this being the crude process by which the origin of things was explained. In the same way the Greeks had no notion of the immortality of the soul as we understand it. In Homer's view the substance of the man is his body; the bodiless souls in Hades are like

shadows and shapes of mist, or like forms which appear in dreams to the living, but cannot be grasped; vital power, speech, and memory have deserted them; the sacrificial blood of offerings restores their speech and consciousness, but only for a little time. A few favoured ones, indeed, enjoy a happier fate; while the saying of Achilles that the life of the poorest labourer is better than dominion over shadows applies to all the rest (Zeller I., pp. 124, 125). Anacreon recoils with horror from the terrible pit of Hades, but Tyrtæus, too, has no other immortality to set before the brave than that of posthumous fame. Erinna says the glory of great deeds is silent with the dead. It is the same with all theories which can be even distantly represented as possessing philosophical insight in regard to the origin of things and the government of the universe. While this was the case in Greece down, probably, to the seventh century, B.C., a very different state of things existed in India, where for many centuries before there had existed schools of philosophy, which discussed with an acuteness quite worthy of modern German philosophical discussions the most difficult and transcendental subjects, and, although there was virtually little science and a general absence of anything like history, the faculty of reasoning was applied to grammar, mathematics, and metaphysics in a manner that has scarcely been exceeded in modern times. And, curiously, at the very period when Greek thought began to germinate in an extraordinary way, namely, the seventh century B.C., there was a great outburst of vigour also in India, out of which Buddhism, and perhaps other schools of Indian thought, arose. It is very curious that at this very period the Greeks began, as we have seen, to have a much more active intercourse with their neighbours, and notably with the Egyptians, the Scythians, and the Celts. Such contact

inevitably, as I have urged, brings in innovations in many ways. Where there is no prejudice to overcome they are accepted openly and in the light of day. Fashion and art are thus modified without difficulty, but when we get below these superficial changes, and men are forced to take a new departure in their religious or philosophical views, they at once arouse the conservative instincts of the crowd, who in such matters are most rigid and unforgiving. The result is that such changes have generally to be introduced *sub rosa*. They are never accepted by the crowd, and in many cases have to be cultivated in secret, or kept from the vulgar gaze in the form of mysteries, etc., etc., by secret societies and brotherhoods. As we have seen, this sensitiveness was an especial characteristic of the Greek mind, and led, in fact, to the martyrdom of Socrates. We are not surprised, therefore, that such new ideas on religion and philosophy as permeated the Greek world from the outside should have been deemed impious by the orthodox crowd, and that their votaries should have cultivated them in secret associations to which only the initiated were admitted, and whose tenets were probably never recorded in their integrity. This is what we actually find: Orphic, Bacchic, and Pythagorean societies with secret rites, a secret philosophy, and an esoteric religion, are found flourishing everywhere just at the time when they might be expected to be flourishing, and flourishing especially in the neighbourhood of the oracles and shrines where a more educated priesthood lived. Such associations and brotherhoods were not limited to the Greeks. They flourished, apparently, among the Celts under the name of Druids, and it has always seemed to me that the latter were in closer relation to the similar associations in Greece than is generally admitted, and that just as we now know the Celts had a native art of their own far superior to anything

dreamt of by the older writers, who treated them as barbarians, so they had also an esoteric religion, perhaps not very far removed from that which was cultivated in the Pythagorean societies. The early Buddhist associations in further Asia, which spread so widely over Central Asia (and further west—in, perhaps, a modified form—than most men are aware), were formed on similar lines, and probably cultivated similar precepts and practices.

To return, however, to Greece. In the histories of philosophy accessible to me the facts just referred to are largely ignored, and we are treated to elaborate dissections of the supposed views of particular men, who are in the first place supposed to have created the views with which their names are associated, and to be only responsible for the sentences or aphorisms which can be brought home directly to them, all else being treated as subsequent additions and sophistications. This view seems most foreign to the real state of things. Pythagoras, for instance, was, in addition to being a teacher of certain mystical doctrines, an active politician, who founded a system of polity at Crotona. He was a man of affairs, as well as a man of theory, and, as is universal in such cases, his name, which was well known, became the bye-name of his sect. Dr. Pusey was probably as much the creator of the whole Oxford movement, or Pitt of the body of Tory doctrines which were venerated at the Pitt Club, as Pythagoras was of that of the Pythagoreans. Chinghiz Khan drew up the famous code of laws which is known as his Yasa, and which formed, for a long time, the code of the Central Asiatic nomads; but he was the originator of very little of it. He merely indorsed with his great name customs and practices which were very widespread and very well known among his people. It is as great a mistake, in my view, to treat the Pythagorean views as derived entirely from

Pythagoras. He was probably a very prominent apostle of a creed which, from this fact, took its name from him, but which not only embraced a very great deal more than the fragments of thought embodied in his aphorisms, etc., but which was probably in many respects older than himself, and existed elsewhere under other names; notably, under the name of Orphic mysteries. Aristotle, according to Cicero, denied the existence of Orpheus, and assigned the writing of his poems to a Pythagorean. "*Orpheum poëtam docet Aristoteles nunquam fuisse et hoc Orphicum carmen Pythagorei ferunt cujusdam fuisse Cercopis.*"—Cicero, N.D., I., 38. Clemens Alexandrinus assigned them to Onomacritus, a famous Orphic poet contemporary with Pythagoras. (See *Clinton Fasti Helenici*, I., 343, note.) Other Orphic writings are attributed to the Pythagorean Brontinus, to Zopyrus of Heraclea, who was a co-worker with Onomacritus, Prodinus of Samos, and other Pythagoreans. This shows how closely connected Pythagoreanism was with the mysteries. Herodotus, long before this, in a memorable passage, speaks of "rites called Orphic and Bacchic, but which are in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean." (*Op. cit.*, Book II, chapter 81.)

I do not mean that Pythagoras added nothing to what he learnt from the Orphic brotherhoods existing about him, nor that he did not modify their teaching in some measure. This he probably did; but I would maintain that he was essentially a teacher of that cult, and that it is a great mistake to treat him as the originator or beginner of a great deal which appears in his teaching. I believe as firmly that the same remark applies to other early Greek teachers besides Pythagoras, who found in the teaching of these associations of primitive philosophers views which startle us by their strangeness and novelty. Let us now try and discriminate some of the things thus taught, and try also to affiliate the teaching to older sources of inspiration.

We have seen what the primitive creed of Greece was, namely, a kind of Fetishism in which distinct personal gods were created out of natural objects. To this creed both the Orphic and Pythagorean writers opposed the same very new and contrary notion. They both present us with clearly Pantheistic notions. In one of the early Orphic fragments "Zeus is described as the beginning, middle, and end of all things, the root of the earth and sky, the substance and essence of air and of fire, the sun and moon, male and female. When the sky is called his head, the sun and moon are his eyes, the air is his breast, the earth his body, the lower world his feet, the æther his infallible, royal omniscient reason." (Zeller I., 64.) Philolaus, the oldest and first expounder of the Pythagorean system, who was a contemporary of Socrates, but probably older (*Ibid.*, 363-4), describes God as the sole ruler of the universe, exalted above all things, embracing all things with his care (*Ibid.*), which means that in his eyes the many Gods were condensed into the one all-embracing divine essence (Θεῖον). Whence did this new idea so subversive of the old Greek belief in the personality of its Gods come? It existed, we know, from early times both in Egypt and in India, but was perhaps much more diffused in the latter than in the former country. In Egypt, however, it was the accepted theory of the priests, as my friend, Mr. R. S. Poole, has shown in a recent analysis of the later discoveries about the Egyptian religion, and notably of the famous Litany of the Sun. On this he says: "It does not state, but implies, a philosophy. That system is wholly Pantheistic. The doctrine of the Litany of Ra treats of the universe under that name. Ra, the sun, is but an emanation. The object of its progress is that the king, already an image of Ra on earth, should in the other world be identified with Ra, become one and the same as him. As there is nothing but Ra, all nature presents her

manifestations, and the doctrine becomes purely Pantheistic. Good and ill alike come from the same source, and thus the moral value of good is greatly weakened in the Litany; moral responsibility disappears. The doctrine does not admit of personality; there is nothing in which Ra is not."—*Contemporary Review*, May, 181, pp. 809 and 810.

We may next turn to the second important factor in Greek thought, which was held in common by the Orphics and the Pythagoreans, and which was an entire innovation, namely, the doctrine of metempsychosis. Philolaus appeals in support of the doctrine of transmigration to the utterances of the ancient theologians and soothsayers, by whom, says Zeller, we must understand Orpheus and the other founders of the Orphic mysteries. Several writers assign to Pherecydes, who was older than and was the reputed master of Pythagoras, the first teaching of the doctrine of transmigration (*Op. cit.* 69). Plato derives the theory from the mysteries, especially the Orphic mysteries; and Pindar, who had probably not come in contact with Pythagoreans, and probably derived his notions from the Orphic and Bacchic brotherhoods, speaks of certain favourites of the Gods being permitted to return to the upper world, and that those who lead a blameless life will be sent to the islands of the blest in the kingdom of Cronos. Zeller himself admits that "there is every reason to believe that the doctrine was taught in the Orphic mysteries prior to the date of Pythagoras" (*Id.* 71).

According to Herodotus "the Egyptians maintained that when the body dies the soul enters into the form of an animal which is born at the moment, thence passing on from one animal into another, until it has circled through the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth, the water, and the air, after which it enters again into a human frame, and is born anew. The whole period of the trans-

migration is (they say) 3,000 years." He adds, "There are Greek writers, some of an earlier, some of a later date who have borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians and put it forward as their own; I could mention their names but I abstain from doing so." (*Op. cit.*, Book II., ch. 123). By these Greeks Pythagoras and his scholars are generally supposed to be meant. The categorical statement of Herodotus here quoted is apparently founded upon a mistake. This has been well shown by Schroeder in the memoir I have already quoted, in which he appeals to the views of distinguished Egyptologists to show that the doctrine of metempsychosis was quite unknown to the Egyptians, at least no traces of it are to be found in the religious books available to us. It was perhaps natural that Herodotus should thus interpret the figures he noticed on the tombs where human souls are represented in the shape of animals, but this had nothing to do with metempsychosis. It was merely the curious fable that when presented to the gods in the other world the human soul might do so in the disguise of some animal; but the notion of human beings having successive lives in the bodies of other animals, or of other beings, was quite unknown to the Egyptians. On the other hand, this was the very centre and pivot of the religious and philosophical ideas of the Hindoos.

Let us now turn to the things forbidden to be eaten in the Pythagorean brotherhoods. Among these was notably the flesh of plough oxen and of he-goats. The abstention from meat was inculcated in the Orphic mysteries.—(See Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, II., p. 28; Zeller, p. 346.)

This restriction on the eating of flesh, which was a great innovation in the then current European modes of thought, so far as we can gather them, was characteristic of India in early times. Save among the Buddhists, there was not apparently an actual prohibition, but only a restriction to

certain kinds of animals. (Schroeder, p. 33.) What was, however, most explicitly forbidden was the ox, which was deemed so sacred that to kill or eat it was considered most sinful. This exactly corresponds to the Pythagorean prohibition of the flesh of plough oxen, as reported by Aristæus. (Schroeder, p. 34; Zeller, p. 345, note.) The same author reports that the Pythagoreans abstained from the flesh of he-goats. In illustration of this, Schroeder quotes the curious fact that the name of the he-goat in Sanscrit, aya, also means the unborn, the eternal, whence, says an Indian aphorism quoted by the same writer, the flesh of the he-goat should not be eaten. (*Id.*, p. 34.) The flesh of animals offered in sacrifice was permitted to the Pythagoreans. (Zeller, pp. 345-6.) This again is precisely what the Indians allowed, and the Book of Manu enjoins the eating of flesh of such offerings as a divine custom. (Schroeder, p. 34.)

The curious prohibition of eating beans, and the sanctity of the latter, is exemplified in the story told of Pythagoras by Hermippus and others, that Pythagoras was killed rather than traverse a bean field. (Zeller, p. 344.) Pliny (II., xviii., 30) says Pythagoras forbade the eating of beans because the souls of the dead were enclosed in them, while Cicero (*De Div.*, pp. 1-30) thinks it was from their disturbing the mind during sleep. We find no prohibition, so far as we know, of the Egyptians eating beans in the sacred writings, but Herodotus says expressly "the Egyptians are not allowed to eat beans, which none of them sow or eat. If they come up of themselves, either raw or boiled, the priests will not even endure to look on them, since they consider them unholy food." (*Op. cit.* II., 37.) Diodorus (I., 89) says some only of the Egyptians abstained from beans. It may be that a similar mistake has been made here by Herodotus as he did in the case of metem-

psychosis, and assigned it to the Egyptians. There can be no mistake about a similar prohibition existing in India. In the oldest Indian ritual texts the eating of beans was forbidden during the sacrifices. In the Maitrayani Samhita is the injunction, "You should not eat beans; they are not clean food during an offering." Similar prohibitions occur in other early Indian writings. (Schroeder, pp. 36-37.) This concurrence of details, most odd and unexpected details, between the Pythagorean modes of thought and those of India, which are only explainable when we inquire into their Indian meaning, compel us to grant a close and intimate connection between the two systems.

It is not improbable that the prohibition of eating beans, as enjoined by Pythagoras, was also limited to certain times, which would account for the statement of Philoxenus contradicting the general testimony of antiquity that the Pythagoreans, far from prohibiting, recommended the use of this vegetable. (Zeller, p. 346, note.) The generally bloodless character of the Pythagorean sacrifices, as attested by Plutarch, is singularly at one with the similar character of the Indian sacrifices. Lastly, a very singular prohibition enjoined by the Pythagoreans in an aphorism which I must be allowed to translate into Latin, "*Converso ad solem vultu non mingendum*" (*Diog. Laertius*, Pythagoras, xviii.), is exactly matched by a verse in the Atherva Veda (Schroeder, p. 39).

Let us now turn to the supposed mathematical inventions of Pythagoras, and his philosophical comparison of the essence of things with numbers. The Pythagoreans were the great disseminators and developers of mathematics in early Greece. Among other things Pythagoras is said to have discovered the famous proposition that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the

squares on the other two sides, and that the most perfect such triangle is that in which the sides are in the proportion of 3, 4, and 5. Zeller admits that these notions belonged to the ancient Pythagoreans (*Op. cit.* 429 and 430, note). Cantor quotes from a Chinese book a statement of the proportion just named (Schroeder, 42); but Chinese mathematics was apparently all derived from India, and there can be no doubt that this famous proposition was well known in India from early times, and at least as early as the eighth century B.C., when we find it described in the Manava-Crautasutra, in a portion of the work dealing with the proper proportions and construction of altars, which, like other things in early ritual, were based on very methodical mathematical calculations. Not only do we find there, as Schroeder has shown, a full knowledge of this famous problem, but also, what is more curious, the corollary which depends on it, namely, the discussion of irrational quantities, such as the square root of 2, etc., etc. In Greece the introduction of this mathematical process was attributed to Pythagoras. Years, nay, centuries before he lived the same notion had been worked out in India so elaborately that there were special names for such irrational quantities as the square roots of 2, 3, 10, 40, etc., which are given by Schroeder.

The theory that the world consists of five elements, namely, earth, water, air, fire, and æther, was introduced into Greece in the Pythagorean schools. It forms a notable part of their teaching, as Schroeder has shown. The same theory precisely pervades the whole of the early Indian philosophical schools. So universally spread is it that an ordinary phrase for a man's dying, in the Ramayana and other very early poems, is that he is dissolved into the five elements; and from the early Brahmin speculations it passed into Buddhism, and Schroeder concludes,



THE IDEALISM OF BERKELEY: A CRITICISM.

BY H. H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

“It is a hard thing to suppose that right deductions from true principles should ever end in consequences which cannot be maintained or made consistent.”—BERKELEY, Introduction to *Principles of Human Knowledge*, par. 3.

IN a paper read before the Manchester Literary Club (*Papers*, 1881, p. 65), I offered some criticism of Hume's Scheme of Philosophical Scepticism, in which he endeavoured to show that all human thought is disjunct and discrete, and that no personal factor unites it into a continuous existence; in which he, in fact, questioned personal identity. I endeavoured to show that that scheme is illogical and inconsequent in its argument, and that, tested in every way in which we can test the validity of reasoning, it is utterly wanting and discredited. I now propose to carry the analysis somewhat further. Hume's position and arguments were confessedly based on those of Berkeley, the famous Bishop of C'oyne. Hume professed to carry Berkeley's arguments to their legitimate conclusion; and, in the opinion of many competent critics, he justified his profession. It seems to follow, in fact, that, if we accept Berkeley's method and conclusions as legitimate, we are bound to go much further, and to accept Hume's also, and that philosophical scepticism is the inevitable goal of the system of Idealism propounded by Berkeley. This makes it doubly interesting for those who have no faith in Hume's

method or conclusions, (not because of any tendency in them, but because they are logically unsound,) to sift Berkeley's scheme closely. If his method and conclusions are also inconsequent, a similar analysis to that we applied to Hume ought to make their shortcomings patent, and to secure their confutation.

Bishop Berkeley had a motive in, as well as a scheme of, philosophy. With him, the question at issue was not merely philosophic truth, but also religious truth. He professedly championed the cause of the unseen world—the world of spirit—against the prevailing materialism of his day. With this aim we have nothing to do. It, in fact, *prima facie*, throws a certain ambiguity about the worth of his arguments, which become, *pro tanto*, those of an advocate rather than of a judicial inquirer. It is, further, a most strange corollary to his position, that arguments, which were meant as a great buttress to religion, became, in the hands of Hume, the chief armoury of the most thorough-going of sceptical writers, suggesting a wholesome warning to those who, in search of Truth, shape their strategy with any other aim than the absolutely logical conclusion of the most stable premises they can secure. As I have said, we have nothing to do with Berkeley's aim. I only mention it to define his position, and, as we shall see further on, to explain his inconsistency. Finding that the world was drifting towards materialism, and that philosophers were treating mind as a mere function of matter, and thought as a secretion of the brain, and that they were denying the separate existence of spirit, he professed to dig his lance into the very heart of this, to him, revolting system, and to prove that, far from mind being a mere function of matter, it is rather matter that is a secretion of mind, and that nothing but spirit, in fact, exists. This extraordinary, and, in the main, new position, marked, perhaps, the boldest and

most original step ever taken in philosophy. It captivated the imagination of those who are attracted by subtlety and ingenuity, and was accepted by a considerable school of thinkers as unanswerable. Hume, as we have said, made it the basis of his sceptical philosophy, and Mill of his psychology.

Berkeley's argument was simple enough, involving no abstruse or scholastic notions. It was shortly this: accepting Locke's analysis of the origin of our knowledge, that it was limited to phenomena, to the sensations we feel, and to the mind's manipulation of the records of these sensations, he affirmed that these sensations, when closely examined, resolve themselves into mere affections of ourselves—mere subjective feelings, and that we can therefore know nothing directly of the outside world. He accordingly asked what warrant or necessity there is for postulating the existence of the latter at all. If all our knowledge consists of our own feelings and of what is compounded from them, what reason is there for believing in anything but feelings and what is made up of feelings? The outside world, in this view, becomes a mere hypothetical creation, or an unwarranted inference of the mind, and, if so, it is futile to encumber our conclusions with it. If it be a mere baseless prejudice, let us discard it altogether, as we are bound to do logically, and we shall have remaining what is alone worthy of credit, namely, mind and its function, thought—while matter will have dissolved away into the masquerade costume, in which mind has clothed some of its thoughts. This was Berkeley's conclusion, which by annihilating matter he deemed gave a death-blow to materialism.

You, at all events, will not make the mistake of supposing that his scheme is so ridiculous that it does not demand a moment's thought. You will remember that what Hume and Mill, Brown and Lewes, some of the keenest intellects

of recent times, accepted as proved, demands respectful attention, and will beware of imitating the coxcomb who "vanquished Berkeley with a grin." Berkeley denied the existence of no attribute of matter which you and I believe in. Every one of these was granted by him as existing ; hardness, sweetness, redness, etc., etc.—all these he admitted the existence of, but he contended that, like pain, they are affections of ourselves. To use his own words :—

By the principles premised, we are not deprived of any one thing in nature. Whatever we see, feel, hear, or anywise conceive or understand, remains as secure as ever and is as real as ever. . . . I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can apprehend, either by sense or reflection. That the things I see with my eyes and touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence we deny is that which philosophers call matter or corporeal substance, and in doing of this there is no damage done to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it.—(*Principles of Human Knowledge*, 35 and 36.)

You can quite see that a man who denied the existence of matter in this sense and in these terms was not compromising his sanity. He was merely saying in effect, that what we sometimes find in dreams and frenzy, when the mind constructs a real world out of its own thoughts, is what we are doing habitually. That life is in fact one perpetual waking dream, and that the mind is *always* projecting an external world by giving to its thought a character of existence independent of itself, as it confessedly does *sometimes* in phantasies. Hume, assuredly a good judge in such matters, declared positively that Berkeley's arguments admit of no answer and yet produce no conviction, their only effect being to produce that momentary amazement, irresolution, and confusion which is the result of scepticism.—(*Enquiry, etc.*, sect. xii. p. 1.)*

*Brown said that the sceptical argument for the non-existence of an external world as a mere play of reasoning admits of no reply. Lewes iterates the same opinion over and over again.

It is reasonable that before we make this surrender of reason, and confess its impotence, we should analyze closely how it comes about that we should be dazzled and stunned and yet not convinced. Perhaps our discomfiture is due to our admitting too readily some plausible postulate or axiom, which having granted we find it impossible to grapple with the inferences drawn from it. If Brown be right that we cannot fence with Berkeley's syllogisms, we may perhaps do better service by inquiring what warrant there is for the data out of which those syllogisms are constructed. In the first place, then, this theory is at complete issue with the convictions, the immovable convictions of mankind. Wherever we go, among unsophisticated savages or civilized men, among children or old people, it is everywhere the same. The same ineradicable belief that there is an existing world of matter outside of and independent of ourselves, or, to use the language of philosophy, that there is an objective as well as a subjective existence of which man is conscious.

Against this universal belief, we have the conclusions of a few philosophers, conclusions which were only really reached in their integrity for the first time, in the last century, by the Bishop of Cloyne, although the data which he had to work with were precisely those which had been the common property of every school of thought from the earliest times. This remarkable fact assuredly raises a *prima facie* suspicion as to their validity. We do not assert, as Reid seems to do, that such a universal belief is conclusive. It is, no doubt, competent for Berkeley to say, as he did say, that—

Though we should grant a notion to be never so universally and steadfastly adhered to, yet this is but a weak argument of its truth to whoever considers what a vast number of prejudices and false opinions are everywhere embraced,

with the greatest tenaciousness, by the unreflecting (which are the far greater) part of mankind. There was a time when the antipodes and motion of the earth were looked upon as monstrous absurdities, even by men of learning. (*The Principles of Human Knowledge*, par. 55.)

It is competent, I say, for Berkeley to urge this, and for his scholars to say that, in putting the conclusions of the crowd against those of Philosophy, we are invoking prejudice against reason. That Copernicus was right, notwithstanding that the crowd was against him. This is very true; we do not for a moment say that the universal opinion of the crowd is conclusive, only that it shifts the burden of proof. The burden of proof rests upon the prophets of the new creed, as it rested with Copernicus, and he brought the crowd round to his view by arguments and evidence which were conclusive, and which it now accepts as unanswerable. This is what we may insist upon Berkeley and his disciples doing.

Let us first examine the grounds upon which a belief in an outer world is maintained by the crowd. If we analyze these grounds, we shall speedily find that they are not based upon any train of reasoning at all, they are not the subject-matter of proof, but are based directly upon consciousness and feeling. The child never asks for any proof of the existence of the outside world, and never receives any. The question is never in fact raised in its mind at all. The existence of the outside world is felt as immediately in sensation as redness is when it sees red, or roundness when it sees a circle. When I have a sensation which is not merely a so-called internal sensation, I am immediately conscious of being in communication with something not myself. I require no proof or inference that the object is outside me—is not me. It is consciousness, therefore, which affirms it, and affirms it universally. Proof—meaning inferential proof—we have none except a circular argument; we cannot get beyond

the statement that we feel it, and this was virtually what Dr. Johnson did when he kicked the stool, and asked if that was not matter. This is the only available answer, but then it is the best of all answers. It is an argument of one link only. We cannot appeal to anything more forcible than consciousness. Mr. Mill said :—

Whatever is known to us by consciousness is known beyond the possibility of question ; what one sees or feels, whether bodily or mentally, one cannot but be sure that one sees or feels. No science is required for the purpose of establishing such truths ; no rules of art can render our knowledge of them more certain than it is in itself. There is no logic for this portion of our knowledge.

We have reached this point then, that the belief in an outside world is a direct act of consciousness, and, as such, incapable of further proof, except one which involves a circular argument. This is the basis of the conviction of the crowd, which may be tested as a matter of fact at any moment. It is not the position of metaphysicians ; metaphysicians have never been content to accept the statements of consciousness as the ultimate factors of knowledge, but have always been endeavouring to get behind the north wind, and to answer the question how it is, and why it is ; and most strange is it to find Mr. Lewes—whose famous *Biographical History of Philosophy* is devoted to showing the futility of metaphysics and ontology—actually accepting on this question a mere metaphysical conclusion. He says that “the analysis of Berkeley is unimpeachable, unless we deny that consciousness is *immediately* affected by *sensations*, and assert that it is *immediately* affected by external objects ; but no metaphysician ever took up this position, for it would lead him to maintain that consciousness *is* nothing but these very sensations which are produced in the organism by the action of external influences ; and this would be getting rid of the substratum mind in order to rescue the substratum

matter." It is very indifferent to us to know what metaphysicians would conclude from such a postulate. We, who adopt on this question the philosophic creed of the vulgar rabble, would never make such an inconsequent inference as Mr. Lewes would have us make. When we say that we are conscious of the outside world, we do not mean that the outside world and consciousness are reduced to convertible terms: that thought and the object of thought, absolutely connote the same thing. We say, and mean, that by means of thought, subject and object are directly united. How they are so united is another question, which we, possibly, have no means of solving, any more than the eye can tell us how it sees, or the touch how it feels, or consciousness how it is conscious. That word, *How*, is no stumbling-block to us at all. It may trouble the metaphysicians, but we are content to accept consciousness as it is, and to affirm the very position which Lewes maintains no metaphysician ever took up, namely, that our consciousness *is* directly and immediately affected by external objects. This is the very sheet-anchor of our creed. We are now in a position to see what the Idealist is bound to do if he wishes to upset the established view of mankind in a legitimate way. He must either show that in this matter consciousness is duping us, or else that in believing we feel the existence of something outside us "we fancy we see or feel what we really infer," and that our conclusion is one of those truths referred to by Mr. Mill, which is the result of such very rapid inference that it seems as if apprehended intuitively.

Are we being duped by consciousness? There can be no doubt that consciousness does sometimes dupe us. We do sometimes mistake a painted surface for a solid. The sun does seem to move athwart the sky. We have in some intense dreams and fevers, pictures of the imagination which

seem actual realities in which the outside world has a part. We sometimes in memory find it difficult, if not impossible, to separate what we have imagined from what we have really experienced. All this is most true. Yet if we are, in consequence of this, to conclude that consciousness is always duping us, and not that it may dupe us sometimes, then all knowledge is impossible, and we are at once landed in absolute scepticism and doubt. We have, in fact, discovered the simplest and most easy method of dissolving certitude and opinion. But this form of scepticism based on the one inference, that because the mind is mistaken sometimes it is therefore always mistaken, has not many adherents. "Absolute scepticism," said Mill, "if there be such a thing, may be dismissed from discussion as raising an irrelevant issue, for, in denying all knowledge, it denies none." Nay, we may go further and raise with Mill a curious dilemma for those who would maintain such a position. If we are to rigidly accept Sir William Hamilton's application of the dictum, "*falsus in uno falsus in omnibus*," we must assuredly accept this curious parâdox, that since consciousness is fallible sometimes, why not in its very confession of fallibility. This assuredly cuts away the roots of scepticism, as well as of every other scheme of Philosophy, for if all the dicta of consciousness be uncertain, so must Philosophy of any school, sceptical or dogmatic, and cutting away the feet of all, it really affects none.

It is a proof of the harmlessness of this kind of scepticism that although its elements are the common property of everybody, ingenuous or not, the little inference by which it may be reached from them is never made. That we are constantly liable to err is a household phrase, and yet homely philosophy and opinion remain convinced that in the main, consciousness is not misleading us. We only admit, in admitting its occasional falli-

bility, that it may sometimes err, and undoubtedly it *may* be misleading us in the case of an outside world. How is this to be shown? What are the means by which we sift our knowledge? How do we test the dicta of consciousness? What is the criterion we have with which to discriminate its statements? We must remember that we have no other appeal than to itself. If consciousness had only one voice and one means of speaking, we could clearly not verify any of its statements. We should have but one witness and be bound to accept its testimony; nor in fact should we in that case ever know that the witness was fallible; but consciousness does not always speak with the same voice, and it has several modes of addressing us. It speaks to us by five senses, each independent of the other, and by memory. We can put the evidence of one of these against the other or others, and our judgment decides which has the balance of authority. So long as consciousness tells us the same story through every channel and by every one of its means of speaking, so long do we have the most perfect evidence for a fact. Directly the testimony of one sense is at issue with the rest, or with memory, our judgment leans upon what is most weighty, and when the means of testing our individual opinion is exhausted we can turn to that of other men, and thus balance the relative weight and importance of our witnesses. This being our only court of appeal, our only criterion of truth, what do we find when we bring it face to face with the momentous question whether consciousness is duping us in affirming the existence of an outside world? Surely it has but one answer, viz., that our judgment has never been in suspense at all about the matter. We try the experiment daily in a thousand instances, with a uniform result. So uniform that the crowd laughs and jeers at anyone calling in question the

fact. Nor is the evidence of any occult character; it is the current experience of men and women of all ages and conditions, upon which it needs no training to decide, for, as we have said, it is consciousness that speaks directly and not by any long involved process of reasoning.

To appeal to dreams or phrenzy, or the occasional aberration of some sense, is to appeal to those small exceptions which mar the universal character of nearly all our experience, but which do not affect our judgment. It is the wide rule, supported by the thousand and one experiments, which in this matter dictates our conclusion, and not the exceptional case; and it speaks with a clear unquestionable voice that we are being duped in dreams and phrenzy, but not in the sober everyday experience of our lives. This is assuredly a most reliable conclusion. If we had an absolute criterion of truth, we should not be troubled by any discussions on this or other matters, and men would not be disputing about the first elements of philosophy; but we have none. Our only arbiter is the very one we have here summoned, and its verdict is always a jury's verdict, upon the balance of evidence, and not the absolute decision of an infallible judge. This being our only arbiter, the crowd may be complacent when the court decides, as it does here, that the immeasurable weight of evidence and authority is all on its side, and that there is no ground worthy of consideration for postulating that we are here the dupes of consciousness.

There remains the other alternative that we are mistaking a very rapid inference for a dictum of consciousness. Here we have even a greater confidence in our position. An inference must be an inference from something. From what is it possible for the human mind to infer the feeling of outness, individuality, or separateness? If, when we analyze knowledge, and reduce it to its ultimate elements,

we find that there are sensations, and that every sensation has as a factor in it the consciousness of something outside us being in communication with us, how can we possibly infer this factor from anything? All the data from which we can make inferences contain this very element. How can we infer from them that it is foreign and imported without being guilty of a *petitio principii*? If we could obtain some sensations as data with which to work, in which the factor we wish to expel from sensation was absent, then we might legitimately make some inference as to this factor not having been an original one; but when we find it present in every sensation, how are we to make such an inference legitimately? Are we not inevitably driven to accept Mr. Herbert Spencer's conclusion, that idealism cannot state its case without assuming realism by the way? "Erase from its argument," he says, "all terms implying the objective reality of things, and its argument falls to the ground." We have thus tried to test the position maintained by the crowd on this question on *a priori* grounds, and have shown what the stronghold is, and what is its strength, which Berkeley, and those who think with Berkeley, have to assail. Let us now turn to the famous treatise on the *Principles of Human Knowledge*, in which he has elaborated his theory. To be quite fair, we must state his position in his own words. He begins the treatise already quoted with these words:—

It is evident to any one who takes a survey of the objects of human knowledge that they are either ideas actually imprinted on the senses, or else such as are perceived by attending to the passions and operations of the mind; or lastly, ideas formed by help of memory and imagination, either compounding, dividing, or barely representing those originally perceived in the aforesaid ways.—(*Op. cit.*, par. 1.)

Again:—

Light and colours, heat and cold, extension and figure—in a word the things we see and feel—what are they but so many sensations, notions, ideas, or impressions on the sense?—(*Id.*, par. 5.)

Again :—

But it is evident from what we have already shown that extension, figure, motion, are only ideas existing in the mind.—(*Id.*, par. 9.)

Again :—

As for our Senses, by them we have the knowledge only of our sensations, ideas, or those things that are immediately perceived by sense, call them what you will.—(Par. 18.)

Again, in par. 3, he says :—

As to what is said of the absolute existence of unthinking things, without any relation to their being perceived, that is to me physically unintelligible. Their *esse* is *percipi*, nor is it possible that they should have any existence out of the minds or thinking things which perceive them.

Again, in par. 6 :—

Some truths there are so near and obvious to the mind, that a man need only open his eyes to see them. Such I take this important one to be, that all the choir of heaven and furniture of earth, in a word all those bodies which compass the mighty frame of the world, would have not any subsistence without a mind ; that their being is to be perceived or known.

Again he says :—

Sensations do not inform us that things exist without the mind, or unperceived, like to those that are perceived, therefore, if we have any knowledge at all of external things, it must be by Reason inferring their existence from what is immediately perceived by sense. But what reason can induce us to believe the existence of bodies without the mind, from what we perceive, since the very patrons of matter themselves do not pretend there is any necessary connexion betwixt them and our ideas.—(*Id.*, par. 18.)

Again :—

The ideas of sense are allowed to have more reality in them, that is, to be more strong, orderly, and coherent, than the creatures of the mind. . . . yet still they are ideas, and certainly no idea, whether faint or strong, can exist otherwise than in a mind perceiving it.—(*Id.*, par 33.)

Again :—

We deny they (ideas) can subsist without the minds which perceive them, or that they are resemblances of any archetypes existing without the mind, since the very being of a sensation or idea consists in being perceived, and an idea can be like nothing but an idea.—(*Id.*, par. 90.)

Again, speaking of the opinion prevailing among men, that houses, mountains, rivers, and, in a word, all sensible objects have an existence natural or real, distinct from their being perceived by the understanding, he goes on to say :—

What are the fore-mentioned objects but the things we perceive by sense? And what do we perceive besides our own ideas and sensations? And is it not plainly repugnant that any one of these, or any combination of them, should exist unperceived?—(Par. 4.)

Again, of the use of the word “idea,” as contrasted with the word “thing,” he says:—

If it be demanded why I make use of the word *idea*, and do not rather, in compliance with custom, call them *things*, I answer, I do it for two reasons; first, because the term *thing*, in contradistinction to *idea*, is generally supposed to denote somewhat existing without the mind. . . . Since, therefore, the objects of sense exist only in the mind, and are withal thoughts, and inactive, I chose to mark them by the word *idea*, which implies these properties.—(*Id.*, par. 39.)

Whence he draws the inference:—

I do not see how the testimony of sense can be alleged as proof for the existence of anything which is *not* perceived by *sense*.—(*Id.*, 40.)

Again, in another passage he says:—

To be satisfied of the truth of this, there is nothing else requisite but a bare observation of our ideas. For, since they, and every part of them, exist only in the mind, it follows that there is nothing in them but what is perceived.—(*Id.*, par. 25.)

Lastly:—

The ideas imprinted on the senses by the author of nature are called *real things*, and those excited in the imagination being less regular, vivid, and constant, are more properly termed ideas or images of things which they copy and represent. But then our sensations, be they never so vivid and distinct, are nevertheless ideas; that is, they exist in the mind, or are perceived by it, as truly as the ideas of its own framing.

Here it will be seen Berkeley virtually adopts the psychological analysis of Locke, and restricts the original data of knowledge to sensations. So far we do not feel disposed to quarrel with his analysis. The crowd are quite willing to believe that their knowledge can be dissected and analyzed until we reach its simplest and earliest elements, and that these resolve themselves into sensations. The difficulty begins when we ask the question what we are conscious of in a sensation.

The catena of passages we have quoted leaves no ground for mistake as to what Berkeley means—namely, that a sensation is a mere subjective feeling, a mere affection of ourselves, in which the outer world has no part whatever. In his opening sentence, the general postulate of all his argument, we find him limiting our knowledge to ideas actually imprinted on the senses, that is, (as we have just seen from his definition,) mere subjective feelings; ideas perceived by attending to the passions and operations of the mind, also mere subjective feelings; and lastly, ideas formed by help of memory and imagination, again mere subjective feelings. That is, he begins by limiting the elements of our knowledge to mere subjective feeling, excluding from it all acquaintance with an outside world. This is the general postulate and axiom, without which—he cannot move, but this is the conclusion also of his argument. The non-existence of the outside world is what he has to prove.

Is this argument or reasoning, or is it a most transparent *petitio principii*? If you deny in your premise that there is anything in an idea, save an affection of one's-self, and at the same time affirm that all knowledge is based on ideas, it does not need a book, or even a page, to show that there is no ground in consciousness for believing that there is an outside world. To take for granted as a premise what it is your duty to prove as the conclusion, is assuredly sophistry and not reasoning. The syllogisms may all be perfect in form, but they merely lead you round to the very spot from which you started. The crowd says that in sensation the mind is conscious of being in actual communication or contact in some way or other with the outside world. That the existence of something outside it with which it is having intercourse, is an actual factor of sensation. This is the universal affirma-

tion of consciousness, which has to be met, and it is certainly extraordinary to meet it by taking for granted, without any argument or proof at all, and in the most unconcerned way that in sensation the mind is conscious of its own operations only. On the issue of fact, Berkeley cannot appeal from consciousness, for it is everywhere against him. If he is to contravene its evidence, he must not take for granted as proved what it denies.

In regard to such assumption I cannot do better than quote an admirable sentence of Mr. Herbert Spencer. He says—

An assumption may be legitimate if the reasoning based on it, by bringing out a result congruous with known truths, prove the assumption true; but what if the reasoning prove the assumption false, while the very terms of the reasoning presuppose its truth? We do, indeed, in mathematics assume a certain number to be the answer to a given question, which, by ending in an absurdity, disproves the assumption. In such a case, however, the successive steps do not become possible only by the truth of the number assumed, for they may as well be gone through with any other number. But if the argument ended by proving there was no such thing as number, it would do what Berkeley's argument does, it would base upon a thing's existence the proof of its non-existence.

Such an attack is literally as futile in reference to the position of the mass of mankind as striking the air. It has ever seemed to me to be so since I began to think much about these matters, and it is gratifying to find that, in addition to Mr. Spencer, the great German critic, Ueberweg, came virtually to the same conclusion; "he charges Berkeley with begging the whole question, because he sets out by calling sensible objects *sensations* or *ideas*, thus implying, in the very constitution of their name, that they have only a subjective reality"—(*Selections from Berkeley*, by Fraser, 36, note 1). Mr. Fraser adds, apologetically, that "Berkeley at setting out need not be supposed to mean more than that all we are percipient of must, at all events, be perceived, and must therefore be so far ideal,

leaving it still open to inquire whether what is perceived in sense is *more* than an idea. He starts, in short, with an hypothesis, which he proceeds to test"—(*id.*). This is exactly what he does not proceed to do. Nowhere that I can find in his writings does he profess to meet the objection that the fact of an outside world is immediately given in consciousness. Nowhere does he treat his position that ideas are mere affections of self, and nothing more, as an hypothesis that has not been verified and that needs verification, before the subsequent argument can be made to stand ; but he treats it from end to end of his work as a datum or axiom beyond dispute, and without it, his subsequent reasoning cannot be carried on. It is the underlying postulate which Berkeley takes for granted, that we require the verification of, since it is at issue with the convictions of mankind. Here, then, we have a complete exposure of his method. He claims to show that the world has been wrong and mistaken in its belief in an outside world, and he begins his proof by postulating the non-existence of the outside world as proved. After this easy deduction, which might have been made in one proposition, denying as a matter of fact the dictum of consciousness or its universal acceptance, it is assuredly easy to build up a plausible structure enough and one most fascinating to the unwary. As in many other arguments, it is most true here, that it is "*le premier pas qui coûte.*"

If we grant this first step, we may readily grant that colour, figure, motion, etc., being only ideas—*i.e.*, only affections of ourselves, mere modes of thought—cannot exist in an unperceiving, *i.e.*, an unthinking, thing ; "hence, that there can be no unthinking substance or substratum of those ideas"—(*id.*, par. 7). That as ideas only exist in the mind, (*i.e.*, again, are mere modes of thought,) therefore copies or resemblances of them cannot exist in an unthinking sub-

stance ; for an idea can be only like an idea ; or, as Berkeley might have said, thought cannot be like that which is the antithesis of thought. We might stop here ; for, until we have settled this fundamental point—a point in which a simple matter of fact alone is at issue—we cannot move an inch. But let us advance a little further. Suppose we were to grant that Berkeley's position is really much better than his logic, and that he and his disciples would not dream of disputing the fact of the universal belief in matter, but that they profess to show its inadequacy and conclusiveness. As we have seen, they may do this in two ways, either by declaring consciousness to be directly duping us in the matter, or else by urging that what we mistake for a dictum of consciousness is really a rapid inference. The former position we have seen the difficulty of maintaining, and Berkeley was too shrewd to rest his case upon it. He merely recalls, in one paragraph, that as we are sometimes mistaken in converting dreams into realities, so it *is possible* that we may be so constantly. We grant this unreservedly. We have no hesitation in admitting that anything is *possible*. We cannot measure the universe with our faculties, or grasp the possibilities it contains. The crowd re-echoes at once the aphorism of the poet, that "there are more things in heaven and earth than our philosophy has dreamed of." But when we grant the possibility of the sun going round the earth, notwithstanding Copernicus ; the possibility that the moon may be only the size of a football, as it looks to the eye ; and that giants and pigmies, such as we have realized in our dreams, may exist : these possibilities do not enter into our range of opinions at all. They are put aside as so remote, as so entirely at issue with the evidence, that they may be treated as impossibilities ; and, on the same ground, we reject the abnormal dicta of

consciousness on the question of an outside world. We feel that we cannot, without committing mental suicide, treat phantasms, dreams, and delusions as equally realities with the objects of sense. We marshal the evidence, and our judgment has no difficulty in deciding the matter. If we turn to the other alternative, namely, the proof that this notion is one imported into sensation, and was not originally there—is, in fact, an inference of a very rapid kind—we shall fail to find in Berkeley any attempt to show this. Mill, a very distinguished follower of Berkeley, attempted it; and the experiment is a very curious and instructive one. This attempt is contained in a famous chapter in his *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, entitled, "The Psychological Theory of Matter." In this, Mill says:—

What do we mean when we say that the object we perceive is external to us and not a part of our own thoughts? We mean that there is in our perceptions something which exists when we are not thinking of it, which existed before we had ever thought of it, and could exist if we were annihilated; and further, that there exist things which we never saw touched or otherwise perceived, and things which have never been perceived by man. This idea of something which is distinguished from our fleeting impressions by what in Kantian language is called *perdurability*—something which is fixed and the same while our impressions vary, something which exists whether we are aware of it or not, and which is always square (or of some other given figure) whether it appears to us square or round, constitutes altogether our idea of external substance. Whoever can assign an origin to this complex conception has accounted for what we mean by the belief in matter.—(*Op. cit.*, 192.)

What a curious sentence. Surely this is entirely mistaking the belief in the existence of an outside world with a belief in its permanence, quite a different thing, and a chapter devoted to this end is literally irrelevant altogether to the issue raised by those who believe in an external world. Mr. Mill saw this himself when he got to the end of the chapter, for in its penultimate paragraph he says, "It may perhaps be said" (we should think so) "that the preceding theory gives indeed some account of the idea

of permanent existence which forms part of our conception of matter, but gives no explanation of our believing these permanent objects to be external or out of ourselves"—(*op. cit.*, 202). Of course this will be said, for this is the kernel of the whole matter. Mr. Mill thereupon devotes one very short and very involved paragraph to this question, which is *the* question. He says:—

I apprehend that the very idea of anything out of ourselves is derived solely from the knowledge experience gives us of the permanent possibilities. Our sensations we carry with us wherever we go, and they never exist where we are not ; but when we change our place we do not carry away with us the permanent possibilities of sensation : they remain until we return, or arise and cease under conditions with which our presence has in general nothing to do. And more than all, they are, and will be after we have ceased to feel, permanent possibilities of sensation to other beings than ourselves. Thus our actual sensations and the permanent possibilities of sensation stand out in obtrusive contrast to one another, and when the idea of cause has been acquired and extended by generalization from the parts of our experience to its aggregate whole, nothing can be more natural than that the permanent possibilities should be classed by us as existences generically distinct from our sensations, but of which our sensations are the effect.—(*Op. cit.*, 203.)

Can anything be more at issue with the analysis of the world's belief in an external world than this? The world does not hold that sensations are mere subjective affections which are *caused* by something outside us. In the sensation itself we are in actual contact and communication with the outside world. The crowd do not say, "I have something in my eye which is caused by something outside me;" but "I *see* something outside me." It does not say, "I feel an affection of myself caused by this table ;" but, "I feel this table." There is no obtrusive contrast, (so far as we can analyze thought,) present at any moment between sensation and the outside world, but subject and object are contrasted in the sensation itself.

Again, what does the entire argument amount to, save that the crowd of men now living, and who have lived in the past, have all been duped in making one of the simplest

of inductions ; have been duped to the extent, to use Mill's own words, of "believing in an existence transcending all possibilities of sensation," by giving the possibilities the character of actuality? How has this extraordinary synthesis of the notion of matter been made by every person who has ever lived? and how has the fallacious character of it escaped discovery? If men can be universally duped in such a conclusion, what conclusion is feasible at all?

Again: How can things which are absolutely incommensurable, such as outness and permanence, be inferred from one another? If outness or separateness is not given in sensation originally, whence and from what source can it be inferred? We cannot infer smell from redness or blue from squareness. These things are incommensurable. How can what is present in every sensation be an inference from permanent possibilities of sensation as imagined by the mind after a vast experience of sensations? Assuredly we have landed ourselves in a Sorbonian bog in quitting the realm of legitimate induction and wandering away into *a priori* methods and arguments that are worthy of the schoolmen. Where can we in analyzing the thought of children or of ourselves find any warrant for such conclusions? Mill's position is in fact honeycombed through and through with inconsistency; but it is worse—it is based on a *petitio principii*. If all our knowledge ultimately depends on sensation, and if every sensation which we can analyze and examine implies as one of its factors a consciousness of the outside world, how can we by a jugglery of words reach the conclusion that this factor was originally foreign and imported? Mill begins by postulating the law of the association of ideas; but what are ideas but the copies of sensations, and sensations as we know them imply an outside world which is therefore implied in ideas; in the association of ideas; in the very

first premise, therefore, of the argument, which is to show that such outness is inferred. We do not infer what we actually find in the data of our argument. This seems to be the inevitable circular journey of all such arguments, and makes them invalid; and even if they were valid, they would amount only to this—that it is possible to conceive how the idea of outness could be synthetically produced; and how would this possibility of conception weigh with anyone except a determined metaphysician against the concurrent experience of men in all time, which has never postulated such a conclusion as even plausible?

We must now turn to a feature of Berkeley's argument which has not been sufficiently referred to. This is the extraordinary inconsistency into which he was driven by his efforts to reconcile his arguments with his faith; and which makes it necessary to consider him as, in fact, a champion of religion rather than of philosophic truth. His shafts were meant to be aimed in reality at the existence of an outside world of a *particular kind*. It was against substance of a *particular kind* that he meant to do battle—namely, unconscious substance; inert, senseless matter, as he calls it; and we therefore find him habitually admitting the existence of other sentient beings beside himself and independent of himself, and arguing that a thing may continue to exist when we cease to think of it, since it may continue to be thought of and be perceived by other minds. Here assuredly, on his own premises, is a double difficulty, which is insoluble.

If our only witnesses are our senses, we can only know other beings and their existence through our senses; we hear their voices, feel their bodies, see their faces. We have no transcendental mode of communicating with them; but, as Berkeley argues over and over again, sensations are mere affections of ourselves, are merely subjective existences;

and if they be so, how can they testify to what is no part of ourselves at all? If we have a consciousness of the existence of other beings in sensation, it must be on the same grounds precisely that we have a consciousness of the objective reality of matter. The same evidence exists in both cases, and is, in fact, the only evidence. If we deny its existence or validity in the one case, we cannot accept it in the other. Berkeley's logical conclusion ought assuredly to be, that nothing exists save ourselves and our thought. He nowhere meets this difficulty with even a semblance of answer. His only professed reply is that he cannot conceive how thought and consciousness can be linked with that which is unconscious, while he professes to be able to understand how one spirit may be conscious of another.

How thought and matter can be linked is, probably, an insoluble question, as are a hundred others: how thought exists; how memory exists, how it works, where it keeps its records; all these, and many others, are profound difficulties. So, in fact, is the very one which Berkeley postulates as possible of conception, namely, the intercourse of two conscious beings, not directly, by the action of thought on thought, but by means of the senses. We cannot get beyond the statement of our ultimate witness in any case, and we have seen what it says.

Again, suppose we grant that there are other sentient beings, how can their feelings and mine be integrated into one existence? How is an existence, which, *ex hypothesi*, is a mere subjective feeling of my own, to continue in the mind of another after I have ceased to feel it? What possible privity can there be between substantive and individual minds by which they can give continuity to something which exists only in the feeling of each. Assuredly this is most inconceivable. When we have reduced matter to feeling, it is

clear that if there be several minds the matter which each feels must be as discrete and separate and distinct as the minds are. They cannot all be conscious of the same actual feeling. Surely this destroys entirely any possibility of the continued existence of an idea in other minds, or in the Divine mind, when we have ceased to feel it. Matter, to me, becomes a mere mode of my own individual thought; matter, to others, must be the same; and there cannot, therefore, be any unity, any continuity of existence, between such matter as testified by different minds. Every person's matter, every person's world, must be a different matter, a different world. To quote an apposite sentence of Mr. Fraser:—

The difficulty is to understand by what sort of concurrence the private or personal sensations of which I am conscious, which are assumed to be powerless and numerically different [Different in every possible respect, surely. H. H. H.] from those of which any other mind is conscious, can be used as media for my communicating with another, or for another communicating with me. Is this possible consistently with a merely dependent, or, *per se*, unsubstantial and impotent, medium of sensible intercourse?—(*Op. cit.*, par. 146, note.)

We have now taken a rapid survey of Bishop Berkeley's Idealism, and found it utterly wanting. His argument resolves itself into a sophistical *petitio principii*; for, having to prove that matter is a mere form of subjective feeling, he begins by postulating that we can only know subjective feelings. But, granting that the argument were sound, Berkeley's and all forms of Idealism have to struggle with what seems an insuperable difficulty. The crowd believes in an outside world on the testimony of consciousness. From consciousness we have no appeal save to itself, and we can only rebut its testimony either by shewing that it is duping us in the particular instance or that we have mistaken an invalid inference for a statement of consciousness. Until either one or other of these positions is sustained, the crowd is amply justified in deeming its view impreg-

nable. Hitherto, so far as we can find, every attempt to sustain them has been futile. Berkeley can hardly be said to even make the attempt.

There must be some present who will be tempted to cry out *Cui Bono* to all this. What can be the use of disinteresting speculations, nearly two centuries old, and tracking out the halting logic and faulty inferences that pervade them? A scheme of a mere dreamer of dreams, far away from the practical life that is of immediate interest to us all; a mere sail through cloudland, profitless and aimless. These phrases may well be passing round this room, and I must therefore devote the concluding paragraphs of my paper to its justification.

In the first place, then, is it quite aimless and profitless to map out and survey the grounds upon which human opinion ultimately rests, and to look round the boundaries within which the human mind can work? Is it not the duty of us all, either directly or vicariously, to spend a portion of our time in considering those profound problems that have exercised the skill and ingenuity of the greatest minds of all time? Can we be said to have opinions at all until we have analyzed and sifted the grounds and bases of those opinions—bases underlying not one branch of human thought only, but every branch? Profoundly important to the moralist and the theologian, no less than to the scientific explorer and the student of literature. Is it not eloquent of the necessity of these speculations, that the greatest thinkers of all ages have made them the supreme goal of their efforts? What names are more weighty in our own day, as original and fertile explorers, than Spencer and Huxley and Darwin, Clifford, Mill, and Grote, to limit ourselves to a very few among our own people? Can it be an altogether futile quest that has caused all these, and many more like them, to converge their most subtle analysis

upon these fundamental problems? Nay, more; cannot we with the greatest confidence affirm that it is upon the views taken of these very problems that the whole scheme of each of these thinkers is based? That contending factions and schools in politics, morals, religion, and even physics, are divided not so much in regard to their modes of inquiry as in regard to the fundamental data of their various schemes; the fundamental data, which form the special province of philosophical investigation. If this be so, I am sure I need hardly justify the general position that, however difficult and abstruse and complicated the task, it is well within the province of a society of professed students of literature to brace our mental fibres in establishing the foundations of our every-day creed more firmly, by taking some draughts from these scarce fathomable waters. Leaving the general question, and limiting ourselves still more: Is it true or not, that the theories of Berkeley and Hume form two of the greatest, if not the very greatest, turning points in philosophical inquiry? That none who have written on these subjects have used more trenchant, uncompromising pens, nor indulged in a more pellucid style, will be readily admitted; but beyond this we have the fact that their blows shivered to atoms great structures which generations of men had built up. They took up the deepest and most difficult factors in philosophy, and sifted them with extraordinary skill and ingenuity. If their answers are incomplete and sophistical, it may be accepted with some confidence that no other answers will be better, based on the same method of inquiry. They exhausted one vein of possible conclusions, and in exhausting it made any efforts in the same groove more or less purposeless. "As Hume left philosophy in England," said a learned and ingenious philosopher only a short time since, "so philosophy has remained." Mill, who until a short time since was almost worshipped as an

apostle and a prophet of a new religion, was merely a pupil of Berkeley and Hume. He accepted their analysis and endeavoured to illustrate their conclusions. Fichte, in Germany, held the same position. Far from being mere dry husks of old speculation, the theories we have tried to criticize are the very bone and muscle of great and active living schools of thought. If these schools of thought have skeletons thus constituted, if the basements of their imposing buildings are thus planted, is it not a vital question to dissect and analyze them, and to see how far they are justified? We have tried so to dissect and analyze some of them, and to show that they are misleading, and in doing so have perhaps justified this paper.





IRISH SONG.

BY ALFRED PERCEVAL GRAVES.

Air : MOLLY HEWSON.

MOLLY bawn, white as lawn,
Sweeter than the sugar-cane,
Drops her eyes at the boys,
Never glancing back again.
Some say shyness 'tis or coyness,
And 'tis fineness more believe ;
But at all, great and small,
I'm just laughing in my sleeve.

For there's none 'neath the sun
But myself can tell you why
Molly seems lost in dreams,
When the saucy lads go by.
But that reason out of season
'Twould be treason now to show ;
After Lent, I'm content
Father Tom and all should know.



The ETHNOLOGY of GERMANY.—PART 3. By HENRY HOWORTH

HOWORTH, F.S.A.

The MIGRATION of the SAXONS.

THE Saxons are first mentioned by name by Ptolemy, who wrote about A.D. 90. He tells us that the Frisians occupied the sea coast beyond the Busacteri (*i.e.*, the Bructeri) as far as the River Ems. After them the Lesser Kaukhi as far as the Weser, then the greater Kaukhi as far as the River Elbe; then on the neck of the Kimbric Chersonese, the Saxons. Then on the Chersonese itself, beyond the Saxons, the Sigulones, on the west; then the Sabalingii, then the Kobandi; beyond whom the Khali, and even beyond these, more to the west, the Phundusii; more to the east, the Kharudes; and the most northern of all, the Kimbri. And after the Saxons, from the River Khalusus to the Suebos, the Pharadini. (Latham's "English Language," 42.) In another place he speaks of three islands situated near the estuary of the Elbe and called Saxon, the largest of which was in long. 31° and lat 57° . Let us examine these passages carefully. Ptolemy tells us the Pharadini

lived beyond the Saxons, between the River Khalusus and the Suebos. Zeuss says the Khalusus can only mean the Trave ("Die Deutschen, etc.," 150); and it seems to me that it must be either the Trave or the neighbouring Swentina. The Suebos, he suggests, and is followed in doing so by Latham, is the Oder (*id.*, 154, Latham's "Germania," cxxix); but Ptolemy has a special name for the Oder, namely, the Wiados, and it is quite gratuitous to suggest, as Zeuss does, that he has blundered in using the two names (*op. cit.*, 154); and I believe the Suebos is the Warnof. This is more probable, because the Trave and the Warnof are to this day the political boundaries of a famous old State, namely, Mecklenburgh. This is, however, a minor difference, and there can be no question that Mecklenburgh, whether as far as the Oder or not, was the country defined by Ptolemy as that of the Pharadini. Zeuss has argued that Pharadini is a corruption of Spharadini, and would connect the name with the Suardones. (*Op. cit.*, 154, note.) But this is very far fetched, and the postulating of corruptions is an unsatisfactory method, and especially when, as in this case, the true solution seems so obvious, that one cannot understand how it has been overlooked. This district was the old homeland of the Varini, and traces of their name are no doubt to be found in those of the district of Wagria, and of the River Warna which gives its name to Warnof and Warnemünde. Now Pharadini is merely another form of the name Varini, which varied a good deal; the indigenous form being almost certainly Varing or Waring, and the important root-syllable of the name being Var or Phar; and I have no doubt that the Pharadini of Ptolemy are the Varini of other authors. This view is confirmed by the fact that it makes the eastern limits of the Saxonland of Ptolemy coincident with those of the Transalbingian Saxons of mediæval times. We thus limit the Saxons on two sides, namely, on the east by the Swentina or the Trave, and on the south-west by the Elbe. Let us now examine their northern neighbours. From the fact that the Eyder is not named by the classical authors, it has been urged that it was then a tributary of the Elbe, or rather that both fell into a common basin; and we know that the whole coast of North Friesland has been greatly shattered by inroads of the sea. Ptolemy's position for the mouth of the Elbe is in fact where the Eyder falls into the sea, namely, one degree north from the mouth of the Weser, and three and a-half south of the northern point of the Danish peninsula; while he plants the three Saxon islands of which he speaks, one degree from the mouth of the Elbe, and so far northwards that Heligoland must have been the most southerly; and he separates them from

other Cimbric islands, which he calls the Alokian Islands. ("Die Gens Langobardorum," by Friedrich Bluhme, pp. 8-9.)

Let us turn once more to Ptolemy's description. He tells us that beyond the Saxons, on the Chersonese itself, and on the west, lived the Sigulones. The River Eyder was known in mediæval times as the Egdora, and the letter G in this form seems to be a euphonious addition. It may well be the same in Sigulones, and we then have the name Siulones or Siyulones; and it is very satisfactory that in regard to this name I had quite independently arrived at the same conclusion as Dahlmann. In the descriptions of Otheres' voyage, there is mention made of a district of Sillende, which as Porthan and Dahlmann agree, meant the present Duchy of Schleswig, otherwise known as South Jutland or Schleiland; and in the anonymous "*Vita Hludovici*," and also in Eginhardt, sub ann. 818, we are told how the soldiers, when they crossed the Eyder, came into a district called Siulende. (Dahlmann, "*Forschungen*," 437-9; Hampson, 36.) The same district is called Sin Jutia by Petrus Olaus, and answers to the modern Duchy of Schleswig.

I have therefore no hesitation in identifying the Sigulones of Ptolemy with the inhabitants of Schleswig, and we are thus enabled to fix tolerably accurately the original homeland of the Saxons in the time of Ptolemy as conterminous with the district of Holstein. While the three Saxon islands are very probably to be identified with three of the islands of North Friesland.

As we know from subsequent notices, the Saxons were essentially an aggressive and warlike race, and given to pushing their frontier and elbowing out their neighbours, and there is no reason to believe that this faculty was first developed in the fourth century. It would seem, on the contrary, from their not being mentioned by earlier writers than Ptolemy, especially by Tacitus, that they were new comers into the district of Holstein when Ptolemy wrote. I hope to try to trace them to their earlier seats in another paper of this series. As I have said, their country in the time of Ptolemy was Holstein.

When we next hear of the Saxons, we find them making descents upon the coasts of the empire. We will first consider their attacks on the borders of the English Channel.

This question has been well treated by Schaumann in a tract which lies before me, entitled "*Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Englands durch germanische Sätmmme*," Göttingen, 1845. He tells us the Romans named the whole north of Gaul which bordered on the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel *Armorica* a name of Celtic etymology, meaning situated along

the sea; and the name was apparently in use among the indigenes before the Romans arrived. "Universis civitatibus, quæ Oceanum attingunt, quæque eorum consuetudine Armoricæ appellantur" (Cæsar, VII, 75). This use of the name, according to Schaumann, still survives; peoples peaking of "l'Armorique de Plougerneau." (*Op. cit.*, 5.)

The tractus Armoricanus of the Romans apparently connoted the whole strip of country on the coast from the Loire to the Scheldt. More lately it was divided into five provinces, thus described in the "Notitia Dignitatum Imperii," a work apparently composed in the time of the Emperors Arcadius (382-408) and Honorius (390-423). "Extenditur tamen tractus Armoricanus per provincias quinque, per Aquitanicum I et II; Senoniam, Lugdunensem II et III." (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 5-6.)

It would seem that during the third century this tract was subject to piratical attacks from Saxons and Franks, and it was placed in charge of an officer named "the comes maritimi tractus," a kind of "warden of the Cinque Ports," whose duty it was to command the local militia and the local fleet, with his head-quarters at Gessoriacum, the later Bononia or Boulogne.

The most important of these commanders was named Carausias, who was appointed by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian (287-96.) (Lappenberg, 1, 44.) He is called a Batavian by Eumenius, and a Menapian by Aurelius Victor. As there was a Menapia in Wales as well as in Belgium, some of our annalists make Carausius a Briton, and this has been made the subject of much ingenious writing. But there can be small doubt he belonged to Menapia in Gaul, and was perhaps of German or quasi German origin. The fullest account of him is given by Eutropius, who wrote about the year 360 A.D. He tells us that Carausius, who was a person of ignoble birth, who, having created a considerable military reputation, was given the command at Boulogne, with the duty of protecting the coasts of Belgica and Armorica (*i.e.*, the northern seaboard of Gaul), from the attacks of the Franks and Saxons, who then infested that coast. He made many captives, but as he did not return the booty which he recaptured either to the people who had been plundered, or to the emperor, suspicion arose that he was in league with the robbers, and that he allowed them to escape. And Maximian having ordered him to be put to death, he made himself emperor, and took possession of Britain. (Mon. "Hist. Britt.," lxxii.) The same story is told by Orosius, *id.*, lxxix and lxxx.

Carausius was a much more important character in western history than is generally supposed. It would seem that as guardian or count of the maritime district, he had charge of

both sides of the Channel, both being infested by the pirates, and both being protected by one Channel fleet. As Mr. Dircks says, the country on either side formed one "littus," one government, entitled *comitis maritimi tractus*. (Dircks, "Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits Sceattas.") The command of the Channel and the fleet made him absolute master of Britain when he raised the standard of revolt there. He was also wealthy enough to buy the allegiance of the local legions. M. Genebrier has calculated, from a study of the numbers of the legions on his coins, that he could command an army of 64,000 men. (Dircks, *op. cit.*, 15, note 2.) He adopted the title of Augustus, defeated the troops of Diocletian and Maximian, and constrained them to resign to him the government of the country he had conquered. And coins were struck with the heads of the three emperors on their obverse, that of Carausius radiated, the other two bare, and having the inscription "Carausius et fratres sui" on them. (Dircks *op. cit.*, 14, note 1.) He retained his power for about seven years, and was assassinated about 293 by Allectus, who only kept his position for three years, when he was in turn overthrown by the troops of Asclepiodorus, the general of Constantine.

The ten years' usurpation had, however, left its mark on the western world. Carausius was apparently on terms of close friendship with the Saxons and the Franks; and while we read in the pages of the panegyrist Mamertinus, how Maximian drove a body of mercenary Franks from London, we do not read of any attacks from the Saxons during the usurpation; nor did they apparently dare to make many descents during the reign of the succeeding powerful emperors. We have, in fact, to pass on nearly a century before we again meet with them.

The author who next names them is Ammianus Marcellinus, who flourished about A.D. 380. He describes how about the year 364, the Picts and Saxons, the Scots and Attacots ravaged the coasts of Britain. (*Op. cit.*, Bohn's trans., 413.) Four years later he tells us that the Picts were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and the Vecturiones, and that while they with the Scots and Attacotti were ravaging one part of Britain, the Franks and Saxons who lived on the frontiers of Gaul, were also ravaging the country wherever they could effect an entrance by sea or land, plundering and burning and murdering all the prisoners they could take. (*Id.*, 453-4.) Here it will be noted that the Saxon attacks are specifically said to have been made by invaders from the borders of Gaul.

The same author tells us that in the year 360 a vast multitude of Saxons burst forth, *and having crossed the difficult passage of the ocean*, made towards the Roman frontier by forced marches.

The first brunt of their attack fell upon the Count Nannenus, a veteran general of great merit and experience. He was wounded in the struggle, and asked for assistance of the Emperor, who sent Severus. According to Ammianus the Saxons were so disconcerted at the brilliant appearance of the standards and eagles, that they implored peace and pardon. This was granted them after some discussion, one of the terms being that they should supply a certain number of young men for military service. They were then allowed to withdraw to their own country, on leaving their baggage behind; the Romans, with the basest treachery, having agreed to their terms, planted an ambuscade in which they expected to entrap the unwary strangers; but some of their people were too eager, and the Saxons being warned in time, fell upon them with a terrible yell, and committed a dreadful slaughter. Another body of Romans however, came to the rescue; the battle was renewed, and was fought desperately. None of the Saxons, says Ammianus, returned home, for not one of them survived the slaughter; and although, says the candid historian, an impartial judge will blame the action as treacherous and disgraceful, still if he weighs all the circumstances, he will not regret that a mischievous band of robbers was at length destroyed, when such an opportunity presented itself. (*Id.*, 493-4.) I am afraid posterity hardly endorses the complacent conclusion of the Roman historian, and will be apt to say that when the coasts of the empire were presently harried most bitterly, and their towns burnt, that it was not without ample provocation. One important fact mentioned in this paragraph, to which attention must be attentively directed, is that we are told the Saxons when they made their descent on the empire, came by sea, and after a long voyage. This is surely consistent with their having come from Holstein and the borders of the Elbe, but not with their having come from Nether Saxony, which at no point touches the sea.

Ammianus Marcellinus again mentions the Saxons a few years later, and tells us how about the year 374 they attacked the empire with extreme ferocity, making descents in every direction where they were least expected, and penetrated into the inland districts. They were, he tells us, attacked by Valentinian, and destroyed, but again by treachery, and he recovered all the booty which they were carrying off. (*Id.*, 567.)

Our next author is the poet Claudian, who flourished about the year 400. In his panegyric on the fourth consulship of Honorius, A.D. 398, he says:—

"Quid rigor æternus cæli, quid sidera prosunt,
 Ignotumque fretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
 Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule
 Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."—(Saxones, Com-
 mentatio, etc., Moller, 10; Latham's "English Language," 45; Mon. Hist.
 Brit., xcviii.)

Again, in his address to Eutropius, in 399:—

"Tum sic orsa loqui (Roma) Quantum te principe possim
 Non longinqua docent; domito quod Saxone Tethys
 Mitior, et fracto secura Britannia Picto."—(Mon. Hist. Brit.,
loc. cit.)

Again, in his poem on the first consulate of Stilicho, in
 A.D. 400:—

"Illius effectum curis, ne tela timerem
 Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore toto
 Prospicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis."—(*Id.*)

Lastly, in his Epithalamium on Palladius and Celerina, he
 says:—

". . . Constringit in unum.
 Sparsas imperii vires, cuneosque recenset
 Dispositos: quæ Sarmaticis custodia ripis
 Quæ sævis objecta Getis, quæ Saxona frenat
 Vel Scotum legio," etc.—(*Id.*)

These rhetorical passages are rather of value as showing how
 wide-spread the terror of the Saxon arms was, and in whose
 company they generally were, than for aught else.

We now come to the time when the famous survey of the
 empire was made, which is known as the "Notitia Dignitatum
 Imperii," which, as I have said, was written about the beginning
 of the fifth century. We find in that document, that a part of the
 Littus Maritimum had acquired the name Littus Saxonicum;
 thus we read, "sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis tractus
 Armorici et Nervicani tribunus cohortis primæ novæ
 Armoricæ, Grannona in litore Saxonico." Grannona has been
 accepted by the antiquaries of Normandy as without doubt
 identical with Granville in the Cotentin. (Schaumann, *op.*
cit., 6.)

Eastward it extended at least as far as Marcq, in the
 neighbourhood of Calais; "Marcis, in litore Saxonico," as it is
 called. This name, which means march or frontier, doubtless
 points to their eastern limit. We may take it therefore with
 Schaumann, that the Littus Saxonicum in Gaul comprised the
 whole of Normandy, a part of Artois, and also the northern part
 of the Roman province of Lugdunensis Secunda. (*Op. cit.*, 6;
 Direks, 16, note 5.)

On the opposite site of the Channel was a second Littus

Saxonicum, which is described as "sub dispositione viri spectabilis comitis Littoris Saxonici per Brittanium." The names of the stations within the jurisdiction are given as Branodunum (*i.e.*, Brancaster in Norfolk), Gariannonum (Yarmouth), Regulbio (Reculvers), Rutupiae (Richborough), Dubris (Dover), Anderida (Pevensey), Portus Adurni; so called from the River Adur, and now represented by Bramber Castle (Lewin, in "*Archæologia*," 439); Othonæ, the Ithancester of the Saxons, situated at Saint Peter's Head, in the parish of Bradwell in Essex (Lewin, *op. cit.* 439); and Lemanis (Lymne). (Mon. Hist. Britt., xxv.)

As Dr. Latham says, it is safe to say that the whole line of coast from the Wash to the Southampton water, was in the reign of Honorius, if not earlier, a Littus Saxonicum. Although there was a Littus Saxonicum on either side of the channel, it was only on the British side that we find an official count of the Saxon shore, and this leads Schaumann to the conclusion otherwise probable, that at this time the maritime tract of northern Gaul was a dependence of Britain. (*Op. cit.*, 7.) It would seem that Rutupiae or Richborough had taken the place of Boulogne as the station of the fleet. We thus find the borders of the English Channel on either side named Littus Saxonicum. Whence did it derive this name? Some writers would have it that it was derived from the fact that this tract of land was subject to the attacks of the Saxon pirates, and was thence designated Littus Saxonicum; but as Lappenberg says, this appears as contrary to the principles of sound philology, as it is unhistorical. (*Op. cit.*, I, 46.) As Palgrave says, it would be an anomalous thing to find a country called after its invaders, and not after its inhabitants; and the view would probably never have been urged unless with the intention of bolstering up the traditions and fables about the early colonisation of Britain contained in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The only reasonable conclusion is, that the Littus Saxonicum took its name from the people who settled there, who, as Dircks says, came from the neck of the Danish peninsula, and passing by the land of their relatives, the Frisians, who were a brave race, and much attached to their country, planted themselves as colonists in the lands of the empire, which was growing weaker and decaying. This view is the only reasonable one. That many of the Saxons were not mere pirates at this time, but were in close relation with the empire, we may gather from the same "*Notitia*," where in describing the garrisons of the eastern part of the empire, we read of an Ala Saxonica being stationed in Phœnicia. (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 20.) They thus furnished recruits to the Roman armies, like their relatives the

Batavians, etc., and were therefore at this time in all probability settled on the Roman frontier.

This fact is again supported by Jornandes, who tells us that in the campaign which Ætius fought against the Huns in 431, he was assisted *inter alia* by detachments from the Saxon colonies of Armorica.

We may be certain therefore, that at the commencement of the fifth century, the coasts of the channel on either side were either partially or completely settled with colonies of Saxons.

Dr. Guest, in a famous paper published in the Salisbury volume of the "Transactions of the Archæological Institute," and which is not less remarkable for its learning than for its extraordinary reasoning, has attempted to answer the arguments of Kemble and others on this head. He argues in the first place, that there is no evidence of the opposite coast of Gaul having been occupied by Saxon colonists before the invasion of Hengist in Kent; but the "Notitia" proves the contrary, if our arguments are sound, since it was written fifty years before the arrival of Hengist as given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Doubtless, feeling this, Dr. Guest proceeds to argue against the usual and natural interpretation of the phrase "Littus Saxonicum." He argues as if littus and limes connoted the same thing. Limes unquestionably meant a march or frontier, and was applied in the phrase "Limes Saxonicus" to the frontier line between the Danes and the Saxons in Holstein; but littus means shore, and as I have already mentioned there was actually a mark proper, bounding the Saxon shore on the east, and still represented by the village of Mark: "Marcis in Littore Saxonico," is the phrase in the "Notitia," and Mark, be it noted, is not a Celtic or Latin gloss, but a Teutonic one.

Dr. Guest strengthens his contention by a statement that in one instance, and that, according to him, the most important, the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain is styled not Comes Littoris Saxonici, but comes limitis Saxonici. His words are, "when the officer commanding in this district is formally mentioned, and his authority defined, he is styled comes limitis Saxonici per Britanniam." In two other places where he is merely mentioned as one of the subordinates of some imperial officer of higher grade, he is distinguished as Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias. The use of the plural number seems to show, that in this phrase the compiler was using vague and general language. The more definite title was no doubt the official one." (*Op. cit.*, 33.) I am afraid that even this ingenious argument must be surrendered, for I find from the later and more critical edition of the "Notitia" by Böking, that the reading of limes for littus in one place is not sustainable. (*Schaumann, op. cit.*, 8.)

The arguments of Palgrave, Kemble, Schaumann, and Dircks on this head seem to me unanswerable. I will quote what Kemble says as singularly apposite. "The term *Littus Saxonicum*," he says, "has been explained to mean rather the coast visited by or exposed to the ravages of the Saxons, than the coast occupied by them: but against this loose system of philological and historical interpretation I beg emphatically to protest; it seems to have arisen merely from the uncritical spirit in which the Saxon and Welsh traditions have been adopted as ascertained facts, and from the impossibility of reconciling the account of Bede with the natural sense of the entry in the "*Notitia*;" but there seems no reason whatever for adopting an exceptional rendering in the case; and as the *Littus Saxonicum* on the mainland was that district in which members of the Saxon confederacy were settled, the *Littus Saxonicum per Britannias* unquestionably obtained its name from a similar circumstance." ("*Saxons in England*," edition Birch, I, 14.)

We may add to the arguments here and previously employed, another drawn from the names of the towns mentioned as the stations within the *Littus Saxonicum*. Several of these, as Dr. Haigh has pointed out, bear names of distinctly Teutonic type, and were doubtless derived from their Saxon holders. Thus *Regulbium*, the modern *Reculvers*, seems undoubtedly compounded with the Teutonic name *Raculf*, *Anderida* with the Teutonic name *Anderid*. "The name of Dover, latinised into *Dubris*," says Mr. Isaac Taylor, "reminds us of *Dourves* on the Saxon shore, near Bayeux; and of *Dovercourt* in the intensely Teutonised district near Harwich, as well as of *Dovrefield* in Norway. Mr. Lewin, however, derives it from the river *Dur*, which flows close by. (*Archæologia*, 41, 436.) *Thanet*, also a Teutonic name, appears in the pages of *Solinus*, an author not later than the fourth century." ("*Words and Places*," 145.) These facts seem to show overwhelmingly that the English shores were settled by a large Saxon colony long before the time of *Hengist*.

Having discussed the notice in the "*Notitia*," we have now to resort once more to the panegyrists, and shall quote from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who wrote about 455. He tells us in one of his epistles, that an envoy from *Saintongne* reported upon the new ships and tactics adopted against the Saxons, whom he designates archpirates, and further tells us they were not only acquainted with the sea, but were at home there. (*Moller, op. cit.*, 10, note, 32.)

To these epistles of *Sidonius* are added certain verses; among them we find the following:—

"Istic Saxona cærulum videmus
Assuetum ante salo solum timere
Cujus vecticis extimas per oras."

Addition to Epistle ix :—

"Non contenta suos tenere morsus
Altat laninem marginem comarum
Et sic crinibus ad cutem recisis
Decrescit caput aditurque vultus."

Again, at the end of Epistle viii :—

"Quin et Aremorius piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle salum sulcare Britannos
Ludus et assueto glaucum mare findere lembo."—

(Moller, *op. cit.*, note.)

Again :—

" . . . Victricia Cæsar (*i.e.*, Julius)
Signa Caledonios transvexit adusque Britannos
Fuderit et quanquam Scotum et cum Saxone Pictum."—

(Mon. Hist. Brit., C.)

We must now have recourse to another set of authorities, namely, the orthodox accounts of the landing of the Saxons in Britain.

When we compare the various notices we have mentioned, with the traditional accounts preserved in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, we shall indeed wonder at the credulity of some modern historians.

Let us commence with the South Saxons. We have three notices of them in the Chronicle before the arrival of Augustine. In the first we are told how, in 477, Ælli, with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed in Sussex; we are then told they defeated the Welsh in 485, and lastly, that in 491 they destroyed the people of Anderida.

Now in regard to the first notice, we are told the invaders came in three ships. Hengist and Horsa are likewise said to have invaded Kent with three keels. The West Saxons also arrived in three ships. The three Gothic tribes of the Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ also went in three ships to the mouth of the Vistula. The Longobards migrated in three divisions. "The readiest belief in fortuitous resemblances and coincidences," says Kemble, "gives way before a number of instances whose agreement defies all the calculation of chances." (*Op. cit.*, i, 16.)

Ælli, the invader, bears a name quite foreign to the Saxons, while it is a well-known name among the Angles, two of their kings having borne it. I have small doubt that his name has migrated from some northern source. "It is remarkable," as Lappenberg says, "that Ælli of Sussex is the only one of the founders of Saxon kingdoms whose genealogy is not given, which is in

itself a very marked fact. Again, we are told by Bede, he was the first Bretwalda. It is strange that a second one is not named for a century ; and if, as Lappenberg urges, we accept the statements of Bede and the Chronicle as to the facts of the invasion, and if we take into consideration the narrow compass of the Germanic possession in Britain at that time, we may safely ascribe the Bretwaldaship of Ælli to the liberal pen of the poet who has left us so circumstantial an account of these early conflicts." (*Op. cit.*, i, 106.)

I believe that he has been manufactured out of some misunderstood reference to the northern Ælli, the son of Ida, who was a Bretwalda.

Ælli's three sons, we are told, were called Cymen and Wlencing and Cissa. As Mr. Earle and others have pointed out, these names appear to be only fanciful, the offspring of rude etymological speculations, answering as they do to the names of three Sussex townships ("Parallel Chronicles," Introduction, ix) ; Cissa at Chichester (Cissan Ceaster) and Cisbury ; Wlencing at Lancing ; and Cymen, according to Mr. Daniel Haigh, at Keynor (Cymenresore), in Selsey. ("Conquest of Britain," 270.) The charter in which Cymenesora is mentioned, is however marked as spurious by Kemble.

It is curious that the capital of the South Saxons should in the legend have been called after Cissa, and not after his father Ælli, who was living, according to the Chronicle, in 491.

It may be that Ælli has also been created out of Elstead in Sussex. (Haigh, *op. cit.*, 270.) The names of Ælli's three sons are not mentioned by Bede, nor by the Welsh annalists, and were, there can be no doubt, manufactured like so many other eponymous names were elsewhere, from geographical sites.

It is well nigh certain from another argument, that the names of two of the sites referred to were given them in Roman times. This follows from the second elements of the names being Latin, *e.g.*, ora in Cymenes-ora, and ceaster in Cissan-ceaster. It was not the habit of the Saxons after their landing to found new settlements on Roman sites, and to give them mongrel names compounded of those of their chiefs and of Latin particles. Where we find the latter, we find old cities which date from before the Teutonic conquest, although some of them no doubt date from the times of Teutonic settlement in Roman days. Again, Anderida, which the invaders are said to have besieged in 491, and killed all the Britons there, was, as we have shown, one of the towns of the Littus Saxonium, and colonised no doubt by them long before.

The whole account of the foundation of the South Saxon State is in fact a fable, to be classed with the fables about the

descent of the Britons from Brutus, and of the Danes from Dan ; and I have no doubt that the plantation of that district, and perhaps also of the country north of the Weald, dates from the colonisation of "the Saxon shore" in the days of the later Roman empire.

Let us now consider the Saxons further north. Here they in later times apparently formed two sections, the Middle and East Saxons, in Middlesex and Essex.

"No territory," says Lappenberg, "ever passed so obscurely into the hands of an enemy, as the north bank of the Thames, where the kingdom of the East Saxons comprised the counties of Essex and Middlesex, of which the latter continued, probably for some time, in a state of independence." (*Op. cit.*, i. 112.)

I can find no evidence anywhere of Middlesex ever having formed a separate kingdom, and the conjecture that it did so, which is very general, has no doubt arisen on *à priori* grounds only. I believe, on the contrary, that the Middle Saxons were formerly in contact with the South Saxons, and probably occupied Kent, whence they were forced inland by the invasion of the Jutes, who when they landed, landed on the Littus Saxonicum. It was when the Jutes interposed a barrier between Sussex and Essex, that the names South, Middle and East were doubtless applied to the various sections of the Eastern Saxons. It seems incredible that if we accept the date of the Chronicle, namely, 477, for the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, that the former should have been called South Saxons at all. They were the first Saxons to come. They would have styled themselves Saxons simply, and given qualifying names to the others. But such was not the case ; and we can only explain it by supposing that all were fragments of a homogeneous race which was scattered and broken. Again, if there had been any early annals and traditions about the royal races of South Britain, we may be certain that Middlesex, with its chief city of London, the capital of the country, and its most famous centre, would not have been left blank.

Again, in reference to the East Saxons. It is to be remarked that no account of the foundation of their kingdom is given either by Bede or in the Chronicle, a proof that no traditions survived. It is only when we come down to the twelfth century that we find Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury, constructing genealogies for their kings, which are clearly fabulous. Henry of Huntingdon dates the commencement of their kingdom in 527. (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 712.) William of Malmesbury dates it in 587. The former calls their first king Ercanwine, while the genealogical table attached to

Florence of Worcester, makes their first king be named Æscwine. The Ercanwine of Huntingdon is no doubt a corruption, as both he and Florence agree in making him the son of Offa. Both agree in making Æscwine's son Sledda, and Sledda is made the first king of the East Saxons by William of Malmesbury. Æscwine is said to have reigned the fabulous time of sixty years. His name is merely a corrupt patronymic, connected with Æsc, the stem father of the Jutish race in Kent; and this explains our difficulty. The first really historical person in the history of the East Saxons was Sebert, the nephew of Ethelbert, the king of Kent, in whose time Christianity was first planted in Essex. And I have no doubt that the later race of Essex kings was derived from the Jutish kings of Kent. The Chronicle in fact tells us Sebert was appointed king by Æthelbert. Previously to the Jutish invasion, Essex formed a portion of the *Littus Saxonicum*, as Lappenberg has in fact suggested. (*Op. cit.*, 112.) Then it had no separate kings or chiefs, but was subject like the rest of the Saxon shore to the Roman rulers of Britain. And when it had separate kings, they seem to have been merely administrative officers appointed by the rulers of Kent. As Palgrave says, though Sebert was king of Essex, yet Ethelbert joined in all important acts of government. This was the fate of Essex; it was called a kingdom, but it never enjoyed any political independence, being always subject to the adjoining kings. (Palgrave, "History of the Anglo-Saxons, 40.") In regard to both the South Saxons and East Saxons, in confirmation of my contention that they were never independent kingdoms, but merely appanages or dependent viceroalties, is the very extraordinary fact that neither of them had a coinage; all the really independent sovereignties of Britain at this time, such as Wessex, Kent, Mercia, East Anglia, Deira and Bernicia, had a coinage.

As the error is a very perverse and general one, I am tempted to strengthen my position still further by a quotation from Palgrave, that most able scholar, to whose researches we owe more than one can well calculate. He says, "Concerning the conquest of the eastern shores of Britain, the British bards are as dumb as the Anglo-Saxon chroniclers. No conquests in the ancient territories of the Iceni are claimed by the victors; no defeats lamented by the vanquished. Both parties, both nations are equally silent. If, as is very probable, this part of the *Littus Saxonicum* had begun to receive a permanent Saxon colonisation during the existence of the Roman empire, we may suppose that these settlements spread the way for additional colonies, who occupied the country without further struggle or conflict, for it is very remarkable that the Britons have not even preserved a tradition respecting this country."

("History of the English Commonwealth," i, 384-5.) "Again," as Mr. Isaac Taylor says, "in Essex and Suffolk there is a smaller proportion of Celtic names than in any other district of the island, and this would indicate that the Germanisation of those counties is of very ancient date." ("Words and Places," 144.) I hold therefore that in regard to the South Saxons, the Middle Saxons, and the East Saxons, they made no conquests from the Welsh, but were descendants from colonies planted along the channel in the days of the Romans. This opens up a new vista of inquiry, which I hope to prosecute further when we deal with the Jutes in a future paper. Having examined the Littus Saxonicum in Britain, let us turn to its complement across the Channel.

Schaumann argues, as I think, very forcibly, that the settlement of the Saxons on both shores of the Channel was the work of Carausius, who we learn from Eutropius (IX, chapter xxi) was on terms of friendship with the Saxon and French pirates. Their settlement on either coast was accompanied by the foundation of new towns, and alterations in the topographical nomenclature. Of a famous old station in the land of the Viducassi, nothing more is now heard. Its site has been fixed by the Roman antiquaries at Vieux. Alauna, the chief town of the Unelli, probably now represented by Valognes, also disappears, while Gessoriacum, the chief port on the coast, is renamed Bononia.

That the new people on either shore of the Channel were planted as colonists, and did not occupy the land as hostile invaders, appears from a curious fact to which sufficient attention has not been drawn. In the districts of Bayeux and Coutances, were planted, according to the "Notitia" "Læti gentiles," and also Franks and Suevi, the latter a generic name, probably including Saxons. In the district of Senonia Lugdunensis, there was a Præfectus Lætorum Teutonicianorum, which Schaumann explains as the superintendent of the German colonists. This being one of the earliest instances of the use of the word Teutonic in a generic sense. (Schaumann, *op. cit.*, 15.) I would like to add to these facts, one overlooked by M. Schaumann, namely, the existence of the well-known Lathes in Kent, no doubt derived from these Læti. These Lathes existed elsewhere in England, and were perhaps general in those districts forming the Littus Saxonicum. They were, at all events, found in old times in Warwickshire. (See Dugdale's "Warwickshire.")

The Saxons then, as I contend, were planted as colonists. Like other similar colonists, they retained no doubt their own institutions, religion, and organisation, and furnished the empire with a contingent of irregulars, were in fact rather feudatories,

than subjects; while the Comes Littoris Saxonici filled a position probably similar to that of the late Austrian Governor of the military districts of Slavonia.

When the Roman authority became weak and impotent, the various military colonists apparently broke away from their allegiance, slowly but definitely, and having no one to control them efficiently, became dangerous neighbours. It is thus we explain the passages in Ammianus Marcellinus about the Saxon inroads in the reigns of Valentinian the First and Second. (Schaumann, 18.) These attacks are contemporary with another very eloquent one. Among the Roman stations in Normandy, Bayeux was probably the most important, and there there are still found an immense number of remains; but their date does not come later than the time of Valens and Gratian, when they suddenly cease, as if the Romans were then ousted by their unruly colonists. Still, as I have mentioned, we find a cohort of Saxons among the Roman troops in the east, mentioned in the "Notitia," while Jornandes reports that a contingent of the race assisted Ætius in his wars, but that they had ceased to be subjects, and were now allies. From the narrative of Zosimus, we learn that not only Britain, but also Armorica (which term, probably, was used in its wide sense), was free from Roman control. The Romans returned for a short interval in 416, under the prefecture of Exuperantius and Littorius (Schaumann, 21). But a more vigorous foe was at hand. We read how in 428 Chlodio, the chief of the Franks, who was settled with his people at Duysburgh, advanced by Cambray as far as Arras, and in near neighbourhood therefore to the Littus Saxonicum.

The auxiliaries furnished by Armorica to Ætius in 457, among whom the Saxons are specially named, as I have mentioned, are referred to in a very important phrase by Jornandes. He says of them, "quondam milites Romani, tunc vero jam in numerum auxiliariorum acquisiti," *i.e.*, the former subjects had now become allies.

The Roman hold upon Gaul was now reaching its term, and the Franks finally overwhelmed it. *Inter alia*, they no doubt came into conflict with the Saxons of the maritime tract, a race too proud to bend easily to the yoke of the Franks, and we accordingly find that a section of the Saxons was busy elsewhere.

Ægidius, the Roman ruler of Gaul, was dead, and the Franks were governed by the licentious Childeric, father of Clovis. It was now, and about the year 464, that we are told by Gregory of Tours, that Odoaker (Adovacrius in his orthography) with his Saxons went to Angers, which with other towns gave him hostages. At Angers he was apparently soon joined by the

Frank chief Childeric, who put the Count Paul (doubtless the Roman Governor) to death. A struggle now ensued between the Franks and the Saxons, in which the latter were defeated, and fled, leaving many dead behind them. *Their islands*, we are told, were taken and ravaged by the Franks, who killed many of their inhabitants. Childeric, we are told, made a treaty with Odoaker, and they together subjected the Alemanni who had invaded Italy. (*Op. cit.*, II, xviii, and xix.) The islands, here mentioned were, according to some, the islands in the estuary of the Loire. (See Spener "Notitia Germaniæ Antiquæ," 362, note; Moller, *op. cit.*, 29.) But Schaumann identifies them more probably with the Channel Islands. (*Op. cit.*, 24.)

The "Chron. Moissiacense," in reporting the same event, says Odoaker went by sea with a naval host to Angers. (Moller, *op. cit.*, 29; note, 79.)

I have small doubt that it was the pressure of the Franks that set Odoaker in motion. He went, as I have shown from the Chronicle of Moissiac, with a naval host. The Saxons were still sea folk, and I have no doubt whatever that the same pressure which sent him away, drove many of the Saxons beyond the Channel to settle on the opposite coasts of Britain. I shall refer to these fugitives again presently.

It would seem that a large body of the colonists from the Littus Saxonicum must have gone, for we now find them reduced to much narrower limits. A proof of their former extension inland is to be collected from the fact that in the "Gesta Regum Francorum," the pagus Suessionensis is on one occasion called Saxonegus, and Fredegar, in his chronicle, calls the town of Soissons Saxonis. (Schaumann, 28.)

The chief settlement of the Saxons which remained was in the district of Bayeux. On turning to Gregory of Tours we find him in the year 578 describing the campaign of the Frank King Chilperic against the Bretons. He tells us the men of Tours, of Poitiers, of Bayeux, of le Mans, and of Angers, marched with many others into Brittany to attack Waroch, the son of Malo, and halted on the River Vilaine. We are told that Waroch there fell unexpectedly upon the Saxones Baiocassenses, *i.e.*, the Saxons of Bayeux, and killed the greater part of them. He afterwards made peace with Chilperic, gave his son as a hostage and also surrendered the town of Vannes. (*Op. cit.*) Here we find the Saxons of Bayeux mentioned as an integral part of the people of the Frank kingdom and fighting, under the royal banner.

A few years later, namely, about the year 590, during the reign of Childebert, we are told how the Bretons committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Nantes and Rennes, and

thereupon Guntran, the king of Burgundy, the uncle and patron of Childeburt, ordered an army to march against them, headed by Beppolem and Ebrachain, who quarrelled on the way. Beppolem was a *persona ingrata* to Fredegunda, the famous Messalina of these times; and we are told she sent the Saxons of Bayeux, who wore their hair cut short like the Bretons and also dressed like them, to the assistance of Waroch. Beppolem marched against these confederates alone, and fought against them for two days, killing many Bretons and Saxons. Meanwhile, Ebrachain remained behind, and determined not to join in the fray until he heard that Beppolem was killed. This happened on the third day after many of his men had perished and he had himself been wounded, when we are told Waroch and his Saxons fell on him and killed him. On the approach of Ebrachain, Waroch tried to escape with his treasures by sea "to his islands," *i.e.*, probably to the Channel Islands; but his ships were wrecked, and he had to sue for peace. (Gregory of Tours x, 9.)

Several names which occur at this time seem to me to have belonged to Saxons of this maritime colony. Thus Leudovald, bishop of Bayeux, and Marculf, the missionary to the Channel Islands, &c., while it is not improbable that Waroch, who has a very Teutonic looking name, was also a Saxon.

The adventure last described was the last in which the Saxons of Gaul took a conspicuous part. They now became (such of them as remained behind at least), subjects of the French Empire. The notices we have collected, and the positions they occupied, prove that they must have been a very important element in the population of Northern Gaul, and their influence upon Breton history has not been sufficiently appreciated. This is a subject, however, beyond our present purpose.

In order to complete my survey of the Continental Saxons, I will now add one or two further notices of them which I have met with.

The Saxons, as I have shown in a previous paper, although not Kheruskans proper, occupied the land of the Kheruskans, and became in consequence Kheruskans, as the English became Americans. We thus explain how it is that in the life of the missionary Saint Eligius, who spread the faith among the Saxons of Gaul, we are told that in order to make himself understood among them, he sought out an interpreter who knew the Kheruskan speech. (Schaumann, 16.)

The Saxons, as I have said, were thickly settled in Brittany itself. This we learn from Venantius Fortunatus, in his poem addressed to Felix Bishop of Nantes, speaks of his civilising and converting the Saxons. (Spener, *op. cit.*, 365, note.)

Let us now come down a little later. We find in a capitulary issued by Charles the Bald in 844, that he ordered several *missi dominici* to visit Neustria or Normandy; and among the districts he orders them to visit, were two named the Otlingua Saxonica, and the Otlingua Harduini. (Dupont, "Le Cotentin et ses Iles," 83.) In another document of the same reign, we find the king granting certain estates in the same district of Otlingua Saxonica. (Licquet's "Normandy" i, 33.) This district was probably situated in the district of Calvados, and was no doubt named from its Saxon settlers. I shall revert to it again presently.

In the memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy, we read that a coin of Charles the Bald was found in the year 1818, at Caen, with this inscription on the obverse, Karolus D.G. Rex; on the reverse J. Curti, Saxonien.

In the same district are still two parishes known as Haute and Basse Allemagne, the latter was formerly known as Notre Dame des Champs d'Allemagne. (Schaumann, 27.)

In the May number of the "Ausland" for 1845, an account of various customs prevailing in northern France along the shores of the channel is given, which, as Schaumann says, are surprisingly like those found in the valley. He specially names among these the gathering or knots of spinning girls, the employment of summoners to wedding feasts with their staves (?), the ceremonial at banquets and on festive occasions. These customs do not prevail all over Normandy and Brittany, but only in secluded hamlets, and these are found within the limits of the ancient Littus Saxonicum. (Schaumann, 27-8). But perhaps the most striking testimony to the former presence of a large Saxon population along this coast, is to be gathered from its local nomenclature.

The advance of the Franks caused, as I have said, a considerable migration from Gaul.

The migration took place probably from certain districts only, while we have every reason to believe that in the neighbourhood of Boulogne and also of Caen considerable colonies remained behind. In regard to the former locality, Mr. Isaac Taylor has examined the question with great care and ingenuity, and has given a very eloquent map. He says in the old French provinces of Picardy and Artois there is a small well-defined district, about the size of Middlesex, lying near Calais, Boulogne, and Saint Omer, in which the name of almost every village and hamlet is of the pure Anglo-Saxon type; and not only so, but they are most of them identically the same with village names to be found in England.

Thus we have he says:—

FRENCH DISTRICT.			CORRESPONDING ENGLISH NAMES.
Warhem	..	..	Warham, Norfolk.
Rattekot	..	..	Radcot, Oxon.
Le Wast	..	..	Wast, Gloucestershire, Northumberland.
Frethun	..	..	Fretton, Norfolk.
Cohen, Cahem and Cuhen			Cougham, Norfolk.
Hollebeque	..	..	Holbeck, Notts, Yorkshire, Lincoln.
Ham, Hame, Hames	..	..	Ham, Kent, Surrey, Essex, Somerset.
Werwick	..	..	Warwick, Warwickshire and Cumberland.
Appegarbe.	..	..	Applegarth, Dumfries.
Sangatte	..	..	Sandgate, Kent.
Guindal	..	..	Windle, Lancashire.
Inghem	..	..	Ingham, Lincoln, Norfolk, Middlesex.
Oye	..	..	Eye, Suffolk, Hereford, Northampton, Oxon.
Wimille	..	..	Windmill, Kent.
Grisendale	..	..	Grisdale, Cumberland, Lancashire.

"We have also," he says, "such familiar English forms as Graywick, the river Slack, Bruquedal, Marbecq, Longfosse, Dalle, Vendal, Salperwick, Fordebecques, Staple, Crehem, Pihem, Dohem, Roqueton, Hazelbrouck, and Robeck. Twenty-two of the names have the characteristic *ton*, which is scarcely to be found elsewhere upon the Continent, and upwards of one hundred end in ham, hem, or hen. There are also more than one hundred patronymics ending in *wig*. A comparison of these patronymics with those found in England, proves beyond a doubt that the colonisation of this part of France must have been effected by men bearing the clan names which belonged to the Teutonic families which settled on the opposite coast. More than eighty per cent. of the French names are found in England, etc." ("Words and Places," first edition, 138-41.) It is very curious to find that the village of Marck, the Marcis in Littus Saxonicum as I have already mentioned, is on the eastern boundary of this colony of names adding another proof that the Littus Saxonicum was a district really colonised by the Saxons. The second colony of names, which represents no doubt the Saxones Baiocassenses of Carlovingian times, can still, according to Mr. Taylor, be sharply defined by means of its local names. "It will be seen that in the departments of the Eure and of the Seine Inférieure, where the Danish names of a later period are so thickly clustered, hardly a single Saxon name is to be found, while in the department of the Calvados, and in the central position of La Manche, where the Danish names are comparatively scarce, their place is occupied by names of the Saxon type. The Northmen seem to have respected the tenure of their Teutonic kinsmen, and to have dispossessed only the Celtic tribes who dwelt to the east and north-west of the Saxon colony. In this neighbourhood we find Sassetot (Saxon's-field) Hermanville, Etreham, or Ouistreham (Westerham), Hambze,

Le Ham, Le Hamelet, Cottun (Cow's-yard), Elainhus, Hewland (Hayland), Plumetot (Bloomfield or flowerfield), Douvres, which reminds us of our own Dover, and Caen, which was anciently written Cathem and Catheim. There are also about thirty patronymics. It is curious to observe in how many cases we find the same families on the opposite coast of Hants, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. In the whole of Cornwall there are only two patronymic names, and both of these are also found among the thirty on the opposite coast.

FAMILIES OF THE	NEAR BAYEUX	IN ENGLAND AT
Berings	.. { Berengeville } .. { Beringuy }	Berrington, Durham, Gloucester, Salop, Worcester.
Bellings	.. Bellengreville ..	Bellinger, Hants.
Basings	.. Bazenville ..	Basing, Hants.
Bobblings	.. Baubigny ..	Bobbing, Kent.
Callings	.. Caligny ..	Callington, Cornwall.
Ceafings	.. Chavigny ..	Chalvington, Sussex; Chevington, Suffolk.
Cofings	.. Cavigny ..	Covington, Huntingdon.
Ceardings	.. Cartigny ..	{ Cardington, Beds, Salop; Cardington, Cornwall.
Graegings	.. Gravigny ..	Gravingham, Lincoln.
Hardings	.. Hardinvast ..	Hardinghuish, Wilts.
Ifings	.. Juvigny ..	Jevington, Hants.
Maerings	.. Marigny ..	Marrington, Salop.
Potings	.. Potigny ..	Podington, Dorset.
Seafings	.. Savigny ..	Sevington, Kent.
Sulings	.. Soulangy ..	Sullington, Sussex.
Dhyrings	.. Thougny ..	Torrington, Devon.

("Words and Places," 148-9.)

These two colonies, one in Artois and Picardy, the other in Calvados, were, I believe, the fragments which remained behind of the former Saxon population of Neustria, who once in all probability occupied the whole land from Marck near Calais to the frontier of Brittany. The gaps represent where the Saxon population migrated; and where they migrated to is the next and final subject of this paper.

We have still left for consideration an important section of the English Saxons, namely those of Wessex. Their settlement in Britain I believe to have been different to that of the rest of the Saxons there. They did not occupy a part of the "Saxon shore," and the traditions about their first settlement and spread are more definite, but as we shall see, they are, if not fabulous, quite untrustworthy. First in regard to their great leader Cerdic. I have not seen it before mentioned, but it is a very strange fact that this is apparently not a Teutonic name at all, but a British name, the well-known name Caradoc, or Ceredig, as it is otherwise written, and which gave its name to Cardigan;

and further, there seems to have been a British chief living at this very time who fought against the invaders, and whose name has apparently been borrowed by the later fabulists and annalists, but not perhaps directly. Just as we have a Cymenes ora in Sussex, where Cymen is said to have landed, so we are told that Cerdic landed at Cerdics ora, which has been identified with Charmouth. Here again ora is a Latin termination, making it almost certain that the name Cerdics ora is older than the Saxon invasion. These two facts make us entirely doubt the existence of Cerdic as a Saxon leader. I had written so far, and arrived at this conclusion entirely independently, when on turning over the pages of Palgrave, I came upon the sentence, "It does not diminish our perplexities to find that the Saxon name Cerdic is evidently the same as the British Ceretic or Caradoc, and that some of the British princes claimed their descent from this very Gewissa (*i.e.*, Cerdic's ancestor in the third degree), whom they describe as a female ("English Commonwealth," I, 398, note.)

It is not perhaps very extraordinary that I should have come independently to the same conclusion as Sir Francis Palgrave, in regard to the etymology of the name Cerdic, but it is surely very strange that so many recent writers should have treated Cerdic as a *bond fide* Englishman. The remark of Sir Francis Palgrave about Gewissa is a very fertile one. Not only was the name used by the Britons, and given to one of their princesses, but it is quite evidently not a Saxon name at all in form, but is in all probability of Celtic origin. The name is an interesting one, and for once I believe the pseudo Asser's statement to be a reasonable one. On naming this Gewissa, he adds a "*quo Britones totam illam gentem Gegwis nominant.*" (Mon. Hist. Brit., 468.) And we find a confirmation of this in the "*Annales Cambriæ*," where we read under the year 900, "*Albirt, i.e., Alfred rex Giuoy's moritur.*" (*Id.*, 836.) Lappenberg and Geoffrey of Monmouth in reporting the old Welsh traditions, mentions the Gewissians more than once. On the other hand, the name is quite unknown to the English writers, except Bede, who tells us the West Saxons were formerly called Gervissi. Here, as in other places, he proves whence he derived his materials, namely from the old Welsh writers, among whom alone the name was home-grown. But Gewissa and Cerdic are not the only British names in this genealogy. We are told in it that Cerdic was the son of Elesa, Elesa of Esla and Esla of Giwis. Elesa and Esla seem forms of the same name, and neither of them have a Teutonic look, and one of them at least is assuredly British. Helised is named by the pseudo Asser as one of the Welsh kings who was contemporary with

Alfred, while Heli is the name of a British king in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

It is almost certain therefore, that a number of the names in the genealogy of Cerdic as given in the Chronicle, are of British origin. It is very strange, as I have said, that Cerdic does not occur in Bede, nor is he named, so far as I can find, in the Welsh accounts of the invaders as one of the chiefs of the latter. It is further a remarkable fact, that in the various notices of the founders of the West Saxon monarchy in the Chronicle, with one exception, the people of the island are called Brettas and not Walas, as in the narratives of the other invaders. All these facts make it almost certain to me, that the account of Cerdic is a distorted, if not utterly fabulous version of some Welsh tradition. But let us examine the story somewhat further. We are told Cerdic landed at Cerdics ora with his son Cynric, in 495, and the same day fought with the Welsh. Nothing more is said of the invaders till the year 501. We are then told that Port and his two sons Breda and Magla came to Britain with two ships, and landed at Portsmouth. Hitherto nothing is said in the Chronicle about the West Saxons; but under the year 514 we read, that "the West Saxons came to Britain with three ships at the place which is called Cerdics ora, and Stuf and Wihtgar fought against the Britons and put them to flight. Elsewhere, "sub. ann. 534." Stuf and Wihtgar are called Cerdic's nephews; and we are told that having conquered the Isle of Wight, Cerdic and Cynric gave the island to their two relatives. (Mon. Hist. Brit., 301.) These names and statements have been the subject of much criticism. Dr. Latham has made some pertinent remarks about them. "In regard to Port or Portus, he says it must have been simply the Latin name of Portsmouth, long anterior to A.D. 501. But the landing of a man named Port at a place called Portsmouth, is no impossibility; granted; it is only highly improbable; the improbability being heightened by the strangeness of the name itself, heightened also by the following fact. Just as a man named Port hits (out of all the landing places in England) upon a spot with a name like his own a man named Wihtgar does the same."

Now Wiht is the Anglo-Saxon form of the name Vectis, a name found in the Latin writers long anterior to 530, while gar is a form of ware or waras = inhabitants. Hence just as Kent = the County Kent, and Cantware = the inhabitants of that county, or Canticolæ; so does Wiht = Vectis, and Wihtgare = Vecticolæ. Yet the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle makes it a man's name. The names of Port and Wihtgar give us the strongest possible proof in favour of the suggested hypothesis,

viz., the "*ex post facto* evolution of personal names out of local ones." ("English Language" fifth editon, 28.)

It seems quite clear that the whole story has been manufactured at a later period; the names where the battles were fought as Cerdicsford, Cerdics lea and Cerdics ora are variously forms of Charmouth, Charford, etc. The very dates are outrageous. Cerdic, like Hengist, is made to reign forty years in Britain, and after his death Cynric, who arrived with him, reigned twenty-six years more." (Kemble, *op. cit.*, 30, note).

Port the eponymos, formed from Portus, we are told, came with his two sons, Bieda and Magla. I have small doubt myself that Bieda and Magla are also merely eponymous names, and I shall have more to say about them when I come to treat of the Jutes.

We are told that in 508 Cerdic and Cynric fought with the British Prince Natanleod. If one wishes to see how far perverse ingenuity can go in building up a fabulous story, I would commend my hearers to read Dr. Guest's remarks on this name in his famous paper in the Salisbury volume of the "Transactions of the Archæological Institute." It is sufficient here to state that such a person as Natanleod is not only unknown to Bede and the Welsh Chroniclers, but, to add a note of Mr. Earles, which I cordially endorse, he says, "In 508, a local name Neatanleah (now Netley) which probably means *a pasture for oxen*, is ambitiously associated with one of the most famous of British dynastic names." (Earle's "Chronicles," introduction, ix.)

Natanleod, in fact, is another name made up and constructed in the same fashion as Port. In 514, we are told the West Saxons came to Britain with three ships, and landed at Cerdics ora. This seems like another version of the story told in 495 of the arrival of Cerdic and Cynric with five ships, at Cerdics ora. If it be not, then it is clear that Cerdic and Cynric were other than West Saxons. Again, as Mr Guest himself has said, it seems strange that nineteen years after the arrival of the two chiefs, the West Saxons should have found Britons to oppose them. And yet another curious fact turns up in 519, when we are told Cerdic and Cynric took possession of the West Saxon kingdom. Again Stuf and Wihtgar are made the nephews of Cerdic in the "Chronicle," which also makes them rule over Wight after it had been conquered by Cerdic, while Bede tells us Wight was conquered and held, not by Saxons, but by Jutes.

The fact is, the story from end to end is utterly ridiculous, and it is almost incredible how so many writers should have blindly followed it. I shall not prosecute this criticism further.

It is enough to have shown that the Saxons, when the "Chronicle" was written, were in the same position as they were in the days of Bede, and had no reliable traditions about their first arrival in the island. Dr. Guest enlarges on runes, and conjectures at large upon the calendars kept with runes, but he nowhere adduces any evidence that runes were known to the Saxons at all. I believe they were utterly unknown to them, and so was writing, until their conversion to Christianity. The Angles used runes undoubtedly, but the Angles were not Saxons, and I am confident I am speaking justly, when I say that neither in Westphalia, Engern, or Ostphalia, nor in the Littus Saxonicum of Gaul, nor yet in the districts occupied solely by the Saxons in England has a rune been found; and further, it seems pretty certain that if any written calendars had existed, they would have existed in Nether Saxony and in the Gallic Saxonia, no less than in Britain; nor would Bede, as he certainly did, have gone to the pages of Nennius and the Britons for his account of the invasion and of the early invaders. It is thence modern historians must derive an account of the history of the fifth and sixth century in these latitudes, and not from the fables of the "Chronicle," which are of the same value in regard to the foundation of the early Saxon States, as is Livy with his stories of Romulus and Remus. This, however, we cannot prosecute at present. Having however rid ourselves of certain fables and fabulous tales, we have a comparatively *tabula rasa* to begin our story with. Whence then did the West Saxons come from?

Bede, as we all know, tells us the Saxons came from Old Saxony. He tells us further the Old Saxons were otherwise called Ambrones.

By Old Saxony, Bede undoubtedly understood Nether Saxony. His use of the synonym Ambrones has been a puzzle to most inquirers, nor am I satisfied with any of the received explanations. The nucleus of Nether Saxony was, as I have said, Engern, or as I would rather call it, the Weserthal, the valley of the Weser. Now one of the feeders of the Weser in the very heart of Engern, and not far from Paderborn, is the Ambra or Embrine. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Nether Saxons who settled in this district were known as Ambrones; but let us on with our story. Bede, as I have said, derives the Saxons from Old Saxony, by which he understands our Nether Saxony.

Now we have shown whence the Saxons of the Littus Saxonicum came, whence also the Nether Saxons came, and that they were both offshoots of the seafaring Holsteiners of the second century A.D., which was not the Old Saxony of Bede. And on turning to the oldest traditions extant among the Old

Saxons themselves, namely, those reported in the account of the translation of Saint Alexander, we do not find a syllable about the English Saxons being a colony from that district, but the reverse. The Old Saxony of Bede was shut out from the sea by the Frisians, except in the narrow district of Hadeln, between the Weser and the Elbe. Whence then did the West Saxons come from, whom we have reasons for believing arrived later than their western neighbours, and when the Littus Saxonicum had been colonized? I cannot find a more plausible or likely solution than that propounded by Schaumann, that they came from the other side of the English Channel. Opposite to Wessex lay the Otlingua Saxonica, and the *ot* in this phrase has been explained by Schaumann and Dircks as equivalent to *oret*, that is old. The former writer argues that the *Old Saxony* of the tradition was this Gallic Saxonica, this Otlingua Saxonica in Normandy; and that when the distracted Britons sought succour against the Picts and other invaders, they did not go to Nether Saxony, which was far beyond their reach, and doubtless also their knowledge, and inhabited by terribly barbarous races, but went across the channel to the Saxon tract there, whose inhabitants must have been well known. I quite concur in this conclusion, but not in the etymology of Otlingua, favoured by Schaumann. I much prefer the explanation of it given by Depping and Grimm, who derive it from Atheling or Etheling, the Saxon for a noble. Taylor compares the name with Athelney, formerly Athelinga igge. ("Words and Places," 147.) We must remember that the beginning of the sixth century was synchronous with the occupation of Central and Northern Gaul by the Franks. The latter, who were inveterate enemies of the Saxons, seem to have pushed them to a large extent from their homes along the channel, as I have already mentioned. One section of them, under *odoaker*, we find at Angers. We have a very interesting trace of another section in the life of Saint Marculf. Saint Marculf was born in 483 at Bayeux, and was doubtless himself a Saxon. In 511 he left Bayeux as a missionary, and was ordained a priest in 513 at Coutances. He then retired for a while to a secluded spot, where he founded a monastery. The site was afterwards well known under the name of Nanteuil. There his fame collected many religious about him, among others, Saint Helier, the proto-martyr of Jersey, an island then called Angia or Augia. Saint Helier, with his companion Domard, set sail after a while for Jersey; and some years afterwards Saint Marculf paid them a visit there. ("Le Contentin et ses Iles," by Dupont, 25-34.) It was while Saint Marculf was there that, according to the narrative of his life, 3,000 Saxons (no doubt a gross exaggeration

in numbers) came in ships driven both by oars and sails to the island, and began to devastate it. The islanders who did not number more than 30 were panic-stricken, and repaired in their distress to Saint Marculf. He bade them trust in God and go out against the enemy, for God who had overwhelmed Pharaoh would assist them. They accordingly attacked the invaders, who, we are told, perished partly by the sword and partly by the tempest, so that none of them reached their country again. The lord of the island hearing of what had happened, made a grant of half of it to the missionary. ("Acta Sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti," 1, 132.) The Saxons, were however, by no means all destroyed, for Saint Marculf having returned once more to Nanteuil to get materials for a monastery he meant to build in Jersey, the Saxons attacked Saint Helier while hiding among the rocks, and decapitated him. (Dupont, *op. cit.*, 45.) We thus find the Saxons in the earlier half of the sixth century, making a descent upon the Channel Islands, where, judging from the topography, they must have settled in large numbers.

I have small doubt myself that under the same pressure of the Franks, to which I have already referred, a large body of the inhabitants of the Littus Saxonum in Gaul migrated also across the channel and became founders of the West Saxon kingdom, and were the Gewissi of the Welsh authors. And this is in curious agreement with certain facts otherwise puzzling. Mr. Isaac Taylor has remarked of the country about Caen, "that it is divided by thick hedgerows into small irregular crofts, and the cottages are unmistakably English rather than French in structure."

And no one can travel even cursorily through Lower Normandy, with its apple orchards, its cider, and its red cattle, without being reminded of Devonshire and Somerset. If the argument be of value urged by Mr. Kemble, that the simple patronymics ending in *ing*, represent the parent settlements, and those with the additional syllables of *ham*, *ton*, &c., the offshoots, then it is a strange confirmation of our contention that in the counties of England, comprised in the old Littus Saxonum, the proportion of the former should be so great, while in the Western counties, comprised in Wessex, there should hardly be any of them. (See Isaac Taylor, "Words and Places," 138.) This testimony is not of less value, in that it is quoted there in support of an entirely different position.

I have now completed my survey of the migration and settlement of the Saxons along the borders of the Channel. In the next paper I hope to deal with the Saxons east of the Rhine. The conclusions I have arrived at are at issue with those of the school of history now dominant, and are of far wider importance

than as mere ethnological facts. If the Saxons in Britain settled there for the most part as colonists and not as conquerors, we must revise very largely the notions of our early history now current. I hope to prosecute the fertile inquiry further when we come to treat of the Jutes.

The ETHNOLOGY of GERMANY.—PART IV.

THE SAXONS OF NETHER SAXONY.

Section II.

By ^{Henry} H. H. HOWORTH, Esq., F.S.A.

THE ethnology of Germany has been so assiduously worked out by Germans that it would seem as if little or nothing remained for a gleaner to collect, nor is there much if we follow the beaten track and resift the same authorities which have been thrashed out for generations. If we are to do original and fertile work in this inquiry we must go far a-field and dig into obscure corners and collect forgotten details. I believe that by doing so much fresh matter may yet be gained, as I trust the following paper will show. In it I think I have shown conclusively on historical grounds what I have already concluded from other considerations—that the Saxons were not the indigines of Nether Saxony, but were as much invaders there as in Britain; that they probably did not occupy that area until the 6th century A.D.; and that the previous inhabitants were the Thuringians. These results will be acknowledged to be important if proved,

and in order to prove them I have collected all the notices I could find of these Saxons down to the date of their incorporation by Charles the Great, so as to make the monograph as perfect as possible.

We will begin with the native traditions of Saxony.

The earliest native notice we have of the native traditions of the peopling of Nether Saxony is in the account of the translation of Saint Alexander, which was written, according to Pertz, about the year 863. There we read: "The Saxon race, as is reported from old times, left the Angles who dwelt in Britain, and navigating the ocean in search of a place to settle in, was thrown on to the coasts of Germany in the district called Haduloha (*i.e.* Hadeln) at the time when Theodoric, the King of the Franks, fighting against his relative Irminfred, the chief of the Thuringians, cruelly ravaged their land with fire and sword. When two battles had already been fought and Theodoric began to despair of victory, he sent envoys to the Saxons, whose chief was called Hadugot. Theodoric, having learnt the cause of their arrival, promised in case he was victorious to grant them a settlement, and they thereupon joined their forces to his. Fighting for liberty and for their homes they showed great valour, and the enemy was almost exterminated. Theodoric carried out his promise and gave the Saxons the land conquered from the Thuringians. This they divided by lot. As they were too few to occupy it all, they set aside the eastern portion, which was allowed to be occupied by 'Coloni,' who paid tribute; the rest of the land they occupied themselves" (Pertz, ii, 674).

This tradition I see no reason myself to question. The district of Hadeln is the only part of the coast where the Frisic inhabitants were displaced by another race, namely, the Platt Deutsch-speaking folk. It would be the very place where one would, *primâ facie*, first bring invaders who meant to appropriate the valley of the Weser. In regard to the date of their arrival it is very extraordinary that the first mention of the district of Nether Saxony made by Gregory of Tours, whose narrative was not, so far as we can see, known to the author of the "*Vita Alexandri*" just quoted, describes how *Theodoric* and Chlothaire, the sons of Chlovis, were engaged in a struggle there with Irminfred, the chief of the Thuringians in the year 528 ("Gregory of Tours," ed. Guizot, i, 131-134). On turning to the traditions of the Thuringians we find that they also speak of their people having been driven out of their old seats by the Saxons. Thus in the "*Chronicon Thuringiæ, incerto auctore apud Christ. Schoettgen, Diplomata et Scriptores Hist. Germ.*" etc., i, 85 *seq.*, we read: "In den Geczyten also dy Sachsen dy Doringe vortrebin von der sehe, do sy vor wonetin, obir den Harz in dit Land, das nu Doringen

genannt ist." Again, in "Sagittarii Antiq. Thuring." 97 *seq.*: "Es ist aber eine gemeine Sage und alte Tradition, die auch ihren grund haben kann (wenn es auch nicht damit hergegangen, wie Wittehind erzählt) das nemlich die Thüringer aus ihren alten Sitzen in diese Oberländer wären vertrieben worden." Again, in the Rhythm. Sti. Annoni ap, Schilter, i. 1. t. 1, stroph xxi:

"Vuzier ein deil mit Scifmeningen
Quamin nidir eir Eilbin
Da die Düringe dü Sazin
Und sich wider ün vermazin."

I owe these very suggestive and valuable extracts to a treatise by M. Möller, entitled "Saxones, Commentatio Historica" (Berlin, 1830, note 43).

The tradition also gains much strength from the fact of its being widely disseminated at an early time; thus we find Adam of Bremen quoting Eginhardt, who wrote before the author of the "Vita Alexandri" and saying: "Saxonum gens, inquit (Eginhardus), sicut tradit antiquitas, ab Anglis Britannisque incolis egressa, per oceanum navigans Germaniæ littoribus studio et necessitate quærendarum sedium appulsa est in loco, qui vocatur Hatheloe." . . . Hæc tulimus excerpta ex scriptis Einhardi (Möller, *op. cit.*, note 18).

The tradition again appears in the narrative of Widukind, the monk of Corbey, who lived in the middle of the 10th century, with sufficient variation to show that it had an independent origin.

After stating that some derived the Saxons from the Danes and Northmen, others from the Macedonians, etc., he tells us we only know for certain that the Saxons came here in ships and first landed in Hadeln, but they did not leave their ships which were on the river bank.

He says that one of their young men having landed from his ship with some gold ornaments, including a golden torq and arm-lets, he met one of the Thuringians. "What are you doing," said the latter, "with such a massive gold object about your scraggy neck?" "I am seeking a purchaser," he said, "this is why I am wearing it." "How can gold delight one who is in danger of famishing?" The Thuringian thereupon asked its value. "I am not a judge of its value," said the Saxon. "Whatever you give me I will gladly accept." "What," said he, laughingly, "if I were to give you a lap-full of this soil?" soil being scarce in the place. The Saxon without hesitation opened his garment and accepted the soil, while the Thuringian took his gold and both returned gladly home.

The Thuringians praised their countryman to the sky and deemed him most fortunate in securing so much gold for such

little value. Meanwhile the Saxon repaired to the ships; some of his companions chided, some laughed, while all deemed him very foolish. "Follow me," he replied, "and see whether I have been so foolish." They followed their leader, who proceeded to sprinkle the soil thinly over the adjoining fields, which they then occupied as their own and fortified. The Thuringians seeing this, sent envoys to complain of the Saxons breaking their pact. They replied they had not broken the pact and had bought the ground with gold and were willing either to keep it peaceably or to defend it with arms. The Thuringians thereupon rushed wildly upon the fortifications and were defeated. The fight was renewed several times, and at length a truce was agreed upon, but at the meeting to arrange the peace, the Saxons produced their knives from under their garments and slaughtered the unsuspecting Thuringians. Witikind tells us the Saxons were accustomed to use long knives, such, he says, as the Angles (*i.e.*, the English) still use; and adds, that his people (the Saxons) called a knife "sahs," and thence derived their name. Schatin says the people of Saterland still call a knife "sachs." Nennius reports that when Hengist gave the signal to his men to fall upon the Britons, he cried out "En Saxones nimes eure saxes," which he translates "*cultellos vestros de siconibus vestris deducite*" (Mon. Hist. Britt., 69 and 70). It will be noted that Nennius calls the followers of Hengist, Saxones. He seems to know nothing of Jutes. In the same way the Welsh seem to have called all the invaders Sassesach, and so call English people to this day.

But to revert to the etymology of the name. Gregory of Tours has the phrase: "Tunc duo pueri cum *cultris* validis, quos vulgo *scramsaxos* vocant, infectis veneno maleficati a Fredegunde regina" (Möller, "Saxones Commentatio," etc., 4, note 12). Möller gives another ancient citation from "Gobelinus Cosmodrom," vol. v, ch. 1: "Apud nos senioribus *novacula* qua pili raduntur dicitur: *sasz* et inde verbum vulgare videlicet *sassen*, *i.e.*, *novacula cæsariem radere*." (*Id.*)

Lipsius gives *Scharsaxnovacula*, as a gloss from a very ancient Latino-German psalter, and Lindenbrog, *Schersaxnovacula* (*id.*, note 13). Among the Danes, according to Möller, a pair of shears is still called "sachs."

Godfred of Viterbo, quoted by Pistor, Script. Germ., ii, 253, has:

"ipse brevis gladius apud illos saxo vocatur,
unde sibi Saxo nomen peperisse notatur."

In the Annolied, Schilter, Thes. Ant. Teut i, stroph xxi:

“Ciu Duringin duo der siddi was
 daz si mihhili mezzir hiezín sahs,
 der di rekkín manigiz druogin
 damidi si die Duringe sluogin
 mit untruwin ceinir sprachin
 die ci vridin si gelobit havitin
 von den mezzérin also wahsin
 wurdin si geheizen Sahsin.”

(Möller, *op. cit.*, note 15, Grimm “*Deutschen Sprache*,” i, 425.)

I have small doubt myself that this is the correct etymology of Saxon. The use of *a short sword*, or knife, distinguished the Saxons from other tribes who used long swords, as, for example, the Cimbri, who, according to Plutarch (“*Vita Marii*” 6), used long swords (Möller, *op. cit.*, 5, note 16). Like most other races, the Saxons had an eponymos, who appears at the head of the genealogy of the East Saxons in Britain under the form of Seaxneat, the son of Wodin, the old Norse Saxnaut, old German Sahsnoz, Gothic Sahsanauts, which name Grimm explains as the Sword God, the God of War, and after whom he argues that the special followers and worshippers of the god called themselves (*op. cit.*, 1, 425). We must now return again to Widukind of Corbey and his narrative.

Widukind goes on to say, that on the death of Hugo, King of the Franks, he left an only daughter named Amalberga, who was married to Irminfred, King of the Thuringians. The Franks, however, put Theodoric, who was born of a concubine, on the throne, and he sent an embassy to his brother-in-law with the news. The latter would have assented, but his wife, instigated by a man named Iring, apparently her lover, persuaded him, against the counsel of his grandees, that it would be unworthy of him to allow a mere slave to usurp the throne of the Franks. A message to this effect was accordingly returned, and Theodoric marched against him. The battle was fought at Rumberg (*i.e.*, Ronnenberg, in the district of Marsten, not far from Hanover). It lasted three days, when Irminfred and his people fled to a place called Scithingi (*i.e.*, the modern Burg-Scheidungen), upon the River Unstrode. The victory had been dearly bought, and Theodoric called a council to decide whether they should retire or stay. It was decided that it would be dangerous to retire, since they were much weakened, and that it was better to stay. He therefore determined to remain, and to send an invitation to the Saxons, the former foes of the Thuringians, asking their aid, promising them if they succeeded and captured the town of Irminfred, to make over the land to them. The Saxons were nothing loth, and sent nine of their chiefs with several thousand men. Leaving the bulk of their people outside, and escorted by some hundreds, they entered Theodoric's camp. These, said they,

had been sent by the Saxon people, and were ready to do his bidding; either to defeat his enemies, or if fortune should be against them, to die for him, and that with the Saxons the only wish was to conquer or to die. The Franks were much pleased with the martial qualities of their guests, who, we are told, were big of stature, and had their broad shoulders covered with hair. They wore woollen mantles, were armed with long lances, were protected by small shields, and carried long knives at their side. There were some who feared that they would become dangerous neighbours to the Franks. Theodoric accepted their aid, and the following day they stormed and burnt the town. A terrible battle ensued, without any definite result, and we are told that in it many of the Thuringians were killed and many wounded, while 6,000 of the Saxons perished. Irminfred then sent Iring, together with his treasures, to Theodoric, to offer his submission and sue for peace, and begging in abject terms for pity. "Your former relative, now your slave, sends to you," was the message; "if you have no pity for him, pity your sister, and your nephews and nieces." The envoys also warned him not to trust in the Saxons, who were indomitable in war, but to drive them away in time, and to ally himself with the Thuringians. Theodoric was moved by this address, and promised on the following day to receive his kinsman, and to cast off the Saxons. Iring was full of gratitude, and sent a messenger to tell his master of what had happened. Meanwhile, the city being once more at peace, there issued from it a person with a falcon, who wandered along the bank, seeking for game. Having let the bird fly, it was captured by a Saxon who was on the further bank, and who refused to return it. "Give it me," he said, "and I will divulge a secret to you, which will be useful to you and your people." "Speak," said the Saxon, "and you shall receive back what you are looking for." "The kings," he said, "have made a pact with one another. If to-morrow you enter the camp you will be captured or killed." "Surely," he said, "you are joking." "To-morrow will prove it, and you will see there is no sport in what I say; you had better seek safety in flight." The Saxon then returned the falcon, and told his companions (who were at a loss to know what to do) what he had heard. There was then among them an old soldier, who from his virtues was known as the father of his country; his name was Hathagot. Taking up the sacred standard, which consisted of the figures of a lion and a dragon, above which was a flying eagle, and signifying strength, prudence, etc., he addressed them, saying: "Hitherto I have lived among the best of the Saxons, and although an old man, I never saw the Saxons take flight, and yet I know not how to act now. One thing I know—I will

not fly. If fate so decrees it, it will be very grateful to me to fall with my friends. It is better to die surrounded by our friends than to be vanquished; to lose our lives rather than give way before the enemy. But why should I enlarge on contempt for death. We shall go securely; we shall attend a carnage, not a battle. Our enemies do not suspect that we know of their intrigue. To-day, weary with battle, they will be careless of security, and have no guards posted. Let us fall on them unawares, and when they are asleep. Follow me as your leader, and cut off this head of mine like a dog's, if it come not about as I say." Assenting gladly, they spent the rest of the day in preparation, and in the first vigil of the night, when men sleep most heavily, they climbed the walls, and entered the town. There, there was a panic; some fled hither and thither; and some, treating the Saxons as friends, joined them, but the latter killed all who were grown up, reserving the young people for slavery. A terrible slaughter it was. Irminfred, with his wife and sons and a few of the chief of the nobility, however, escaped. The victors then built a temple, planted the eagle at its eastern end, and having built an altar they raised a statue to Mars, which they fashioned in the shape of Hercules, in the place of the sun, whom the Greeks call Apollo (*loco solem*). This god they called Hermin, and Widukind compares his name with the Greek Hermes. For three days they feasted and rejoiced, and divided the booty, nor did they fail to laud the leader to whose sagacity they owed their success. This victory was afterwards celebrated on the 24th of October. Its result was, that Theodoric granted the Saxons their land, and they were styled the companions and friends of the Franks. Irminfred, after the capture of his city, sent Iring to Theodoric, to make terms. The latter urged him to assassinate his master, promising to reward him handsomely.

He undertook the duty, and while Irminfred was prostrating himself before Theodoric, he took the opportunity of decapitating him. Theodoric then reviled him, told him it was a base deed thus to slay his master, and that he was free to depart where he would, but he himself would have no part in the business. "I have earned the contempt of all men," replied Iring, "in that I have been the instrument of completing your crime; before I leave, however, I will purge myself by revenging my master." And he plunged the reeking sword in the body of Theodoric, who fell over the corpse of Irminfred (Pertz, iii, 423 and 424).

The narrative of Widukind is apparently derived from old songs or traditions, and seems to me to be very worthy of credit; we find it confirmed elsewhere. Thus the first part of the story is found also in the "*Annales Quedlinburgenses*," and there the mistakes of Widukind are corrected. As this fact seems to be

unknown to any of our writers it will not be amiss to transcribe the account there found. We are told then that in the year 532 Hugo Theodoric, the son of Chlovis by a concubine, on succeeding to the throne invited Irminfred, the King of the Thuringians, to his election. Theodoric, says this authority, was called Hugo, as all the Franks were styled Hugones, from a certain leader named Hugo. He was a great favourite with his father, and although a bastard was given an equal share in the division of the kingdom with his brothers Chlodomir, Hildebert, and Lothaire. "Irminfred" says this account, "urged on by his wife Amelpurga, refused the invitation, saying scornfully that Theodoric ought to be his wife's slave (Amalberga was the daughter of Chlovis, *sic* Witikind) rather than his king or master. 'Let him come first,' he said, 'with a large heap of money that he may buy his freedom from my wife, who was noble born by both parents.'" Theodoric was much enraged at this answer, and his grievance was shared by the Franks. "I will come," he replied, "as he bids me, and if my gold will not suffice to buy me liberty I will give thee an innumerable number of Thuringian and Frankish heads." Having accordingly assembled his army, he marched into the district of Maerstem (*i.e.*, the province in which Hanover is situated) and there defeated Irminfred with great slaughter. Following him up as far as the Ocker, he fought a second battle near Orheim, where he was again beaten, and where Theodoric, on account of his losses, deemed himself too weak to pursue him. But hearing that the Saxons, whose world-wide fame had reached him, had arrived in Hadeloha, he sent to ask for their aid and promised them and their twelve chiefs that if they overcame the Thuringians he would surrender to them all the land as far as the junction of the rivers Sala and Unstrode. The Saxons accordingly attacked the Thuringians, defeated them on the Unstrode, and then captured the town of Schiding (doubtless the place called Schenighe, *ad an.* 784), but Irminfred, with his wife and sons, and one named Iring, escaped.

Theodoric thereupon granted the Saxons all the Thuringian land, except Luvia (What is meant by this? Pertz suggests that the mountains of Southern Thuringia are meant) and the Hartz mountains without the payment of tribute. He commanded, however, the Thuringians who survived to pay the king a tribute of pigs. After this Theodoric basely ordered Irminfred to be put to death in Zulpiach (Pertz, iii, 31 and 32). This account and that of Witikind vary so much in their details that they are clearly not copies one from the other, and are evidently taken from a common ancient source, probably from some ancient poem, as Pertz suggests (*op. cit.*, iii, 424, note

25); and as Widukind himself hints in his phrase: "Si qua fides his dictis adhibeatur penes lectorem est. Mirari tamen non possumus in tantum famam prævaluisse, ut Iringis nomine, quem ita vocitant, lacteus cœli circulus usque in præsens ut notatus" (*op. cit.*, lib. 1, c. 13). It would be difficult to support any story of the 6th century by so much concurrent testimony as that here adduced for the colonisation of Nether Saxony; not only have we the independent witnesses of the author of the "Translatio Sti. Alexandri," of Widukind of the "Annales Quedlinburgenses," and of the correlative traditions of the Thuringians, but the whole story is in accord with the Frankish notices. There are some mistakes of detail, but they are such as rather confirm the *bonâ fides* of the narrative, as do the mention of other details which we can confirm; thus in regard to Theodoric having been the son of a concubine, the fact is attested by Gregory of Tours (ed. Guizot i, 97). He also attests the fact that the wife of Irminfred, the King of the Thuringians, was called Amalberga (*id.* i, 127), and that she was a truculent person and sowed discord in the Royal Family of Thuringia. He also tells us that a strife arose between Irminfred and Theodoric, and of the war which ensued between them; of the defeat of the former and of his suspicious death (*id.*, i, 131-135). Amalberga does not seem, however, to have been a daughter of Chlovis but the niece of Theodoric, the King of the Goths (Jornandes, ch. 58; Procopius, i, 14 and 15. Pertz' notes to "Annales Quedlinburgenses"), and it may well be that *her* father was named Hugo. But the best confirmation of the story is to be found in the laws and institutions of the Saxons. We find their community, as I shall show further on, divided into four classes, namely, the Ethelings or nobles, freemen, liti, and slaves. These liti were clearly very different to slaves, and an important wergild is assigned for offences against them. They were again on a lower footing to the Saxon freemen, and I have no doubt, as has been suggested by Mr. Stubbs, that they represent the coloni mentioned in the account of the "Translatio Sti. Alexandri," *i.e.*, the conquered Thuringians (*see* Stubbs's "English Constitution," 46, note 5). I have small doubt, therefore, that the Saxons invaded the Weser Valley about the time of the reign of Theodoric, and that before their arrival the greater part of Nether Saxony was occupied by the Thuringians. Whence did they come? The tradition already recited from the translation of Saint Alexander makes them emigrants from Britain. This is hardly admissible, but the mistake is very easily explained if they came from the Eastern Angeln and not from the Western England, and if one has been by mistake written for the other. Now it is very curious that

in almost the first contemporary notice of the Saxons in Nether Saxony they are called Jutian Saxons. This occurs in a letter addressed by the Frank King, Theodebert, the son of Theodoric (534-548) addressed to the Emperor Justinian, in which he describes some of the conquests of the Franks: "Subactis Thuringis . . . Wisigothis . . . cum Saxonibus Euciis (Eutiis) qui se nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt usque in oceani litoribus, custodiente Deo, dominatio nostra porrigitur" (Zeuss, 387).

This calling of the Saxons Jutes points to their having come from the Cimbric Chersonese, like the Angles, their compatriots, who were making about this very time their descents upon the English coast. Now Dahlmann, the historian of Denmark, has made the judicious suggestion that the cause of the migration of the Angles was the arrival of the Danes. It is curious that a very few years before the incidents already recited from the war between Theodoric and Irminfred took place, that we first meet with the Danes in the Frank chronicles. This was in the year 515. We are told the Danes went by sea to the Gauls with their King Chlochilaich (*i.e.*, Haveloc), and having landed they ravaged some of the land of Theodoric, making slaves of the inhabitants and carrying off much booty to their ships. They were about to return home with their king, who was the last to embark, when Theodoric sent his son Theodebert with an army. The Danish king was killed, the Danes were beaten in a naval fight, and the booty they had made was recaptured ("Gregory of Tours," ed. Guizot, i, 126 and 127). It is very probable that the onward movement of the Danes and the subsequent settlement of the Nether Saxons were not unconnected, and that the latter people, like the Angles, were pushed out of their old quarters in Jutland by the new comers, the Scandinavians or Norse people, who now appear for the first time. I see no reason to doubt this, and it at once explains their migration and points also to whence it came from.

It would seem that for some time the Saxons were confined chiefly to the Weser Valley, and it was on the Weser that their early struggles with the Franks chiefly took place. Theodebert died in the year 547, and was succeeded by his sickly son Theodebald, who died in 553, and he in turn was succeeded by his great uncle Chlothaire, known as Chlothaire the First. The change of rulers had apparently induced the Saxons to revolt, and we are told Chlothaire marched against them and destroyed a great number of them. He also severely punished the Thuringians for having assisted them ("Gregory of Tours," i, 177). This was apparently in 554. Shortly after, the Saxons having remained obdurate and refusing to pay tribute, he again marched against

them. When he arrived on their frontier they addressed him, saying: "We do not defy you, nor do we refuse to pay you the tribute we paid to your brothers and nephews. We will do so if you demand it, but we ask you to leave us alone in peace." He was satisfied with these words, but his followers insisted that the Saxons were liars, who ever broke faith. The Saxons returned and offered one-half of what they possessed, but in vain; they then offered their clothes, their herds, and all they possessed, saying: "Take these things, and also one-half of our lands, only leave our wives and children free, and do not attack us." Chlothaire would have readily listened to them, but his people would not hear of it, and even ill-used him and threatened to kill him if he refused to march at their head against them. In the fight which ensued there was a terrible carnage, and the Franks were beaten and constrained to beg for peace (*id.*, 184-186). Chramn, Chlothaire's son, now proved rebellious, and took refuge with Childebert, Chlothaire's brother. The latter incited the Saxons to invade the Frankish territory. They accordingly marched as far as Deutz, opposite Cologne, and committed great ravages there (*id.*, 191). This was apparently about the year 555; Chlothaire afterwards succeeded in reducing the Saxons once more to obedience, and imposed upon them a tribute of 500 cows (Möller, *op. cit.*, 36, note 93).

Chlothaire's empire was divided among his four sons. During their reign the war with the Saxons continued. On the part of the Franks it was doubtless largely a defensive war, for the Saxons were very aggressive. They now seem to have appropriated the northern part of Thuringia, included in Ostphalia. We read in the panegyrics of the poet Fortunatus, how Lupus, the general of Sigebert, fought against the *Danes* and Saxons, and drove them from the Wapper to the Lahn (Perry's "History of the Franks," 130). This mention of the Danes is remarkably coincident with the migration of the Angles from Schleswig, to which I hope to refer in another paper. The Merovingian empire was now the scene of terrible civil strife, which was the natural opportunity of the Saxons. The annalists of the empire, as Möller says, when they mention the Saxons, generally as under the year 602, report battles in which there was not much victory to boast of (*op. cit.*, 36, note 95). At length we find the Frank Empire once more united in one hand, namely, that of Chlothaire II. It was during his reign, and in the year 622, that the Saxons prepared for another great invasion of the Frank territory. Chlothaire's young son, Dagobert, had been appointed King of Austrasia. We are told the Saxons marched against him, whereupon he crossed the Rhine to meet them. In the battle which followed, Dagobert was struck on the head, and a

portion of his hair was cut off. Picking it up, he gave it to his knight (armiger) and bade him go to his father with it, and summon him to his assistance. The messenger found Chlothaire in the Ardennes, whence he hastened to the assistance of his son. They joined their forces and encamped on the banks of the Weser. Berthoald, the Saxon chief, was beyond the river, and ready either to fight or to make peace; Chlothaire, mounted on a swift horse, entered the River Weser, and was imitated by Berthoald, while the Franks followed at the heels of their king. "Retire," said Berthoald, "for if you defeat me, people will only say you have beaten your slave Berthoald, while if I win the victory, they will say everywhere that the mighty king of the Franks has been killed by his slave;" but Chlothaire, clad in his armour feared not, rushed at his foe, cut off the head of Berthoald, and held it aloft. The Saxons were defeated, their land laid waste, and those of the male sex who were grown up were slaughtered. Chlothaire then returned home again (*Gesta Reg. Francorum* Bouquet ii, 567-568, and 583. Reginon, ad an. 572; Pertz, i, 551, Möller, *op. cit.*, 37). Such was the barbarous warfare carried on between the two rival and mutually bitter races. The Saxons were again reduced to pay tribute. Ten years later, Dagobert, who had succeeded his father, remitted the tribute of 500 cows on consideration that the Saxons would protect the eastern frontier of the empire from the Slaves, who were continually threatening it. A pact, we are told, was sworn by the Saxon chiefs, on a number of arms, as was their wont (*Fredegar*, Bouquet ii, 441). Under the year 635, we find a Saxon chief named Agino fighting in the Frankish army against the Vases or Gascons (*Fredegar*, Möller, note 98).

Chlovis, Dagobert's son, we are told, married a Saxon named Bathildis (Möller, *op. cit.*, 38, note 99).

The empire was now rapidly growing weaker, and the Saxons gradually pushed their borders further west towards the Rhine, nor were they more than temporarily checked by the campaigns fought against them in 687 and 691 by Pepin of Heristal, the Mayor of the Palace to the *roi fainéant*, Theodoric III. It was probably, as Möller says, at this time that the three Saxon divisions of Westphalia, Engern, and Eastphalia arose.

Pepin of Heristal and Dagobert III. died in the year 715, and the former was succeeded as Mayor of the Palace by Charles Martel, his bastard son. His accession was a stormy one, and the Saxons took advantage of matters to invade the districts inhabited by the Hattuarii, within the Frankish empire. These districts they ravaged and advanced as far as the Rhine (Möller, 39, note 101; Pertz, i, 6, 7).

In 718, Charles Martel marched to punish them. They with-

drew behind the Weser, and he proceeded to devastate their country terribly; there is a grim completeness about the phrases of the Annalist: "Eorumque terra usque ad Viseram fluvium incendiis, rapinis, interfecationibus attrita est" (Chron. Fontan. Bouq. ii, 659). He repeated his attacks in the years 720, 722, 725, and 738, each time apparently harrying the Saxon land, while the Saxons themselves escaped with little hurt, save the loss of their property (Möller, 40, note 103). Their real strongholds beyond the Weser remained untouched, and that river formed a defence which Charles did not venture to cross.

The war was again renewed in 737, after he had acquired his surname of Martel in his struggle with the Saracens in Spain, when the Saxons having been again troublesome he advanced along the Lippe, and compelled them to pay tribute, and to give hostages (Fredegar, Bouquet ii, 456). The peace which was thus exacted was maintained until his death in the year 741.

The dominions of Charles Martel were divided between his sons Carloman and Pepin, and we again find the Saxons turbulent. They were clearly still widening their borders, and we are told they made an attack upon Thuringia. Carloman sent an army against them, which was accompanied by Geroldus, the Bishop of Mayence, who was killed in the battle which ensued (Vitæ Sti Bonifacii ab Othlone, acta Sanctorum, ord. S. Bened. 2, Sæc. III, p. 28; Möller, 41). This was in 743. In the struggle which Carloman had the same year with the Bavarians, we read that he was assailed by the Saxons, Alemanni, and Slaves (Möller, *op. cit.*, 41). Having subdued the Bavarian duke, Carloman marched against the Saxons and captured their fortress of Hochseburgium (the modern Asseburg, near Wolfenbüttel; Möller, *id.*). He advanced as far as the Weser, subduing the Saxons on the route. Theodoric, one of the Saxon chiefs, was surrendered as a hostage, and having sworn obedience was released (Annales Laur. and Einhardt, ad an. 743; Pertz, i, 134 and 135; Annales Mett., *id.* 327; Reginon, ed. 555; Möller, 41).

In 744, Theodoric again rebelled. Carloman and his brother Pepin again marched against him, and compelled him to submit with many of his people, many of whom were again baptised (Annal. Laur. and Einhardt, ad an. 744, etc. Appendix ad Gest. Franc., p. 573; Möller, 42). In 747, Carloman resigned his power and retired to Italy, and Pepin remained sole Mayor of the Palace. He was an imperious person, and we find that in the same year Gripho, a natural son of Charles Martel, fled from him with a body of troops, and having been joined by a number of Saxons collected his forces on the river Ocker, near Orheim. Pepin marched against him and traversed that part of

Thuringia occupied by the Nord-Suevi, *i.e.*, the eastern part of Ostfalen, where he was joined by a great body of Slaves, and encamped at Schoening in Brunswick (Ann. Laur. and Einhardt, ad ann. App. ad gest, r. F. Bouquet ii, 575; Möller, 43). Hochseburg was again taken, and Theodoric for the third time captured, while the submission of the Saxons who lived next the Suevi was accepted. Pepin then marched to the Ocker, where, by the intervention of the Saxon chiefs, a peace was arranged. A number of the Saxons were again baptized, while Gripho, who suspected his Saxon friends, fled to Bavaria. The Saxons were not long in again rebelling and relapsing into paganism, and we find Pepin again marching against them in 753. A terrible battle was fought at Iburg, in the diocese of Osnaburgh, in which Hildegard, the Archbishop of Cologne, was killed (Annal. Laur. and Einhardt, ad an. 753, Pertz, i, 138 and 139. Ledebur Krit. Beleucht., etc., 58). The Franks were, however, victorious, and advanced as far as Remen on the Weser, near Minden, compelled the Saxons to give hostages, and also insisted that their missionaries should have full liberty to spread the faith in Saxony and to baptize (Möller, 44, and note 113).

Pepin had to return once more to Saxony in 758; there he advanced as far as Sithen, between Dülmen and Haltern on the Stever, or perhaps, as Pertz thinks, as far as the River Sende. He defeated the Saxons, captured several of their fortifications, compelled them to pay an annual tribute of 300 horses, and subdued their country as far as the Weser (Annal. Laur. and Einhardt, ad ann. 758; Möller, 45). We are told the terms of the peace were ratified "*more Saxonico*" (Annales Einhardt, Pertz, i, 141).

This peace was more lasting, and we do not hear that Pepin fought again with the Saxons during his reign, which ended in 768. Pepin left his kingdom to his two sons, Carloman and Charles, the former of whom died in 771, leaving his brother sole King of the Franks. He had a great desire to convert his pagan neighbours, the Saxons, and also to widen the borders of his kingdom, and accordingly commenced a very unjustifiable campaign against them. It was determined, we are told, at a diet held at Worms in 772, to make an attack upon the Saxons. Crossing the Rhine, Charles attacked their stronghold of Ehresburgh (probably the modern Stadtberge on the Diemel). This was captured, as was also the pagan sanctuary of Irminsul, which was destroyed. Ledebur places this among the mountains of Osning and Egge, between the towns of Horn, Lippspring, Dringenberg, and Driburgh, among well watered valleys (Möller, *op cit.*, 74, note 118).

During three days that the Franks were encamped there

there was a very intolerable heat, and the springs became dried up; but according to the chronicles a torrent miraculously burst forth, and the army was relieved. The matter-of-fact Ledebur identifies this torrent with a spring called Bullerborn, near Altenbecken, which is intermittent, flowing for six hours, and then drying up for a similar time (*id.*, note 118). Charles now set out for the Weser, and persuaded the Saxon chiefs and grandees there to allow Christianity to be taught within their borders, and also received twelve hostages from them. The tribute which they had formerly paid was apparently not insisted upon, inasmuch as it is not mentioned (*Annales Laur. and Annales Einhardti*, Pertz, i, 150 and 151). He then returned home, and set out, at the invitation of Pope Hadrian, to assist him against Desiderius and his Lombards. When the Saxons heard that he had gone so far away, mindful of their ancient liberties, and incited by those who were still pagans, they drove out the Christian priests and invaded the district of the Hattuarii, by which no doubt the modern Gau of Hatterun is meant. This invasion took place in 715, and was doubtless connected with the dispersion of the Boruchtuarii, to which Bede refers in the following passage. Speaking of Saint Suidbert he says: "Non multo post ad gentem Boructuarorum secessit, ac multos eorum prædicando ad viam veritatis perduxat. Sed expugnatis non longo post tempore Boructuariis a gente antiquorum Saxonum dispersi sunt quolibet hi, qui verbum receperant" (*Mon. Hist. Britt.* 259). These Boruchtuarii were doubtless the inhabitants of the Gau of Borohtra, between the Lippe and the Ruhr, and we thus get a date for the Saxon conquest of the southern part of Westphalia.

They tried fruitlessly to capture the fortress of Buriaburg (now represented by Mount Bierberg, on the right of the Eder), and also tried in vain to destroy the church of Fridislar, close by, which had been consecrated by Saint Boniface, who had prophesied it could not be burnt. The former, according to the annalists, was protected by the arrival of an army of the indigenes, the latter by two angels. Meanwhile, Charles having destroyed the Lombard kingdom, had returned to Ingelheim, and there heard how the Saxons were ravaging the Hessian gaus. He sent four armies against them; three of them won victories, while the fourth returned with a large booty, and the Saxons at length retired homewards (*Annales Laur. and Egin.*, ad an. Pertz, i, 152 and 153).

In 775, Charles again crossed the Rhine with a large army, and captured the fortress of Sigiburg, which Ledebur fixes at the ruins still called Hohensyburg, near the junction of the Lenne with the Ruhr. This he did not destroy, but fortified

more skilfully and put a garrison into it. Thence he advanced to Ehresburgh, which he had overturned in a former campaign. He restored its fortifications and also put a garrison in it, and went on to Brunesburg (near Huxar on the left bank of the Weser), whose neighbourhood he ravaged. Crossing the river, he again defeated the Saxons, and leaving a force at the ferry, he advanced into the interior of the Saxon land. At the Ocker, the former boundary of the Thuringians and the Saxons, the nobles of Ostphalen, with Hassio, their leader, submitted, gave hostages, and promised to be faithful to the Franks. Charles then went to Bukki (Bückeberg, between Obernkirchen and Rodenberg, in Engern), and there received the submission of the Angrians, of whom Bruno was dux or chief. He then marched on to the Elbe, which he was, however, prevented from crossing by an outbreak of the Westphalians, who had attacked his garrison on the Weser. He accordingly hastened back again. This garrison had been planted at Lübbkia, on the Weser, where a pact had been made with the inhabitants. One evening when the Franks had gone out to get provisions, and were returning, several hundred Saxons (who, as I have said, were then their friends) were mixed up with them, and were helping to carry the goods with their acquiescence, when they attacked them unawares, slaughtered a section of them, and drove the rest from the fortress. Charles thereupon returned to Westphalia, where he revenged his people in a serious fight, and again compelled the Saxons to give hostages (*Annales Laur.* and *Annales Einhardt*, Pertz, i, 154 and 155).

Having, as he thought, subdued this revolt, Charles again repaired to Italy to punish the rebel Lombard chief Rotgaud. The Saxons accordingly used their opportunity and attacked the garrison which Charles had placed at Ehresburgh, enticed it into an ambush, and then slaughtered it and levelled the fortifications with the ground. They attempted a similar policy with the troops at Sigiburg, but warned in time by some fugitives from Ehresburg, they defended themselves bravely. The Saxons used a kind of primitive artillery for casting stones, and made an onslaught on the garrison. The Franks thereupon sortied by the gate, and attacked the besiegers unexpectedly in the rear. The Saxons were panic-stricken, and fled as far as the Lippe, leaving many of their men in the retreat. The Lorsch annals tell us they were struck with panic by the appearance of two shields of flaming red, which were suspended in the sky over an adjoining church. Charles having captured and put to death Rotgaud in Italy, returned homewards, recalled by the danger of the Saxon invasion. He

held a diet at Worms, and determined to make a fresh attack upon the continual disturbers of the peace. He again entered their land, laid it waste, and captured its fortresses. He advanced as far as the sources of the Lippe, where many of the Saxon chiefs, with their wives and children, willingly submitted and were baptised. Having restored the fortress of Ehresburgh, he built a new one on the Lippe, which Pertz fixes at the site of Lippstadt (*Annales Laurissenses et Einhardti*, Pertz, i, 156 and 157; Möller, note 138). The following year, namely, in 777, he advanced with a large army as far as Paderborn, famous for its fertile and beautiful situation, whence, according to the *Poeta Saxo*, "its ancient barbarous name" (Pertz, i, 233; Möller, note 139). There he assembled the Saxon chiefs and freemen, who renewed their oath of fidelity, and it was agreed that if any of them should afterwards fall away either from his Christian profession or allegiance, that the offender should forfeit his liberty. The most redoubtable of the Saxons, however, was not present. He was a Westphalian, and was named Witikind, and we are told that, conscious of his many offences, he fled with some of his companions to Sigfred, the King of the Northmen (*Annales Lauris. et Einhardti*, Pertz, i, 156; Eginhardt, *id.*, 559; *Poeta Saxo*, *id.*, 233). Witikind, it is clear from the way in which he is mentioned in the annals of Lorsch, had already greatly distinguished himself, although he is not mentioned distinctly by name until the year 777. From his retreat and vantage ground he now continued his exertions against the old foes of his people. After the meeting at Paderborn, Charles had gone off to the other end of his dominions to oppose the Saracens. When the Saxons heard of this, incited by Witikind and his companions, they broke out again into rebellion and advanced, plundering as far as Deutz on the Rhine, sparing neither age nor sex, says Eginhardt, so as to prove that their campaign was one of vengeance, and not a mere raid (Eginhardt, *Annales*, ad an. 778). They burnt the churches in Hesse and Thuringia, and we are told the monks of Fulda fled in terror with the bones of Saint Boniface. This was in 778 (*Annales Laurissenses*, ad an.; *Annales Fuldenses*, Pertz, i, 349; Möller, note 141). Charles, on hearing of this invasion, despatched a force against the Saxons; the *Poeta Saxo* says he ordered the Alemanni and Eastern Franks to march against them, and followed himself in all haste. The Saxons now prudently withdrew, retiring through the Lahngau to the Eder with their booty. They were overtaken at a place called Lihesi on the latter river. The *Poeta Saxo* calls it Baddonfeld. The Saxons were defeated with considerable loss and retired homeward. The approaching winter prevented further pursuit

(Pertz, i, 158 and 159, Kruse, Chron. Norm, 8; Möller, 54 and 55).

The next year Charles crossed the Rhine near the outfall of the Lippe, and advanced to Bochalt on the Aa, ravaging the country *en route*. Having been defeated, the Westphalians again made terms and gave hostages. He then went on to the Weser and planted a fortress at Medo-fullium, or Mittel Fuhlen (which Ledebur identifies with Fuhlen near Oldendorf, on the left bank of the Weser), and received the submission of the Ostphalian and Engrian nobles. Having retired again, at the approach of winter, he once more entered the Saxon land in the following year. This time he marched by way of Ehresburgh to the sources of the Lippe, and thence went on to Orheim beyond the Ocker, where the inhabitants of the Bardengau and many of the Nord Liudi, or Saxons beyond the Elbe, were baptised; then advanced to where the Orum falls into the Elbe, near the site of Wolmirstadt, where he planted a garrison and settled the affairs of the Saxons and Slaves (Annales Laur. and Einhardt, Pertz, i, 160 and 161; Kruse, *op. cit.*, notes 14 and 15). Saxony was now incorporated with the empire and was divided into parishes and dioceses. In 782 a diet was held in the Saxon country, near the sources of the Lippe, which was attended by all the Saxon grandees, except Witikind and his companions, who had fled to the Northmen. Charles had scarcely returned home when that uneasy patriot again stirred up his countrymen to rebellion. Charles not knowing of this outbreak had sent three of his officers, namely, his Chancellor, Adalgis, his Marshal, Gailo, and his Count of the Palace, Worad, to punish the Sorabi, who had invaded the Frank territory. They marched with an army of Eastern Franks and Saxons, and were joined by Theodoric, a relative of Charles, who headed a section of Ripuarian Franks. Hearing, on the way, that the Saxons had rebelled, they turned aside and fell on them. Witikind and his people were planted on the mountain called Suntal, near Hausberg, whilst the Franks were posted on an adjoining mountain. Theodoric was first sent on to explore, but the three officers, fearing that he might gain the credit of the victory, hastily attacked the Saxon fortress. They sustained, in consequence, a severe defeat. Adalgis and Gailo, with four Counts and twenty nobles, were killed, while only a few escaped over the mountains to the camp of Theodoric. The Saxons do not seem to have prosecuted their victory, and Charles having assembled his force, marched to exact a terrible punishment from his treacherous neighbours. He advanced to the place when the Eder falls into the Weser, and there summoned the Saxon chiefs. They laid the blame upon Witikind, but Charles was too much afflicted by the loss of his officers and

people to retire this time without a due punishment; 4,500 of the ringleaders and leaders of the revolt were doomed to death and were executed in one day at Verden on the Alar (*Annales Lauris*, etc., Pertz, i, 162-165; Möller, 57-59; Kruse, 16 and 17), a punishment which, notwithstanding the gibes of Zeller and others, we cannot deem excessive for the persistent treachery of the Saxons. It did not, however, have its due effect, and perhaps instigated the survivors to further revenge. We accordingly find them assembling the next year, *i.e.*, 783, at Detmold, under the command of Witikind, when they were severely defeated. Charles retired to Paderborn to await reinforcements, and then advancing again won a second and more decisive victory on the banks of the Hase near Osnabruck. This fight, according to some, lasted for three days, and was very fiercely contested, and was a great disaster to the Saxons. Charles crossed the Weser and advanced unopposed to the Elbe, laying waste the country, the miserable inhabitants sheltering themselves in the forests and beyond the Elbe. The Emperor returned home once more for the winter. The indomitable Saxons were not yet crushed, and next year we again find them rebelling; this time in conjunction with some of the Frisians. Charles accordingly again advanced to the Weser, near Huculvium (the Modern Petershagen, formerly called Hockeleve; Pertz, i, 166). He was prevented from going directly northward by the floods of the Weser. Leaving, therefore, a division, under his eldest son, to look after the Westphalians, he made a detour southwards towards Thuringia, and thence on again to the country of the Elbe and the Saale, and reached Stagenfurt (*i.e.*, Steinfurt on the Ohre, as Ledebur has argued; Moller, *op. cit.*, 60, note), and thence went to Schœning. Most of the Saxon chiefs, however, fled, and the land he laid waste was largely deserted by its inhabitants. After this march he again returned to Worms. Meanwhile, the Westphalians had attacked the division of the younger Charles in the Gau of Dragini (Hertfeld, Lisborn, Werne, and Kappenberg are situated in this district; Pertz, i, 166, note 91). They were defeated by him, but not subdued, for we find him repairing to Worms for aid. Charles, the Emperor, thereupon determined upon a very unusual course with him, namely, upon a winter campaign. He spent Christmas near Schieder, on the Ambre, and then went on to Rimi at the junction of the Weser and the Werra, where his march was obstructed by the inundations and the severity of the weather. He thereupon went to Ehresburgh and distributed his army in winter quarters in the neighbourhood. He made, several attacks on the Saxon strongholds during the winter (Möller, 61). Having spent the spring at Ehresburgh, during

which time he rebuilt it, and also built the Basilica there, he summoned the Saxon and Frank chiefs to a diet at Paderborn (Chron. Moiss., Pertz, i, 297; Kruse, *op. cit.*, 22).

This was in 785. At this diet, according to Pertz, was issued the first capitulary relating to the Saxons, which is extant. The first five clauses enact punishments for offences against the Church. The 1st decrees that the Christian churches shall be as duly honoured as the pagan fanes were wont to be. The 2nd is as to violation of sanctuary. The 3rd decrees that any one entering a church and stealing from it, or setting it on fire, shall suffer death. The 4th decrees death to those who wilfully and without leave eat flesh during the Long Fast. The 5th, a similar penalty for any one who kills a bishop, priest, or deacon. The 6th clause has a very curious sound, and provides that if, according to the manner of the pagans, any one should deem a man or woman to be a witch and to eat men, and shall consequently burn him or give his flesh to be eaten, or shall eat it himself, he is to be put to death. The 7th decree enacts that any one burning the corpse of a dead person, after the manner of the pagans, shall be put to death. This shows that the Saxons of Nether Saxony, while yet pagans, were, like the later Danes, in the habit of burning their dead. The 8th, that if any of the Saxons shall hide away and refuse to be baptised, he shall suffer death. 9th, If any one shall sacrifice a man to the devil and so invoke the devils (*i.e.* the pagan gods) in his sacrifice, he shall suffer the same penalty. 10th, Death was to be the punishment of any one conspiring with pagans against the Christians, or their King. 11th, So if any one was unfaithful to the King (*i.e.*, the Frank King). 12th, Or if any one carried off his lord's daughter. 13th, Or if any one killed his lord or lady. 14th, But where the criminal repaired to the priest and willingly made full confession, the punishment of death was, on the request of the priest, to be remitted. 15th, In regard to lesser enactments, the Saxons consented that each pagus or village should give to the Church a dwelling and two farms, and for each 120 men, including nobles, freemen, and liti, to give to the same Church a manservant and a maid. 16th, On the payment of any dues to the State, a tenth part was to be handed over to the Church. 17th, It was ordered that all classes, nobles, freemen, and liti, should give a tenth of their labour and income to the Church. 18th, No assemblies or public meetings were to be held on Sunday, but, unless kept away by urgent business or the attacks of the enemy, the Saxons should repair to church on Sundays and festivals to hear the word of God and have leisure for good works and to pray. 19th, All infants were to be baptised before they were a year old; in case of omission without permission, a noble

was to pay 120 solidi, a freeman 60, a litus 30. 20th, Any one making an illicit marriage, within prohibited degrees, should pay, if a noble 60, a freeman 30, a litus 15 solidi. 21st, Any one offering gifts to fountains, or trees, or groves, or offering anything in the manner of the Gentiles, or eating in honour of the devils, should pay, if a noble 60 solidi, a freeman 30, a litus 15, and if he had not wherewith to pay, he must give the value of the fine to the church in labour. 22nd, *The bodies of the Christian Saxons were to be buried in the cemeteries of the church and not in mounds.* 23rd, Diviners and soothsayers were to be handed over to the priests. 24th, If thieves and malefactors fled from one comitatus to another, and any one sheltered them for seven nights, except in order to hand them over to justice, he should pay the prescribed fine; and if a count was party either to their escape or to their concealment without good reason, he should forfeit his office. 25th, In regard to mortgage, no one was to presume to pledge another on pain of being put under the ban. 26th, Any one preventing another from going to obtain justice should be put under the ban. 27th, If any man should not be able to find a surety, his goods should be put under the ban (forbanno) until such a surety was forthcoming. If he presumed to return home notwithstanding, besides his debt he should pay 10 solidi or an ox in order to clear his ban. If his surety should fail to appear on the appointed day, he himself should forfeit as much as his principal would have done. If the principal, however, should fail to his surety, he should forfeit double the fine which he had permitted the surety to incur. 28th, If any received gifts or premiums against the innocent he should be put under the ban, and if a count he should forfeit his office. 29th, The counts were to use their efforts to prevent strife and warfare, and if quarrels broke out among them they were to remit the matter to another court. 30th, If any one killed a count, or was privy to his death, his goods should be forfeited to the king and he should be tried. 31st, Authority was given to the counts to fine people within their jurisdictions, in greater causes to the extent of 60 solidi, in lesser ones to the extent of 15 solidi. 32nd, If any one was under an obligation to make oath to another, he must do it on the appointed day at the church, and if he refused he must give security and pay 5 solidi. 33rd, Perjuries were to be treated according to the Saxon law. 34th, It was forbidden to the Saxons to hold any general public meetings, unless summoned by the king's messengers or missi, but each count should do justice and settle causes within his own jurisdiction. The priests were to take notice of this.

After holding the diet where this capitulary was issued, Charles crossed the Weser, and entered the Bardengan, where the

Saxons performed their usual comedy of giving hostages, and of being baptised. Witikind, Albion, and some other chiefs fled beyond the Elbe. Charles now sent an invitation to them to make peace with him, but as they were unwilling to return without some protection, he agreed, by the intervention of Amalvinus, to give them some Franks as hostages. Having returned to Attigny, he was followed there by Witikind and Albion, who were there baptised. So important was this victory deemed that Charles specially refers to it in a letter to his contemporary, Offa of Mercia, and the Pope ordered the event to be celebrated by three days of solemn processions throughout western Christendom. It is noteworthy that in his letter to Offa Charles calls the Saxon chief Withmund and not Witikind. The former is certainly in form more like a Saxon name, while Witikind, the Whiteboy, seems to favour the statement of an old Saxon poet, who tells us his name was changed at his baptism from Nickheim to Witikind (Kruse, *op. cit.*, 5).

According to the ancient chronicles of Brunswick, Witikind married the sister of Sigfred, the King of the Northmen, who was called Geva, by whom he had two children, a son named Wipert, and a daughter Hasala, who married Berno, one of the twelve Ethelings of the Saxons, who had fled with Witikind when he went to Denmark. The same authors tell us these twelve Ethelings ruled over the land of the Saxons, and when there was war, they met and elected one of their number as their king. After the war was over he returned to his original status. Witikind was nominated as king in his way, and when Charles made peace with him, he created a dukedom of Saxony, and appointed Witikind to the post, while the rest of the Ethelings he made lords and counts (Kruse 4-5).

This is chiefly from the chronicle of Botho, written at the end of the 15th century, but it is apparently founded on original information. The baptism of Witikind seems to have effectually pacified the Saxons for some time to come.

In 789 Charles, after holding a council attended by the Franks and Saxons, traversed Saxony and went beyond the Elbe to receive the submission of the Wiltzi. We are told that Saxons, Franks, and Frisians formed his army on this occasion (Pertz, i, 174).

In 793, when Charles was engaged in his war against the Avaes, Count Theodoric, doubtless the Theodoric already named, went among the Frisians to get a contingent of men. He had led a body of Frisians and Saxons in the Avar war of 791. For some reason or other we find the neighbouring Saxons breaking out into rebellion, and attacking him in the Gau of Riustria, dispersing his troops, destroying many churches, and

treating their priests with indignity. Charles accordingly marched against them; he went himself at the head of one army, which advanced through Thuringia, while his son Charles headed another. The Saxons were assembled at Sendfeldt, near Wunnenberg. Finding themselves threatened on two sides, the latter made terms with the Frankish king, and swore to become Christians, as they had often done, "and the king believed them," says the impatient chronicler, and gave them priests (Pertz, i, 302).

According to the Chronicon Moissiac, they thought that the Avars wished to liberate themselves, and accordingly disclosed their own hidden views. "Like dogs returning to their vomit," says the annalist, "they returned once more to their paganism, and allying themselves with the pagans in their neighbourhood, they also sent envoys to the Avars, rebelling first against their God and then against their king; they devastated the churches in their neighbourhood, cast out the bishops and priests, and killed those whom they could lay hands upon, while they returned once more to their idolatry" (Pertz, i, 299).

Permanent peace with the Saxons was impossible so long as the country beyond the Elbe, the resort of so many refugees, remained unsubdued. Accordingly Charles determined the following year, namely, in 795, upon a more vigorous policy in his direction. He went to the borders of the Elbe to Bardenwic, and summoned the Obodriti, a Slavic race which lived beyond that river, to send envoys. Their king, Witzan, seems, *inter alios*, to have gone, but as he was returning he was waylaid by the Saxons beyond the river, who probably deemed this coquetting with their enemy, and was killed. Charles now began a new policy towards the Saxons, and we are told he transplanted one-third of them within the Frankish borders. The Fulda annals date this in 794, but the other authorities put it in 795 (Kruse, *op. cit.*, 29–30.) Those transported were probably some of the principal people, and in the Annales Xantenses, the number so moved is put down at 7,070 men (*id.*, 29). They were not settled in one place but in various localities, as in Haspania, the modern Haspengau, Hennegau, Belgia, and Bamberg (*id.* 30).

In 796, while his son Pepin was fighting the Avars, Charles, suspecting an outbreak among the Saxons, marched into their country. He received hostages (apparently from the Westphalians) in the district belonging to the monastery of Dragini, now Raghlin (Kruse, 30; Moller, 64), and crossing the Weser at Leese, he entered the district of Wigmodia, the modern Wümmegau, between the Lower Elbe and the Weser. There the inhabitants were submissive, and he once more returned to "Francia." The following year he again advanced into

Wigmodia, which was then probably occupied by Frisians; he captured the fortress of Wihmuodi, and went as far as Hadeloh, the maritime tract between the estuaries of the Elbe and Weser. Having again taken hostages, he once more returned to Aachen (Kruse, 31). He held a diet there in October, which was attended by Saxons, from all parts, *i.e.*, Westphalians, Angrians, and Ostphalians, and a Saxon capitulary was issued in which it was agreed that for all offences in which Franks were to pay a fine of 60 solidi, that Saxons should be mulcted in a similar amount, while for lesser offences in which Franks were fined 15 solidi, Saxons were ordered to pay 12 for nobles, 5 for free-men, and 4 for liti.

Various clauses provide fines and wergilds (wargida, they are here called): 1. In cases where they were tried at home, *infra patriam*, the pagus was to receive 12 solidi as a wargid. 2. If the cause was tried, according to the custom, before one of the *missi regaliū*, besides the wargid, a second similar amount was to be paid to the missi. If the cause, however, was remitted to the palace to be tried before the king, nothing was to be paid to the pagus, but the royal exchequer was to receive 24 solidi. 3. In case the litigant should not be satisfied with the judgment of the country, and a second appeal had to be made to the king, and if he adjudged that the missi were right, then the fine was to be 24 solidi. 4. If he came before the appellate court a second time, 48 solidi, and in case of a third trial the fine was to be tripled. 5. If any should disdain to attend the diet, he should be fined, if a noble 4 solidi, a freeman 2, a litus 1. 6. If any one did a wrong to a priest or to his servants he must repay twofold. 7. In case anyone (? anything) should be destroyed by the missi of the king, threefold restitution should be made as according to the Saxon Ewa, and so if anything was done by their men. 8. No one out of mere spite or enmity against another was to burn his property, unless in case of a persistent rebel who refused to do justice, and upon whom it was impossible to distrain otherwise, and refused to go before the king's court to have the question tried out there; in such case, a meeting was to be summoned of the pagus, then if they decided unanimously, his house was to be burnt according to the Ewa. (This word is explained in a gloss to the Corbey MS. as meaning "law," Pertz, *Leges* i, 170.) If any one dared to commit arson except for this reason, he was to pay 60 solidi. 9. If the king should desire in greater causes, etc., to inflict a heavier fine, then with the consent of the Franks, and the faithful Saxons, it was to be lawful to double the fine of 60 solidi, and to inflict penalties of from 100 to 1,000 solidi. 10. In cases of malefactors who, according to the Saxon Ewa, were liable to capital punishment, and who fled

to the king for protection, it should be lawful for him either to return them to their people for punishment or with their consent to outlaw him, his family, and his goods, and he was then to be held as if he were dead. 11. In assessing the value of a solidus among the Saxons, it was noted that for each solidus there should be paid a yearling beast of either sex in the condition it was in the autumn when sent into the stable. As it grew during the spring, after it came out from the stable, and during the summer its value was also to increase. Other provisions regulated the value of the solidus in measures of grain or honey.

In a capitulary issued in 801, at Ticino, it was ordered that in all causes between Franks who obeyed the Salic law, the solidus was to be counted as worth 12 denarii, but in all contentions with Saxons and Frisians the latter were to pay the Franks, if they lost their suit, after the rate of 40 denarii to each solidus (Pertz, *Leges*, i, 85).

In the spring of 798 Charles made another incursion into Saxony. He went with his "comitatus" or court, and spent Christmas at the place where the Diemel falls into the Weser. He founded a fortress there, which he ordered to be called Heristelle, while he scattered his army in winter quarters in various parts of Saxony (Möller, 66, note 190). With the warmer weather he advanced farther east. The Saxons beyond the Elbe, who had not yet felt his arms, had put some envoys whom he had sent to them to death, and had also slain Godescalcus, an ambassador who had been sent to Sigfred, the Danish King, and whom they waylaid on his return.

The trans-Albingian Saxons were apparently assisted by those living between the Weser and the Elbe, for we find Charles, after crossing the Weser at Minden, where he placed a garrison, laying waste that part of Saxony which lay between the Weser and the Elbe (Eginhardt, *Annales*, Pertz, i, 185; Kruse, 32).

The Saxons beyond the Elbe being elated by their recent raid upon the Imperial envoys, now made an assault upon the Obodriti, the faithful friends of the Franks. The Obodriti, under their King Thrasco, were posted at Swentina (probably the modern Bornhovet, formerly called Swentinefeldt, on the River Swentina which separated the Saxons and Obodriti). The struggle was a very severe one, and Eburis, the representative of Charles at the Court of Thrasco, reported that the Saxons, who were defeated, lost 4,000 men (Eginhardt *Annales*, Pertz, i, 185; Kruse, 32). The Slaves sent to report their victory to Charles, by whom they were duly rewarded. He then, having again taken hostages, returned home again (Kruse, 33). In 799 Charles held a great diet at Paderborn, where he built a splendid church. It was while

staying there that he received the fugitive Pope Leo the Third, whom he promised to support, and who subsequently crowned him as Emperor of the West. From Paderborn he sent an army under his son Charles, to the Elbe to arrange matters with the Obodriti and to compel the obedience of the trans-Albingian Saxons, after which he returned home again. In 802 we find him sending another army to ravage the country of the trans-Albingian Saxons (Kruse, 36).

The Saxons were now, however, finally subdued, became tractable subjects of the Franks, and were apparently governed by Witikind.

From the account of the translation of Saint Alexander we learn that Witikind was succeeded as their chief by his son Wibrecht (*i.e.*, Wibert) and he by his son Waltbraht (*i.e.*, Waltbert), who is specially commended to his son Louis by the Emperor Lothaire in a letter quoted in the same life, in which he requests him to wed a Saxon of noble birth, and calls him his faithful vassal, *fidelis vassalus noster*.

In another letter written to Pope Leo he speaks of the Nordalbingian Saxons as "Gens in partibus nostri regni Saxonum scilicet et Fresonum commixta in confinibus Nordmannorum et Obodritorum sita, quæ evangelicam doctrinam jam dudum audierat et acceperat, sed propter vicinitatem paganorum ex parte firma in religione constat et ex parte jam pene defecta" (Transl. St. Alexandri, Pertz, ii, 676-677).

In the account of the translation of Saint Pusinna we are told that the two famous Saxon monasteries of Corbey and Heriford were founded in the reign of the Emperor Louis, *i.e.* Louis the Pious (*id.* 681). Under the year 841 we read in the *Annales Xantenses* that the Saxon slaves (*Servi*) rose against their lords and gave themselves the name of Stellinga. They committed great ravages and their lords were much persecuted (Pertz, ii, 227). Nithard, who probably wrote his history between 841 and 843, in which last year he was killed, tells us that when Lothaire was fighting against his two brothers, the Saxon nobles were divided into two factions, one taking his side and the other theirs. Lothaire incited the subjects of Louis the German to rebellion and *inter alia* he promised the frilings and the lazzi in Saxony, who were very numerous, that if they would side with him they should have the ancient laws again which had been current when they were still idolaters. Incited by this promise they banded together, called themselves Stellinga, and drove their lords or ethelings away (Pertz, ii, 669). They were suppressed by Louis but again broke out in rebellion and were again put down (*id.* 670 and 671).

This mention of the three estates of the Saxons by Nithard

reminds me that the author of the "Translatio Sancti Alexandri" has some curious details about them which I have not yet quoted.

We are there told that although the Saxons were turbulent in their foreign politics and aggressive against their neighbours, that at home they were quiet and peaceable. He says they were proud of their blood and would not marry either with inferiors or with strangers. They were large in stature and of fair complexion. Their society consisted of four classes: Nobles (*nobili*), freemen (*liberi*), *liti* (he calls them *liberti*), and slaves. These classes did not intermarry, but the individuals of each married with those of their own class (thus forming castes, like the people of India). An incongruous marriage, according to the biographer, was punished with death. He also praises their laws. They worshipped some who were not deemed gods, among whom the chief was Mercurius (*i.e.*, Woden) to whom on certain days they offered human sacrifices. They did not house their gods in temples, nor did they deem any human form sufficiently great and dignified to represent them. They had sacred groves, to which they gave the names of their gods, and in which they worshipped. They practised divination. This was of a simple character. Having cut off a branch of a fruit-bearing tree, they cut it into twigs and scattered them on a white cloth at random; then, if it was a public consultation, the priest of the nation, if a private one, the father of the family, having prayed to the gods, took up three of them and interpreted them according to some test previously fixed. If the omen was unfavourable they would not prosecute their purpose further that day. They also consulted the cries and the flight of birds, and also the neighing of horses, which they deemed the most valuable augury of all. Before they engaged in war they tested the result in another way. Having captured, if possible, one of the enemy, they chose one of their own people to fight him and judged of the result of the coming battle by the success of either champion in this duel. They respected certain seasons, as the waning and waxing of the moon. They worshipped in groves, and, *inter alia*, a large trunk of a tree exposed to the sky, which they called *Irminsul*, meaning the Universal column, as if it supported the universe (*Pertz*, ii, 675 and 676).

I will conclude with a short survey of the religious revolution in Saxony, by which it became converted to Christianity. The first who converted any of the Saxons was Saint Faro. In 621, envoys went to Chlothaire the Second, from the Saxon chief Berthoald, who in jeering and insulting terms renounced their master's allegiance to the Franks. Chlothaire, who was highly indignant, wished to put them to death, but Saint Faro

persuaded him to put off their execution till the following day. The envoys were thrown into prison, where Saint Faro repaired at night and converted them to the Christian faith. The following day, when they were to have been executed, he begged that the new converts might be sent home (*Vita Sti Faronis Acta Sanctorum*, Bouquet iii, 504). We next read how Saint Eligius redeemed many of the Saxons who had been made prisoners by Dagobert, and then converted them to the faith (*Vita Sti Eligii ap Acher. t. v. Spic. 156; Möller, id.*).

We must next speak of Saint Wilfred, Archbishop of York, who on his way to Rome in the year 677 was shipwrecked on the coast of Frisland, and spending the winter there, held some services. Saint Egbert, having heard from him that the Frisians and Saxons were still pagans, sent one of his priests to Frisland, who spent two years trying in vain to teach the Frisians. Soon after this, Egbert sent Saints Willibrord and Suibert with twelve other priests to Frisia. Among the latter were two brothers named Ewald, one with white hair and the other black, whence they were known as the White and the Swart. Bede tells us they were Englishmen, and had been exiles in Ireland. They went to the land of the old Saxons, says Bede, and were well received by the head man of a village. They asked him to introduce them to his superior, the governor of the province, whom Bede calls a satrap, and who doubtless answered to our English Ealdorman. Bede adds, in reference to this officer, a curious note confirming what I have already adduced from another source; he says there was no king among the old Saxons, but only satraps set over different provinces, who in times of peace had equal jurisdiction, but in time of war they elected one of them as their over-chief (*i.e.*, their emperor), who was deposed again to his former rank on the return of peace.

The missionaries told the reeve, or village chief, that they had something important to communicate to his master, and he accordingly detained them a few days in his house. Secure there, as they thought, they spent their time in prayer and psalmody, offering daily to God the sacrifice of the Saving Victim, for which purpose they had brought with them the sacred vessels and a portable altar (Bede, *Mon. Hist. Britt.*, 258; Lingard, *A. S. Church*, 233.) Afraid that they might influence the satrap, and seduce him from his old faith, the Saxons seized on the missionaries and put them to death on the 3rd October, 695. When the Ealdorman arrived, he had the murderers executed and the village burned. Various miracles are reported by Bede as having been performed by their bodies, which were at length buried at Cologne by the Frank king, Pepin (*id.*).

Saint Boniface, who well earned the title of Apostle of Germany, after working for some time among the Frisians, settled on the borders of the Hessians and old Saxons at Amanaburg on the Ohm, and made many converts. In 732 he received the pallium at Rome and was authorised to found Episcopal sees, and was also appointed papal vicar over both Gallic and German bishops. In 744 he founded the famous Monastery of Fulda, and eventually established several sees in Germany.

One of the earliest apostles of the Saxons was the Saint Lebuinus already quoted. He was an Englishman by birth, and a *protégé* of Saint Boniface. We are told he and his companion Marcellinus landed at Utrecht and proceeded to Wilp, near Deventer, on the Isel, and having converted many thereabouts, he crossed that river and planted a small church beyond. The pagans, however, speedily excited by his work, set upon, burnt, and destroyed his buildings and did much damage to his little colony of converts. He himself, however, was protected by the local chief. Hearing that the Saxons were about to hold their annual meeting at Marklo, he determined to repair thither. Meanwhile, he lived with a chief of some importance, who tried to persuade him not to go on with his work, as he feared for his life. He nevertheless insisted upon attending the gathering, which was made up of a great multitude of people from different quarters. As the assembly was about to begin with the usual sacrifices, he raised his voice against the sacrilege, and, if we are to believe his biographer, spoke out bravely and eloquently against idolatry. They were greatly enraged, and would have quickly made a martyr of him, but we are told he was miraculously preserved; whereupon, one of their chiefs named Buto, standing upon an eminence, addressed them, saying they were wont to receive and listen respectfully to the messages of the envoys of the Northmen, Slaves and Frisians, and now when God's own ambassador brought them a message they were going to kill him. They thereupon desisted and allowed him to go about freely where he liked. He does not seem to have been very successful, however, and apparently retired from Saxony, and died, and was buried at Deventer (Pertz, ii, 361-364).

In Hucbald's "Life of St. Lebuinus," written between 918 and 976, we have some curious details of the Saxons. He also tells us they were divided into three classes: edlingi (nobiles), frilingi (ingenuiles), and lassi (serviles). This information he probably derived from Nithard. He tells us further that each pagus was governed by its own chief. At a certain time in each year there were elected from these pagi, and also from the three orders,

twelve men who assembled together at a place near the Weser, called Marklo (which is identified by the editor with Markenah in the district of Hoya near the Heiligen loh, *i.e.*, the sacred wood) and Adelshorn. There they discussed the public weal according to the prescribed rules. One of these councils, as I have said, was attended by Lebuinus (Pertz, ii, 361 and 362.)

Another of the *protégés* of Saint Boniface was Saint Sturm, who became Abbot of Fulda. In the year 777, after the great diet held at Paderborn, a great number of Saxons, partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, and partly by gifts (*i.e.*, bribery) consented to become Christians, and not long after, Boniface divided their land into parishes and sees, and appointed Saint Sturm and his monks to evangelize it. They proceeded to build churches and to demolish idols and groves. The following year the Saxons drove out these priests and advanced to the Rhine, as I have mentioned. Sturm and his monks fled with the remains of their saint, and returned only on hearing that the invaders had been driven back. In 779, Saint Sturm, who was then a feeble old man, was ordered to repair to Ehresburgh and to settle there, but he was already on the edge of the grave and died almost directly. This was in 779 ("Life of St. Sturm," Pertz, ii, 376-377).

We now find another Englishman undertaking the work: this was Saint Willehad, who was sent by Charles into the more northern districts of Saxony, *i.e.*, Wigmodia, where his mission was very successful in making converts, building churches, and ordaining priests. This was in the year 781.

The following year, as I have mentioned, Witikind broke out in rebellion, and Willehad and his companions were driven away and the converts suffered terribly. Willehad repaired to Rome.

In 785 we find him with Charles at Ehresburgh, who gave him the living of Valesio Mont Julin, in Upper Burgundy. He then again returned to Wigmodia, where he busied himself in his work and restored the churches which had been destroyed. This was followed by the submission and baptism of Witikind himself, and in 787 Saint Willehad was consecrated as a bishop at Worms, and his diocese was constituted from the districts of Wigmodia, Lorgoe, Reustria, Asterga, Nordendi, and Wanga. He thus became the first Bishop of Bremen, where in 789 he dedicated its cathedral to Saint Peter. He died the same year (Vita Saint Willehadi, Pertz, ii, 380-383). About this time Charles also caused the church of Saint Peter at Minden to be built, and appointed Hercumbert to take charge of it.

I have now completed this part of my story, in the course of which I hope I may have brought together a good deal of matter new to English students, and certainly not to be found in any English work accessible to me. I hope, also, I have succeeded in showing, what is a very important conclusion for ethnographers, philologists, and historians alike, that Grimm and his school of German writers were entirely wrong in deducing the Saxons from the old Kheruskans, that the Old Saxons, like the Saxons of England, were immigrants, and that they only occupied the Valley of the Weser and the districts of Nether Saxony in the 6th century.



THE ETHNOLOGY OF GERMANY.

(PART VI.)

THE VARINI, VARANGIANS, AND FRANKS.

(SECTION I.)

BY

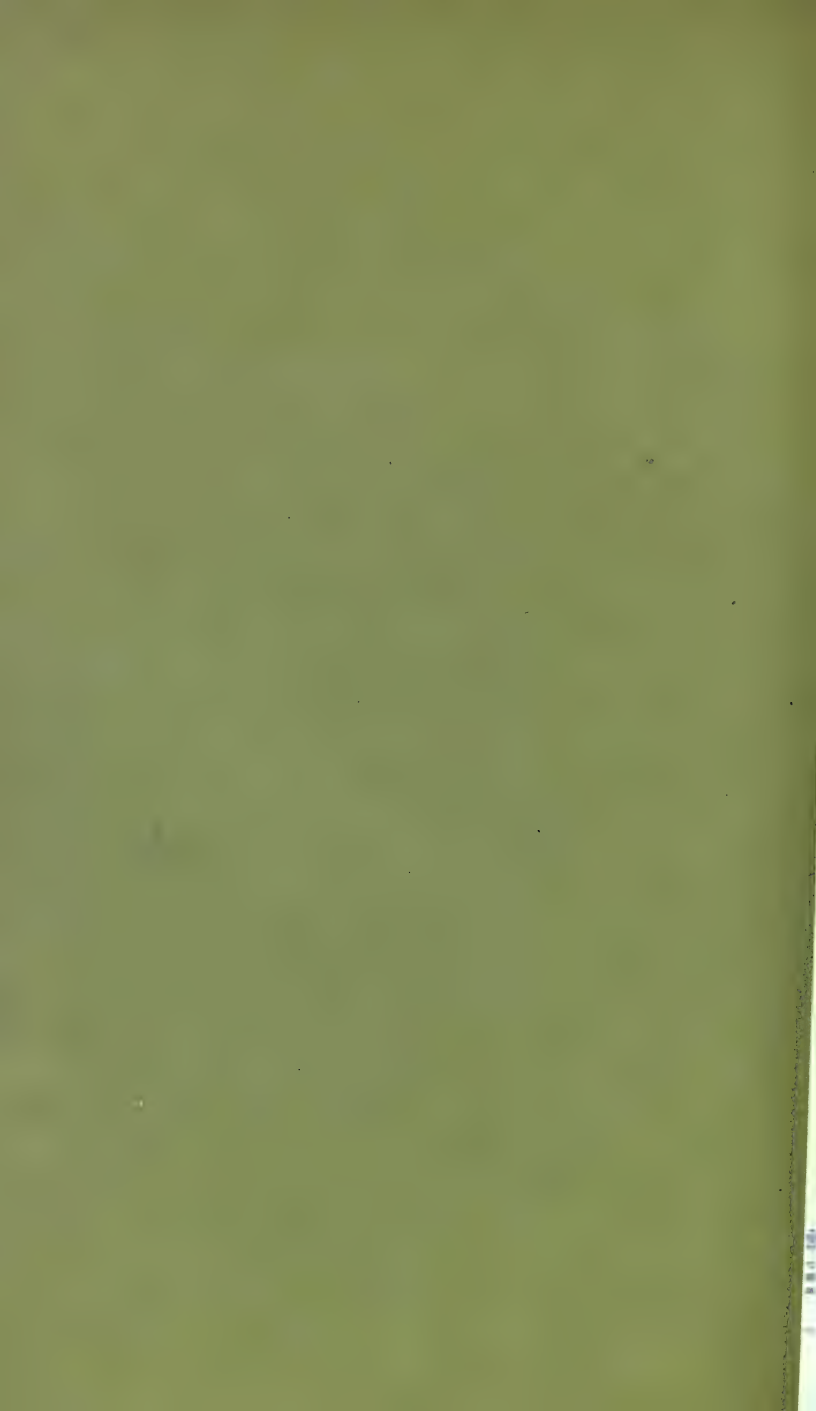
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The ETHNOLOGY of GERMANY.—PART VI.

THE VARINI, VARANGIANS, AND FRANKS.—SECTION I.

By HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

WE will commence our paper, in which some very heterodox views will be maintained, by a survey of the various theories about the origin of the Franks. One of these may be dismissed almost in a sentence. This is the theory of some too patriotic Frenchmen, including Dom Bouquet, Hadrianus Valesius, and Dubos, who argued that the Franks were of Gallic race—one author urging that they were descended from the Gauls who had formerly lived in the Hercynian forest. I need not say that no historian holds this view now. The facts are absolutely overwhelming to prove that in language, in laws, in customs and institutions, in nomenclature, in their archæological remains—in fact, in everything by which we can discriminate races—the Franks were of Teutonic origin.

Another theory might be dismissed equally quickly if its existence at an early date were not interesting on collateral grounds. Rospatt, author of one of the famous “Programms,” so well known in Germany (entitled “Kritische Beiträge zur Aeltesten Geschichte der Franken,” p. 11), says: “When the Franks became a powerful nation, and when the literary class, the clergy, as well as the chiefs, chiefly consisted of men of Frankish origin, it was natural that classical antiquity should be searched through to find a becoming ancestry for the martial race which had now become so important. Virgil was then the most widely read and familiar writer, and the expedition against Troy and the foundation of Rome the most famous events in popular imagination. It was natural, therefore, that Troy should be made the point of departure of the French genealogists, and that the martial opponents of the Romans should be derived from Priam and his people.”

A genealogy of the Carlovingians, printed by Pertz (ii, 310), has the phrase, “Priamus et Antenor egressi a Troja, venerunt in Secambria, et inde in Pannonia, et inde in Mæotides paludes, et inde juxta ripas fluminis Reni in extrema parte Germaniæ.” Again, a scholiast to Fredegar, whose notice is printed by Bouquet (ii, 391), after describing the wanderings of the fugitives from Troy, goes on to say: “Denuo bifarea divisione Europam media ex ipsis par cum Francione eorum Rege ingressa fuit. Qui Europam pervagantes cum uxoribus et liberis Rheni

ripam occuparunt. Nec procul a Rheno civitatem ad instar Trojæ nominis aedificare conati sunt . . . et per Francionem vocati sunt Franci." Mr. Perry says this Trojan theory has been defended in modern times by Türk, "*Kritische Gesch. der Franken.*" A false reading in Cicero's "*Ep. ad Atticum*" (lib. xiv, epist. 10), where Fangones has been corrupted into Frangones, has been brought forward to prove that the Franks were known by that name in the time of Cicero (Cluverius, "*Germania Antiqua*," iii, 82; "*The Franks*," by W. C. Perry, p. 41, note 1).

Of course this Trojan origin of the Franks is mere fable, but it is very curious how general these fables were. Ammianus Marcellinus, after discussing various theories about the origin of the Gauls, says: "Some, again, maintain that after the destruction of Troy, a few Trojans, fleeing from the Greeks, who were then scattered over the whole world, occupied these districts, which at that time had no inhabitants at all" (*op. cit.*, xv, 9). We all know how many jibes have been cast at Geoffrey of Monmouth for a similar pedigree which he gives to the Britons, and few remember that, several centuries before Geoffrey wrote, the same story was told in a truncated form by Nennius, another proof that Geoffrey was not the inventor and impostor he is often made out to be. But returning to the Trojan story about the Franks. In the popular histories of the last century it was the fashion to deduce the line of Frank kings from an ancestor named Pharamund. Latterly, with every justice, this person has been treated as purely mythical. He is quite unknown to the earliest Frank chroniclers, Gregory of Tours and Fredegar, who would assuredly have mentioned him had he really existed. His name first occurs in an interpolated passage in a corrupt copy of Prosper of Aquitaine, where we read, under the year 417, the twenty-sixth year of Honorius: "Faramundus regnat in Francia." On which passage Mr. Perry speaks as follows:—"No value whatever is to be set on this passage of the work of Prosper, who lived in the fifth century." Two MSS. are extant, one of which appears complete and uncorrupted, and contains no reference to Pharamund. The other is full of irrelevant interpolations, and among them the passage above quoted, which probably dates from the seventh century. Henschenius, in his "*Exegesis de Epistola Tungrensi*," doubts whether the name occurs before the ninth century. Long ago, Leibnitz, in a famous paper on the Franks, which was published in 1720 as an appendix to Eccard's work entitled "*Leges Francorum*," suggested that Pharamund was a corruption of Priam, and we, in fact, find Prosper of Aquitaine, who died in

463, in his notice of Theodosius, saying, "Priamus quidam regnat in Francia quantum altius colligere potuimus." I am not sure that the name of Troy was not similarly suggested by that of the Tongri, in whose land the Franks were early settled.

The legend about Pharamund grew out of the interpolated passage above quoted, until, as Mr. Perry says, to Pharamund was ascribed, not only the permanent conquest made at this time by the various tribes of Franks, but the establishment of the monarchy, and the collection and publication of the well-known Salic laws. The "*Gesta Francorum*" make Pharamund the son of Marcomir, while in the "*Genealogies*" published by Duchesne he is made the father of Chlodio. As we have said, he is clearly a fictitious person, and must be erased from consideration as in the same category with the Trojan origin of the Franks.

A third theory about their origin, which is almost universally held now, is that the name connotes a confederation of Teutonic tribes which lived on the lower and middle Rhine, and which had long been known to the Romans under other names such as the Sicambri, the Khamavi, the Bructeri, &c., &c., and which, in the latter part of the third century, adopted the common name of Frank. According to this theory, which has been adopted by Ledebur, Zeuss, and Grimm, among others, the Franks were not a new people, but an old and well-known race under a new name. This view is very plausible at first sight, and is apparently supported by some weighty evidence; thus, Gregory of Tours makes Bishop Remigius, when he baptised Chlovis, say to him: "Mitis depone colla, Sicamber, adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti" (Gregor. zur, 231). Again, Venantius Fortunatus, in addressing King Charibert, says: "Cum sis progenitus clara de gente Sygamber." Again, in the anonymous and contemporary "*Life of the Bishop St. Arnulph*," who died in the year 640, we are told, speaking of Dagobert, the son of Chlothaire, "ille acceptum ita altissima et profunda eruditia sapientia ut in Sicambrorum natione rex nullus illi similis fuisse narraretur."—*Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. iv, p. 438.

In the "*Vita Sigismundi*" (Bouquet, iii, 402), we are told, speaking of the first appearance of the Burgundians, "In ipsis temporibus cum Sicambrorum gens; illicita convalescens manu, multas regiones et gentes finitimas cum suis Regibus propriis et subditis sibi ditiones prostrasset atque devastasset; inter alia occidentis regna Galliarum quoque fines invadendos audacter, licet inviti, petierunt." Again, in turning to the tribes neighbouring upon the Sicambri, we find Gregory of Tours quoting a passage of Sulpicius Severus, in which he mentions how Arbogast, pursuing Sunnon and Markomir, petty kings of the Franks, crossed the Rhine at the head of an army, ravaged the

country of the Bructeri, as well as a village inhabited by the Khamavi, and that no one appeared to resist him, save a few Ampsuarians and Khattians, who, under Markomir, showed themselves on the neighbouring hills (Gregory of Tours, ii, 9). This passage seems to make the term Frank comprehend the Khamavi, Bructeri, Ampsivarii, and Khatti. Again, Ammianus Marcellinus, at an earlier date, tells us how Julian crossed the Rhine, and suddenly entered the district of a Frank tribe called the Attuarii, men of a violent character, who at that very moment were licentiously plundering the districts of Gaul (*op. cit.*, xx, 10).

These passages comprise the evidence upon which it has been generally argued recently that the Franks were a confederacy of the several Rhenane tribes known from early day, and it will be noticed that the most direct testimony is in the case of the Sicambri, who by many have been treated as Franks *par excellence*. Yet when we come to sift this evidence closely we shall find that it is very unsatisfactory.

The Sicambri were a famous martial race, familiar to the readers of Cæsar, but they were entirely crushed and deported by Cæsar's successors. Suetonius, speaking of Tiberius, says: "Sicambros dedentes se traduxit in Galliam, atque in proximis Rheno agris collocavit" (Suet., "Oct. Aug.," 21), and in another passage, again speaking of them, says, "Germanico (bello) quadraginta millia deditionem trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni sedibus assignatis collocavit." (*id.*, Tib., 9). Eutropius (75) makes the number of captives then transported 400,000. Aurelius Victor, in "Cæsar Augustus," has the phrase, "Sicambros in Galliam transtulit." Strabo, who was a contemporary, speaking of the German bank of the Rhine, says of the people who occupied this country, "some have been transplanted by the Romans into Keltica, and others have retired into the interior like the Marsi"; and of the Sicambri he adds, "there remain a small portion" (*op. cit.*, viii, 1, 3); and Tacitus, who speaks with great authority when the question is about the Germans of the Rhine valley, says in his "Annals" (lib. xii, ch. 39), "ut quondam Sugambri *excisi* et in Gallias trajecti forent."

A late poet, referring to the same event, has the following lines:—

"Sic ripæ duplicis tumore fracto,
Detonsus Vahalim bibat Sicamber."
(Sidon, *carm.* 13.)

These passages make it clear that the Sicambri, as a trans-Rhenan nation, were practically extinguished; *excisi* is the very strong word used by Tacitus. They were transported west of the Rhine, and no doubt became Roman citizens. Tacitus tells

us how they were employed in the Roman armies, and speaks of "Sugambrae cohortis prompta ad periculas" (Tacitus, "Ann.," iv, 47). This Sicambrian contingent had its headquarters in Pannonia, and founded the *ancient* city of Buda, called Alt-Ofen by the Germans. This place, now a mere village marked by numerous Roman remains, still bears, we are told, the name Sicambria. (Duchesne "Hist. Franc.," script. 1) has printed the following inscription about it:—

"Legio Sicambrorum
Hic praesidio collocata
Civitatem aedificavit,
Quam ex suo nomine
Sicambriam vocaverunt."

These Pannonian Sicambri are also mentioned by Adam of Bremen (lib. i, ch. 3) in the phrase, "Driades, Bardi, Sicambri, Huni, Wandali," &c. (Ledebur, "Das Land und Volk der Bructerer," note 518). I shall revert to these Pannonian Sicambri presently. The burden of my present argument is that the Sicambri were practically evicted from their old seats by the Romans. How completely we may best judge when we consider that the name, after the beginning of the first century, completely disappears and does not occur again for nearly three centuries, when, as we have seen, it is used as a synonym for the Franks. There can be only one reasonable explanation of this, namely, the one adopted by Leibnitz and others, that the Franks were called Sicambrians, not because they were descended from the Sicambrians, but because they afterwards lived in and occupied the old country of the Sicambrians,—just as the English inhabitants of the United States are called Americans, the Spaniards in South America are called Mexicans and Peruvians,—just as Englishmen at home are called Britons. When the Franks became a strong and active body the Romans naturally called them Sicambri, as living in the country whence their formidable enemies, the Sicambri proper, had come.

We shall be strengthened in this contention if we turn to the other tribes with which the Franks have been often identified: the Khamavi for instance. In the Peutingerian table they are mentioned as a distinct body from the Franks in the phrase, "Chamavi qui et Franci." Ammianus Marcellinus describes how the Romans, after defeating the Salian Franks, marched against the Chamavi, as if the latter were a different people (*op. cit.*, xvii, 8).

On turning to the Bructeri we find similar evidence. In the Peutingerian table, whose date has been so contested, but which was probably compiled somewhere in the third century, we find on the lower Rhine the words, "Chamavi qui

et Franci"; south of this the word "Francia," and south of this again the word "Burecturi"; and, as Zeuss has argued, here we not only find both Bructeri and Franci, but we also find the latter occupying a part of the old country of the Bructeri; and when we come down to the time of Bede, when the Frankish dominion was limited and bounded very definitely, we find him speaking of the "Boruchtuarii" as being assailed by the Saxons. They were doubtless the "Bructeri" of the older authors, and lived in the *gau* "Boroctra," in Westphalia. In passages where these Boruchtuarii are mentioned they are, to my mind, most clearly distinguished from the Franks. Lastly, as to the Khatti: they were apparently the ancestors of the modern Hessians, and not Franks.

Jornandes has a passage which reads as if he thought the later Franks a different people to the earlier Germans. His words are, "Gothi Germanorum terras, quas nunc Franci obtinent, depopulaverunt" (*op. cit.*, ed. Closs, 50).

It would seem, therefore, that the Franks proper were essentially distinct from the Sicambri, Khamavi, Bructeri, and other tribes, and were not, in fact, a collective confederacy formed out of them. It is quite true that when the Franks became the dominant race on the lower Rhine, and conquered all their neighbours, the latter were called Franks—as the Gauls after the conquests of Chlovis were called Franks, and as the various tribes which followed the standards of Attila and Jingis Khan were called Huns and Mongols respectively; but this was a political use of the name, and not an ethnic one. Such a use, in fact, as we find in Agathias, in his work, "De Imp. et reb. Gest. Justiniani," where he says they were formerly called Germans. Procopius also speaks of the Germans now called Franks. An old scholiast upon Juvenal ("Satyr," iv, ver. 147) speaks of the Khatti and Sigambri as "Gentes Germanorum sive Francorum." So, again, Jerome, in his "Life of Hilarion," in a passage quoted by Aimoin ("Hist. Franc.," ii, 10) has the phrase "gens . . . apud historicas Germania nunc Francia dicitur antiqua," which in a MS. of the twelfth century given by Pertz is altered into "Germania in Franchonslant" (Ledebur, *op. cit.*, note 815). In these cases we see the specific tribal name Frank becoming a generic name, equal in connotation with German, and due to the prominent place filled by the Franks among the Germans.

On *à priori* grounds it is exceedingly improbable that a number of rival predatory tribes should amalgamate into a homogenous nation, and adopt a new name, and such a name, too, as Frank. It is not infrequent for a number of disintegrated tribes to join together under a common commander to meet some imminent danger, but this is a very different matter to a nation

being formed and continuing its existence on the terms of a partnership. Assuredly we should have some evidence of it in the most reliable and valuable of all sources of evidence, namely, the Salian and Ripuarian Codes, but not a word is breathed in these laws suggesting such a conclusion. How, also, on this theory can we account for the existence of the two entirely separate bodies of the Salians and Ripuarians, with separate laws and organisations, yet both adopting the new name of Frank? How, also, account for the fact that the Roman writers should not describe the formation of such a confederacy on their borders?

Whichever way we view the question the objection seems insuperable to accepting the theory that the Franks were a mere confederacy of old Rhine tribes under a new name. While the direct evidence seems to be as conclusive that they were new-comers in the Rhine lands when we first hear of them. They came at the same time as the Saxons, who were new men as we know: they not only came at the same time, but also as companions of the Saxons, and apparently assailed the borders of the Channel in conjunction with them. They were a maritime and piratical race, which the remains of the Kheruscan league were not. The remains of their language ally them with the Transalbian Teutons, the Saxons, Angles, and Lombards, and not with the Platt-Deutsch-speaking folk of Nether Saxony. They were ruled by a race of kings belonging to the sacred caste of the North, and known in their case as Myrvings, just as the other invaders of the Roman Empire, who came from beyond the Elbe in the third and fourth centuries, were. Their manners and institutions in early times were not those of a race long familiar with Roman civilisation, but of a martial race who had lived isolated from Roman influences.

The native tradition of their origin, as preserved by Gregory of Tours, makes them come from the East, from Pannonia, when they settled within the Roman borders, and does not identify them in any way with the old people of Westphalia. Their later intercourse with the English race in Britain points the same way. We find them linked several times with the Saxons in piratical attacks (*vide infra*). Procopius would have us believe that the Frank king, Theodebert, claimed some supremacy in Britain; and Pope Gregory, as Lappenberg has said, in his letter to the Frank kings, Theoderic and Theodebert, about the conversion of the Angles, seems to speak of them as subjects of the latter ("Saxons in England," i). Speaking, again, of the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of the Franks, Lappenberg says that this connection between the princes admits the supposition of an intercourse between their

subjects, and which, at a somewhat later period, does in fact appear to have subsisted at the great commercial fair of St. Denis, which was visited by Anglo-Saxons (*id.*, 130, 131).

On all grounds, therefore, I am constrained to the conclusion long ago adopted by Leibnitz, and recently by Beauvois, but which I reached entirely independently, and long before I read their works, that the Franks, like the Saxons, Angles, Lombards, &c., were recent immigrants into the area where we find them when they are first mentioned in history. Our next duty is to find out whence they came. Before considering this question, however, we must say a few words about their name. By the Latin annalists they were called "Franci"; in old High German, "Franchon, Franchono"; in Anglo-Saxon, "Frankan," "Francena"; and in Norse, "Frakkar" and "Frakka." Procopius calls them *φραγγοι*, and Libanius, "Phragkhoi"; in old Russian, "Fraji" or "Frajni." Grimm derives the name from the word "frank," meaning free, which in middle High German occurs under the form "frech," while in Dutch it is "vrank" ("Gesch. der Deutsch. Sprach.," 358); but this is probably a *post hoc propter hoc* argument, and the term "frank," used as an adjective, is probably derived from the ethnic name "Frank," the Franks having been essentially free. Besides this argument we have the *à priori* improbability that a congeries of Teutonic tribes should have adopted such a name for itself as "free." Grimm virtually discards it, and favours another derivation from the Gothic *freis* and *friks*, *audax*, *avidus*. He quotes the fact that, in the preface to the Salian laws, the Frank race is called *inclitya*, *audax*, *velox*, and *aspera*, and thus establishes a connection with the God's name, Fria, Fricka, Fricco. This is, however, very far-fetched. Still more so is another suggestion of his, that the name is derived from the Gothic *hramyan* (figere), whence the Frank *adchramire*, and by the change of *ch* into *ph*, which is not infrequent, *adframire*, and the form *framea*, diminutive *frameca*, which in Anglo-Saxon becomes *franca*. Grimm inclines very favourably to this derivation. Others have deduced the name from the *francisca*, by which name the battle-axe of the Franks was called, as Isidore says: "Quas et Hispani abiusu Francorum per derivationem franciscas vocant" (*id.*, 361). It has been argued that as the Saxons were called from using seaxes, or short knives, the Suardones from using swords, the Longobards from using longbards (twin brothers of the better known halbards), the Franks were similarly called from using the *francisca*. Here again, however, we have an inversion of the argument; *francisca*, as the extract just quoted proves, is an adjectival form derived from the weapon used by Franks, and is not itself the root of the name Frank. Libanius has an etymology of his own (Zeuss, 326).

The fact is, the various etymologies suggested for the race-name Frank are none of them satisfactory, and we must turn elsewhere if we are to solve our difficulties. We have seen how, among certain Western authors, the name Frank became a generic one applied to the Germans.

Elsewhere it acquired a much wider generic meaning than this. Throughout the East, Frank is the synonym for a European, and not for the particular European whom we designate a Frank. The form of the name, as we thus find it in the East, is Feringhi. It has been supposed that the name with this meaning acquired currency there in the time of the Crusades, in which the chief actors were the French, and in which the armies consisted of a motley gathering of the Western nations. This I altogether question, and I believe it was not derived from the Crusaders, but from Byzantium,—not directly from the name Frank, but from the cognate name Varangian; Feringhi being in fact, only another form of Varangi. The Varangians formed the foreign guard of the Byzantine emperors, which was recruited from many sources, and largely, as I believe, from the Low German races.

It became the name by which the Arabs called the Europeans generally, and from the Arabs it passed to the Chinese, who having no letter *r* in their language, replace it by *l*, and thus in the Chinese writers of the Mongol epoch, Europeans are called Fulangki.

The name Varangian was used in the same generic way by the early Russian chronicler Nestor, the source whence almost all we know of early Russian history is derived. The name by which he distinguishes the Baltic is that of the sea of the Varagians (*op. cit.*, ed. Leondel, Paris, 5, 6).

Under the year 859 he says: "The Varagians, *who live on the other side of the sea*, went and levied tribute on the Chudes, the Slaves, the Meriens, and the Krivitches."

Again: "During the year 860 to 862 the Varagians again crossed the sea. On this occasion the people whom they had already subdued refused to pay them tribute and wished to be independent, but there was not a shadow of justice among them: one family fought with another and caused great confusion. At length, to stop this they said to one another, Let us find a prince who will govern us justly. In order to find him we are told the Slaves crossed the sea and went to those Varagians who are called Russ-Varagians, as others are called Swede Varagians, others Urmans (*i.e.*, Normans), others Angli, and others Goths" (*id.*, i, 20).

In this passage Varagian qualifies the other names (Karamzin, i, 57), and we thus find the term Varagians used in Russia,

whence it probably—nay, almost certainly—passed to Byzantium in a widely generic sense, including both Scandinavian and Germanic tribes, and apparently meaning all the borderers of the Baltic who were of other than Slave or Fin descent. The name occurs, for the first time in any Byzantine author, in the work of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis*. In describing the campaign against the Lombards in 935, speaking of the mercenaries in the imperial service, he mentions the Pharganoi. He names them several times subsequently. The next author who names them is Cedrenus in 1034, who, like the succeeding writers, calls them Baraggoi (Stritter, iv, *Varangica, passim*). It is a singular coincidence, which I did not notice till after this paper was nearly finished, that Jacob Reiske, in his notes to this part of Stritter, has the following note:—"Mihi dubium non est, Francos et Barangos et Waragos eosdem esse" (*id.*, 472). He quotes Barth and Ducange to the effect that the name Frank was formerly pronounced Feranki and Faranki. In regard to the change of the initial *v* or *w* into *b* by the Greeks he quotes the similar corruption of Wallachi, or Vlakhs, into Blakhi (*id.*, 473). In the "*Chronicon Casinense*," ii, 37, 363, the name appears as Gaulanni (*id.*, 474-5). It has been urged that Varangi and Franci cannot be identified, since we find both Constantine and other great writers using both names—both Pharganoi and Phraggoi. This is true; but the fact is, one name had come from the Slaves and the other from the West of Europe, the latter having been meanwhile corrupted, and each form, although originally as I contend the same, had come to connote a different community.

We have thus traced the Arabic Feringhi to the Varangians at Byzantium, and this again to the Varagians or Varangians in Russia. The particular Varagians who infested Russia, Nestor tells us, were the Russ-Varagians; and we know from other sources, which are so generally familiar that they need not be quoted here, that in the ninth and tenth centuries these particular Varagians were of Norse race. Whence did they come? Nestor distinctly excludes Sweden and Norway, for he contrasts the Russ-Varagians with the Swede Varagians and Normans. Yet in most of the popular manuals we are gravely told that they were in fact Swedes; that at this day the Fins and Esthonians call Sweden *Ruotzi* and *Rootsimar*, and a Swede *Ruotzalainen* and *Rootslane*; and that a small district in Sweden is still called *Roslagen*. This is all very true, but it proves very little.

The Fins, according to the very probable and weighty opinion of Geijer, call the Swedes *Ruotsolaiset*, from the district variously called Roslagen, Rodeslagen, or Roden, by which names that part of the Swedish coast nearest to Finland was anciently known (*op cit.*, 12).

The name Roslagen, he says, has the same meaning as Skippslag, and he quotes the chancellor, Axel, in a protocol of the council of 1640, who says: "Rodslagen was so called because rookarlar (oarmen) or mariners, dwelt on the coast; for our forefathers were wont to assign to the seamen particular districts which they called Skippslag" (*id.*, 22, note 2).

Its import, Geijer adds, is still preserved in the subsisting division of the district into ship cantonments. The arguments, therefore, from Roslagen and the Fin word Ruotzlainen fall to the ground, while we have the direct testimony of Nestor for making the Russ other than Swedes or Normans. Excluding Scandinavia proper let us take our journey along the southern shores of the Baltic, and before long we shall meet with another Russia—a Po Russia, or flat Russia, but as much a Russia as the grand principality of Kief, and as worthy of having its etymology worked out. On turning again to Karamzin we find him telling us that Po Russia was the name given to the borders of the lower Niemen or Memel, to which the name of Russ has from early times been given. The lagune known as the Kurisch Haff is called Russia (Karamzin, i, 59). A settlement on the spit of land enclosing the lagune is called Rossiten; a little town on the river Russ itself is also called Russ; while a considerable town, called Rosinee, occurs not far from the Niemen in the government of Kovno, in Lithuania. These facts point to a considerable settlement of Russians proper in this area; that they were intruders may be presumed from the distribution of the names on the sea-board and their sporadic occurrence among a host of Slave names, and also from the fact that it is only the lowest reach of the great river Niemen which bears the name of Russ. This is again confirmed by tradition, for we are told by the oldest Prussian annalists that the first inhabitants of their land, namely, the Ulmigans, or Ulmigars, were civilised by Scandinavian settlers who knew how to read and write (Karamzin, *id.*, 60); and in a Russian work of the thirteenth century, called the "Stepennaia Kniga," and other more recent chronicles, Rurik and his brothers are made to go from Prussia (*id.*, i, 59). This is a by no means unlikely halting-place for them on their cruise eastwards, but it is quite clear that in this colony of the Russ we have not yet reached their original homeland. If we proceed westwards along the Pomeranian shore we shall arrive presently at the district where Lübeck is situated, and which we are told by Leibnitz in old Russian documents is called Variach. It was occupied in early classical times by the Varini, who are universally held to be the Warings, or Varings, of the "Traveller's Tale." Were these Warings then the Varangians of whom we are in quest, and *ex hypothesi* the

Franks under an altered name? I believe so. It is curious, by the way, that a Persian author, quoted by Dorn, should speak of the Russ as the Farang-i-Russ (see Caspia, 29), while Simeon Metaphrastes speaks of Rosabro, called Dromiti, of the race of the Franks (*vide op. cit., sub. an.* 904, 941). Theophanes does the same. Let us now trace the history of the Varini as far as it is available. They are first mentioned by Pliny, who, in describing the Vindili, one of the great sections into which he divides the German race, says: "Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones." The Carini of this notice are not otherwise known. Grimm suggested that the name corresponds to Varini, as Sciri does to Hirri. He also quotes the name Hēruo, an island in Augermanland, and another island called Herua, or Heruár, in the Norwegian province Sunumæri, as possibly connected with them. But these seem far-fetched notions, and I am disposed to agree with Mr. Hyde Clarke, that under the name Carini Pliny perhaps refers to the Angli, who are not otherwise named by him (See Hyde Clarke on the "Settlement of Britain and Russia," Trans. R.H.S., vii, 254).

Tacitus, who wrote in the time of Domitian, is the next author who mentions the Varini. Speaking of the Langobards he tells us they were surrounded by various tribes, and preserved their liberty rather by their martial virtues than by their servility. He enumerates these tribes in the following order, apparently beginning with the head of the Cimbric Chersonese:—The Reudigni, the Aviones, the Angli, the *Varini*, the Eudoses, the Suardones, and the Nuithones, who, he says, were protected by woods or rivers. They worshipped the common goddess, Hertha or Nertha (the name being spelt both ways in the MSS.), which he says means Mother Earth. They held that she meddled in human affairs, and visited the peoples. Tacitus goes on to mention an island in the ocean containing a sacred grove where her sacred chariot was deposited: it was covered with a vestment, and was touched by the priest alone. He was conscious of her being present, and thereupon the chariot was drawn out, pulled by cows. A general festival took place, and during her progress war ceased, arms were laid aside, and swords were sheathed. At length the same priest re-conducted the goddess once more to the temple. After this, the chariot and sacred mantle, and, if report was to be believed, the goddess herself, were bathed in a secret lake; slaves assisted in this ablution, after which the lake swallowed them up (Tacitus, "Germania," xl).

This island is doubtless the island of Rugen, a very famous centre of pagan worship, and apparently the focus of the great Suevian race, of which the Angles and Lombards were notable sections. Tacitus adds that this part of the Suevian nation stretched far away into the hidden recesses of Germany.

We will now turn to the notice in Ptolemy. He tells us that next to the Saxons from the river Khalusos to the Suebos were the Pharadini. I have already discussed this passage in a former paper on the "Migration of the Saxons" ("Journ. Anthropol. Inst.," vii, 293-4), and have shown that these Pharadini of Ptolemy were the Varini of Tacitus, and that the district between the Khalusos and Suebos is that of Mecklenburgh, which by every inquirer is made the original homeland of the Varini, and which, as I there showed, still contains traces of their occupancy in its nomenclature. I have hinted before, and shall enlarge upon the subject in my next paper on the Angles, that between the time when Tacitus wrote and the era of Ptolemy, *i.e.*, about A.D. 90, a very considerable change had taken place in the distribution of the tribes on the Elbe, and that by the invasion of the Saxons, who apparently came from the eastern Baltic, there was a considerable disturbance in the neck of the Cimbric Chersonese. We thus find the Lombards broken into at least two sections, and it seems probable that the Varini were also so divided, and that while we have in the Pharadini of Ptolemy the main portion of the race we may trace another fragment of it under other names. He tells us that between the Saxons and the Suebi (*i.e.*, the Semnones) were the Teutonarii and Viruni. Between the Pharadini and Suebi were the Teutoni and Auarpi (*id.*, lib. ii). Zeuss argues that this name Auarpi, which apparently occurs nowhere else, is in fact a corruption of Auarni or Ouarni, and argues further that Viruni and Ouarni, or Warni, are merely forms of the same name, and both were forms of Varini. Teutonis and Auarpi, therefore, seem to be a mere repetition of Teutonarii and Varini, and the statements of Ptolemy simply mean that between the Saxons in Holstein, and the Pharadini in Mecklenburgh on the one hand, and the Semnones of Brandenburg on the other (*i.e.*, doubtless, as Zeuss urges, in Havilland) was a tribe of Warni or Viruni, who were, as I believe, a mere section of the main tribe in Mecklenburgh.

In his description of the European Sarmatia, Ptolemy apparently refers to another section of the Varini under the name of Auarini, whom he puts near the sources of the Vistula, and next to the Ombrones. Ombrones, it will be remembered, is a synonym for the old Saxons in some of our early writers, and for Jutes in others, so that this collocation makes it very probable that by Auarini the Varini are really meant. Our contention, then, is that between the days of Tacitus and those of Ptolemy a considerable revolution had taken place among the Suevic tribes, and one consequence was the breaking of the Varini into two or three sections, one of which moved south-

wards in the direction of Pannonia. Another one, as I believe, remained behind in its old quarters.

Let us now try and follow the section of the Varini which, as we have seen, apparently migrated along the valley of the Elbe. We have seen how Ptolemy already places them in Havilland. Jornandes tells us that Theodoric, King of the Visigoths in the middle of the fifth century, having subdued the Suevi in Spain, set over them Achiulf, of whom he says: "Is sequidem erat Warnorum stirpe genitus, longe a Gothici sanguinis nobilitate sejunctus" (Jornandes, xlv; Zeuss, 361). Cassiodorus, again, speaks of the envoys sent by Theodoric, the Gothic king, to the kings of the Heruli, Guarni, and Thoringi (Cass. Var., iii, 3; Zeuss, *id.*); while Agathias describes the Franks as being neighbours, and as being in contact with the Italians.

From these extracts it would seem, therefore, that the one section of the Varini was closely associated with the Goths, and doubtless, therefore, occupied, as Dr. Latham has suggested, a part of the Danube valley. Here we arrive at the critical part of our inquiry, namely, the link joining the history of the Varini and the Franks. As is well known, Gregory of Tours, the most reliable of the Frankish annalists, and who from his early date and official position had special means of knowing what the traditions of the people were, tells us that a great number reported that the Franks, having abandoned Pannonia, established themselves on the banks of the "Rhenus," crossing which, they passed into the country of Toringia, where in their towns and villages they made the long-haired kings chosen from their most noble family their leaders (*op. cit.*, ii, 9).

It has been suggested that this reference to Pannonia has arisen from a reminiscence of the Sigambrian colonists, who founded Buda Pesth as we have seen, but this is very improbable. It is very doubtful if such a point as the fact of these irregular troops having founded Buda could have reached the ears of Gregory of Tours, while his statement is perfectly consistent with our contention that it was a body of the Varini of the Danube valley to whom he refers. The latter part of the clause has given rise to great discussions. It has been contended very generally that by Toringia Gregory does not here mean what he usually means, that it is not Thuringia to which he alludes, but the district of the Tongri, from whom the modern town of Tongres takes its name, and this in fact seems the only solution, if we are to accept the general view that the Franks, in migrating from Pannonia, crossed the Rhine when they entered Toringia, but on this point there is great doubt. M. Guizot, in his note, says it is doubtful whether we ought to read Menus or Rhenus, but the majority of the MSS. have the latter;

but granting this we still have the further question whether by Rhenus is here meant the Rhine. Upon this there has been much controversy. Leibnitz, who was a very ingenious and critical writer, says that the river dividing Pannonia and Thuringia is the Regen, and argues that the Rhenus of the passage of Gregory of Tours just cited was the Regen and not the Rhine, and he cites several cases of the similiar elision of the *g*, as Regenbart into Rembart, Regenbold and Reunbold. Regunnar and Reunnar, Regenstein and Remstein, Regenesburg and Remesburg, &c.

Further, we know that in early times the Thuringians inhabited the country as far as the Regen, and even further, as far as the Danube, as we gather from the narrative of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. "Iterum desuper ipsam, quomodo ut dicamus ad faciem patriæ Francorum Rhinensum est patria, qua dicitur Turingia, qua antiquitus Germania nuncupatur, qua propinquatur et patria Saxonum. Quam in patriam secundum præfatum Anaridum philosophum designavimus. In qua patria aliquanta castella fuisse legimus id est. . . . Per quam Turingorum patriam transeunt plurima flumina, inter cetera quæ dicuntur Bac et *Rheganum* quæ in Danubeo merguntur." Bac et Rheganum here mean, assuredly, as Leibnitz argued, the Nab and the Regen. That the Thuringians lived on the Danube in the fifth century we further learn from the "Life of Saint Severinus," by Eugippius, in which Thuringian invasions into Vindilicia are mentioned (*op. cit.*, 27 and 31).

Now it is a very remarkable fact that on crossing the Regen, in coming from Pannonia, the Franks would enter the district which I hold to be the typical land of the Franks, which is called Franconia in mediæval literature, and Franken by the modern Germans, which lies between the Danube and the watershed of the Main, and is traversed by the ranges of hills known as the Franken Hoheis and Franken Jura.

It is curious how in the various theories about the origin of the Franks there is no reference to this district having, *primâ facie*, been the primitive Frankland. The best possible proof of it is to be found in the preface to the "Laws of the Salian Franks." There are two well-known theories about the origin of the name Salian as applied to the Franks: one derives the name from the river Yssel, in Holland, near which is the district of Salland. The other theory connects them with the Saale, whose upper course flows through the district of the Franken Wald, which forms the north-eastern part of the district of the Franken. That the latter view is correct we conceive to be indisputable from the best of all witnesses, the introduction to the Salian

code, which dates apparently from the pagan period. There we read that the laws were drawn up by Wisogast, Bodogast, Salogast, and Windogast, in the districts of Salagheve, Badogheve, and Windagheve, or, as another MS. has it, in Salaheim, Bodoheim, and Windoheim. The four names here given are clearly not proper names, but official ones, denoting officers attached to the gaus. Gast means, according to Eccard, *hospis* or *advena*.

Now on turning to the names of the gaus we find from the old annals of Fulda that Salagheve is in fact the name of a gau on the Saale, in Franconia; Bodagheve is a gau-name derived from the river Boda, at the foot of the Hartz mountains; and Wisogheve from the river Wisera. It will be noticed that there are four officials mentioned and only three gaus, and Eccard suggests that the name of a gau has dropped out equivalent to the Wisogast. He adds that, as the realm of the Franks extended from the Franconian Saale to the Bode, it included the gau of Werra, formerly called Wirrah ha, and that Wisogast has been corrupted from Wirogast, *r* and *s* being easily mistaken for one another. Werro gau lay between Sala gau and Windo gau, on both banks of the Werra, where the county of Henneberg now is.

This evidence seems conclusive about the original home of the Salian Franks being the country bounded by the Main, the Hartz, the Visurgis, and the Saale and Elbe, and not Salland in Holland. The latter, in fact, apparently took its name from the Salians and not *vice versa*, and it is more likely that this name was derived from the Saale, which was called the Sala, and not from the Yssel, which was never so called.

Our theory, then, is that the Franks were a colony of Varangians, or Varini, who made their way from Pannonia over the Regen, and founded a community in Franconia. We must next consider how the change of name came about.

Nothing is better settled than that the language spoken by the Franks belonged to that section of Platt-Deutsch to which the Anglian and Lombard belonged. This has been made clear from a study of the Malpergian glosses, &c. Until recently, however, a very different view prevailed, and in fact, in linguistic works, Francic was used as a synonym for a very typical High German dialect. This was natural to those who examined the later traces of the language, or examined it as spoken in Franken, where a language is spoken as markedly "High" almost as among the Suabians. This is indeed a dilemma, if we accept the linguistic creed of that magnificent explorer Grimm in its entirety, namely, that High German is an old Teutonic speech, bearing a collateral relation to the Platt-Deutsch of Hanover, but this view is no longer tenable. It is now being

seen, and we shall have occasion to revert to the fact in a future paper, that High German is a comparatively modern tongue, probably dating no earlier than the sixth century. My own view, which I urged in a letter in the "Academy" some time ago, is that High German arose from the contact of the Romance-speaking folk, who lived in the Roman districts south of the Main, with the Platt-Deutsch-speaking invaders of that district—just as our English arose from the contact of Anglo-Saxon with the Langue d'oïl, spoken by the Norman invaders of the eleventh century.

If this theory be sustainable, it follows that the Frank speech was originally a Low German language, which became High German by contact with the Roman provincials. Now one of the effects of this very change would assuredly be the conversion of the name Varing or Wareng into Farenk or Frank. To this day the word frank is spelt vrang by the Dutch of Holland. I believe this offers a very reasonable explanation of the origin of the name Frank.

I will now add to this argument about the origin of the Franks from among the Varini, which I traced out before I read the tract of Leibnitz, another argument by which he says he was induced to the same conclusion. The author of the tract, who is generally quoted as the "Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna," was doubtless a German by origin. He dedicates his book to his brother Odocar (*op. cit.*, i, 13).

He puts Jerusalem in the middle of the world, which he makes circular, and divides into two portions by a line passing through that town—the night to the north, the day to the south. The first hour of the night is Germany, the second the country of the Frisons; the third Saxons. In regard to the fourth he says (*lib. i, ch. xi*): "Quarta ut hora noctis Normannorum est patria, qua est Dania ab antiquis, cujus ad frontem albes vel patria Albis *Maurungania* certissime antiquis dicebatur, in qua patria Albis per multis annos *Francorum linea remorata est*."

Leibnitz explains the phrase "*Francorum linea*" as meaning the line or stock of Frank kings, and quotes a similar phrase from Paulus Diaconus, "*Langobardorum faras hoc est gubernationes vel lineas*"; again, in the "*Vita S. Genulphi de Childerico*": "*Hic vero linea prosapiæ Pharamundi*" (*Leibnitz, op. cit.*, 252, note). According to the passage of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna the Frank kings derived their origin from the district of Maurungavia, beyond the Elbe. The same district is referred to by Paulus Diaconus, in reporting the migrations of the Lombards. He calls it Moringia, and couples it with Scoringia. The names Mauring and Scoring, like the name Thuring, *cum multis aliis*, I take to be Norse clan names. In

the case of Thuring, a mere corruption of Terving, the well-known name of the royal family among the Visigoths; in Mairing, a form of Merving, which was the actual name of the royal stock among the Franks, as we shall presently show. This etymology is assuredly most reasonable, explaining, as it does so completely, the phrase of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna above quoted.

Mauringania, according to this view, is the land of the Mervings—both, perhaps, derived from their situation near the sea. In Icelandic, *myre, myri, mor*; Anglo-Saxon, *mire, mor*; Frisian, *myre, moer, moor, marth*. Thence the adjectival form *myrig*, which, with the ethnic termination *ing*, becomes by syncope, *Myrging*, as M. Beauvois (*"Histoire Légendaire des Francs et des Burgondes,"* 1867) says. He adds that the Frisians of Resum Moor, west of Laek, in Slesvig, are still called Mauringe, or Moringe, citing in proof, *inter alia*, "*Die Nord Friesische Sprache noc der Moringer mundart*," by B. Bendsen, edited by M. de Vries, 1860).

In the Scop's tale the Myrgings are mentioned very frequently, as in line 8; in line 47, where we are told Meaca ruled over the Myrgings; in line 86, describing how Offa the Angle king enlarged his borders towards the Myrgings, by Fifeldor (*i.e.*, probably the Eider), and in lines 170, 172, and 194. I may add that Thorpe, in his notes, identifies the land of these Myrgings near Anglen with the Maurungania of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna (Thorpe's "*Beowulf*," 328).

We are not limited, however, to the Geographer of Ravenna. Ermoldus Nigellus, a famous Frank poet, writes:

"Hic populus porro veteri cognomine Deni
Ante vocabatur et vocitantur adhuc.
Nort quoque Francisco nomine manni,
Veloces, agiles arungerique nimis
Ipse quidem populus late pernotus habetur,
Lintre dapes quærit, incolit atque mare.
Pulchra adest facie cultuque statuque decorus,
Unde genus Francis adfore fama refert
Victus amore Dei generisque unsertus aviti,
Temptat et hoc Cæsar lucrificare Deo."

(Dom Bouquet, iv, 50 and 51; Pertz. ii, 501.)

Here we have a tradition that the Franks were derived from the Danes.

Again, another contemporary of Louis le Debonnaire, Freulf, Bishop of Bayeux, who died in 850, refers in his "*Universal History*" to the opinions most generally held about the origin of the Franks, and adds: "Others affirm that this people came from the island of Scanzia, this mother of nations, whence sprang the Goths and other Gothic peoples, as their language attests. There

is still in that country an island which they say is called Francia. By the grace of God we hope to treat more fully of this matter in the next volume" (vol. ii, ch. 17). Unfortunately Freculf does not seem to have carried out his intention.

The fact of these three authors all writing independently, makes their concurrence very interesting and remarkable. There are other facts pointing the same way: thus in the "*Gesta Regum Francorum*" we are told the Franks came from the Mæotis, but the Mæotis and the Baltic were frequently confounded. Thus Adam of Bremen says: "*Fortasse mutatis nominibus arbitror illud fictum (mare Balticum) ab antiquitate Romanis appellari paludes Scythicas vel Mæoticas.*" Again, Fredegar, although much confused, seems also to put Franks on the Baltic (Eccard, *op. cit.*, 255); and it is not improbable that when Jornandes put the Heruli on the Mæotis he confounded it with the Baltic, as in the case of Procopius with the Vandals: so argues Leibnitz. It is a remarkable fact that both Leibnitz and Beauvois, although bringing the Franks from the Elbe country, do not seem to have realised at all their possible relationship to the Varangians and Varini, which first made me come to the same conclusion—virtually, therefore, by an entirely different road. What is perhaps the most conclusive proof of all of our contention is that the Franks, like the other trans-Albingian tribes who appeared contemporaneously with them on the borders of the empire, were ruled and led by chiefs belonging to the yellow-haired sacred stock of the North,—to the same stock as the leaders of the Goths, Lombards, Saxons, Vandals, &c.

The Edda states that Odin set his sons *inter alia* over Frankland, and thence derives the stock of the Folsungs; while Gregory of Tours (ii, 29) makes Chlovis, when his wife first exhorts him to acknowledge the God of the Christians, exclaim, "*Nec de deorum genere esse probatur.*"

The result, then, of our argument is that the Varini, who once occupied a long stretch of coast along the Baltic, were broken to fragments, shortly before Ptolemy wrote, by the advent of an invading race, probably the Saxons; that while one large body remained in its old quarters in Mecklenburgh, another moved up the Elbe, and apparently found its way into the valley of the Danube, where it lived in close contact with the Goths. Thence it crossed over the Regen into Franconia, and gradually altered its character from a Low German to a High German stock; and meanwhile, also, its Low German name of Varang, or Varing, was changed to its High German name of Frank. The subsequent history of the emigrants we shall revert to presently, and shall now consider the remaining body of the Varini, who were left behind in Mecklenburgh.

It is to these Varini, no doubt, that Procopius refers when he tells us how the Heruli, after being defeated by the Lombards in Pannonia, separated—some going to Illyria, while others, unwilling to cross the Danube, preferred to settle in the most distant regions of the earth; . . . after traversing a great solitude they came to the Ouarni, and then traversed the country of the Danes (Procopius de Bello Gothico, ii, 15).

Later on Procopius tells us how Risiulf fled from his uncle Vaces, the King of the Lombards, and sought refuge among the Ouarni, and left two sons there whom Vaces bribed the Ouarni to put away: one of them died of sickness, and the other escaped to the Slavini (*id.*, iii, 35).

Another reference to these Varini is found in the well-known Scop, or gleeman's tale, where the Waernas are casually mentioned (*vide* Thorpe's edition, line 119).

From this time onwards we do not again meet with a reference to Varini in this district, and when Adam of Bremen refers to it in the twelfth century the Teutonic Varini had long disappeared and been displaced by the Warnabi, or Warnavi, who were Slaves, and whose name was a geographical and not an ethnic one. I have had much to say about them in the paper on the Obodriti.

What became of the Varini, then, who were neighbours of the Angles? It is not improbable that the greater portion of them shared the fortunes of the latter. We find traces of them in after times in several districts. Wårnsland, or Wårendshåråd, a district of Småland, in Sweden, seems to preserve their name. The Varangar Fiord in Lapland probably does so also. Thirdly, we have a notable colony in Thuringia.

The heading of a well-known code of laws, dating perhaps from the tenth century, is "*Incipit lex Anglorum et Werinorum hoc est Thuringorum.*" This clause has been much debated, but it is now pretty generally agreed that it refers to the laws of two small communities in Thuringia, and assuredly we still find a gau there called Engelin, or Englide (Zeuss, 153, note), while an adjoining gau was called Werina gowe: this was situated on the river Werra. Grimm has pointed out, what is assuredly very curious in our contention, that the fines in these laws are very similar to those in the Salian and Ripuarian, and very different from those in the Alemannic and Bavarian codes.

These laws are apparently referred to in a clause of the Anglo-Saxon laws of Cnut, when in speaking of the weregilds, we read: "*Pretium hominis mediocris (i.e., ingenui) quod secundum legem Werinorum (i.e., Thuringorum) est ducentorum solidorum*" (*op. cit.*, 420).

We shall have more to say about this code in our next paper on the Angli.

We may take it, therefore, as probable that a section of the Varini, with some Angles, settled in Northern Thuringia. A much more important body emigrated westwards, however, and was settled in the sixth century about the mouth of the Rhine, as is clear from the statements of Procopius and Fredegar. The former has a curious notice of them. He tells us that the soldiers who inhabited Brittia (*i.e.*, Great Britain; he seems to refer to Ireland as Britannia) had a struggle with the Varini. He says the Varini lived beyond the Ister (*i.e.*, the Danube), and reached to the Northern Ocean, and to the Rhine, which separated them from the Franks and other neighbouring tribes . . . not long before, the Varini were ruled over by Hermegiselus. Wishing to strengthen his position he married the sister of Theodebert, the King of the Franks, his former wife having died. She had left an only son, called Radiger, whom his father had married to a British damsel (whose brother was then King of the Angles), and had given him a large gift of money as a dower. Once, when riding in the fields with some of his grandees, he saw a bird sitting on a tree and vociferously clamouring. Whether he understood what the bird said or not, he said to the bystanders that he would die forty days later, and that this was what the bird meant to say. Thereupon he went on to say further: "I deem this a providential intervention that you should live in the greatest safety. For this reason I married a Frankish wife, and wedded my son to a British damsel. Now, inasmuch as my life is to be a very short one, and as I have had neither male nor female offspring from this wife, nor has my son consummated his marriage, I suggest a course which, if you deem right, then confirm and carry it out. I deem it more profitable for the Varini to ally themselves with the Franks than with these islanders: trade with the Britons is difficult and precarious, but between the Varini and the Franks there is only the Rhine. The latter are also in a position to do us harm or treat us well as they please. Whereupon I council that my son's alliance with the British damsel should be reversed, and that she should receive the marriage gift already paid in lieu of her loss, and that my son Radiger should, as our law permits, marry his mistress."

Having said this he, forty days after, died; and his son having succeeded him asked counsel from the grandees, and in accordance with his father's wish put away his British spouse and married his mistress. The former was much enraged; for, says Procopius, among these peoples so much is chastity valued that a woman is deemed no longer a virgin who is merely contracted

in marriage. She first sought reparation by means of some of her people, whom she sent to inquire why the marriage had thus come to an untimely issue. Getting no redress, the Angles collected 400 ships, and, according to Procopius, put an army of 100,000 men (?) upon them, and set sail for the country of the Varini, the armament being commanded by one of her brothers, who was not the king. Procopius then goes on to make statements about the islanders, some of which are evidently due to profound ignorance of them. He says they were the bravest among the barbarians known to him; that they fought on foot and not on horseback; in fact, they did not know what a horse was like, for that animal did not live on the island, and that when their envoys or others were on their way to the Romans or Franks, and had to travel on horseback, they did not know how to mount, but had to be helped up and down by others. In the same way the Varini were not horsemen, but fought on foot alone. All on board plied the oars, and the ships were impelled entirely by rowing, and bore no sails.

The Angles having landed, the Varini were defeated in a great battle, and fled with their king. Meanwhile, the injured maiden remained with an escort near the mouth of the Rhine; she received her victorious countrymen on their return from pursuing the Varini with bitter reproaches, inasmuch as they had not captured Radiger. She ordered them to return, and they then proceeded to scour the country, and eventually found Radiger hiding in a wood, and carried him off to their martial mistress, before whom he stood trembling, expecting instantly to be executed. But she, deeming herself sufficiently avenged, asked merely why he had broken off their engagement and married another. He pleaded his father's will and the counsel of his grandees, and offered to make reparation by marrying her. To this she assented. He was accordingly stripped of his chains, and the sister of Theodebert having been sent home, Radiger married the Anglian princess (Procopius de Bella Gothico, iv, 21). This is generally dated in the year 551 (Stritter, iv, 416-423).

Three years later, namely, in 554, Agathias mentions that Vacamo, a warlike person, with his son Theodebald and the Uarni who were with him, went to the emperor in Italy (*id.*, 423).

Fredegar, writing of the year 595, describes the virtual extermination of this colony of Varni. He tells us how in that year Childebert fought bravely against the Varni, who tried to break the yoke, and such a massacre ensued that few survived (*op. cit.*, ed Guizot, 181). It is not improbable that the name Wieringerwaard on the Dutch coast, is a relic of this colony of the Varini. They were not the only Varni or Varini on the borders of the North Sea, and, as is natural, we find numerous traces of them

in Britain. Their name seems preserved in Warrington, in Lancashire and Buckinghamshire, and at Werrington in Devon and Northamptonshire, while their royal race of the Billings is found in no less than thirteen places, as Billinge, Billingham, Billingley, Billington, and Billinghamurst (Taylor, "Words and Places," 136).

My good friend Dr. Angus Smith has reminded me that we also have traces of the Varini, with the primitive form of the name, in such places as Varengeville and Varennes, in France. We thus, if our contention be right, can trace the progress of the Varini westwards by two streams—one a northern stream, which carried them where Low German was the only Teutonic language spoken, and where consequently they preserved their original name, and the other which carried them through a district where Platt-Deutsch has been converted into Hoch-Deutsch, and where consequently the name has been sophisticated, and has assumed a High German form.

Before we collect the various passages relating to the history of the Franks, we must say a few words about the *Liti*, or *Læti*, by which name they were sometimes known.

Waitz thinks the name *Liti* was not in use in the earlier time among the Bavarians and Alemanni. The name occurs in some later titles of the Alemannic laws, but this he derives from Frank sources.

The name is not to be found in Tacitus, and it seems clearly not to be of German origin, but introduced by the Romans, and derived from *lito*, a debt, referring to the stipendiary character of the services of the tribes, who were allowed to settle within the borders of the empire, and were granted lands to settle upon on condition of rendering military service for them.

Maurer, in his "Der Frohnhöfe in Deutschland," p. 12, says:—Between the free and the unfree, or slaves, stood a third class, variously called *Liti*, *Læti*, *Lazzi*, or *Aldioni*. This class dates from Roman times; at least, as early as the third century, the Romans employed their Germanic neighbours to guard the frontiers, to plough their lands, tend their cattle, and recruit their armies. Thus we read: "Omnes jam barbari vobis arant, vobis jam serunt, et contra interiores gentes militant. Aruntur Gallicana rura barbaris bobus—frumento barbarico plena sunt horrea" (Flavius Vopiscus, Probus, 14, 15; Maurer, *op. cit.*, 13). The Romans also employed in their service whole tribes, or sections of tribes, of barbarians under their own commanders, who were styled *præpositi* or *rectores*. These bodies were called *gentiles*, and in some cases (Maurer says when they were of German, Celtic, or Gallic origin, but this is doubtful) they were called *læti*, *leti*, or *letoi* ("Th. de Veteranis," vii, 20, ann. 369,

400; Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi 11, xx 8, xxi 13; Jornandes, xxxvi; Zozimus, ii, 54; Eumenius, "Panegyry, Const.," xxi; Maurer, *id.*)

That *læti* and *liti* were forms of the same word appears from a deed of the year 1377, where we read, "Vocantur vulgariter in illo Theutonico Laten, et inibi in Latino Litones"; while an ancient gloss quoted by Graff explains *litus* by *laz* (*id.*, note 95). The word occurs with the forms *liti*, *lazzi*, *lazi*, *lassi*, *lati*, *luti*, or *leuti*, in various Saxon and Westphalian diplomatic documents; and in later mediæval times as *Lassen*, *Laten*, *Latelude*, and *Litones*; in the laws of Ethelbert as *læt*. It also occurs in the Salian and Ripuarian laws; in a Hessian breviary of the beginning of the ninth century; in several documents relating to lands near Darmstadt and on the Rhine; in a document of the year 706, relating to the abbot of Echternach, near Treves; and in one relating to Fulda (*id.*). They are also named in the Burgundian laws, in those of the Frisians, and apparently all over the Frank Empire; also among the Bavarians, Alemanni, and Lombards. Among the Bavarians, while they are sometimes called *liti*, they are more often called *barscalci*, *barscalchi*, *parscalci*, *parskalki*, *parscalchi*, or *parscalhi*. Among the Alemanni the *liti* were sometimes called *parones* or *barones*. "Mancipios tres et parones quatuor"—*vide* a deed of the year 744, quoted by Neugart (*id.*, 28). Among the Lombards they were sometimes called *Aldiones* or *Aldii*: "Aldiones vel Aldianæ . . . ea lege vivunt in Italia . . . qua fiscalini vel lites vivunt in Francia."—"Lev. Lom.," iii, 29, ch. 1 (Maurer, 18, note 29).

Waitz says the name is not found in the laws of the Goths nor their related tribes (*Deutsche Verfassung*, &c., i, 176), nor are they named in the laws of the Thuringians (*id.*, 176–7, note 4).

It is clear that both *Gentiles* and *Læti* were generic and not specific names applied to various tribes, as is shown by Zozimus and others, both ancient and modern writers. This is best shown by the old laws, as for instance, "Quisquis igitur lætus Alemannus, Sarmata vagus," &c. ("Th. de Veteranis," vii, 20), and in the *Notitia*, where we read, in chapter xl, of the "præfectus Lætorum Teutonicianorum; præf. Lætorum Batavorum et gentilium Suevorum; præf. Lætorum Francorum; præf. Lætorum Actorum; Epuso Belgicæ Primæ; præf. Lætorum Nerviorum; præf. Lætorum Bataorum, Nemetacensium; præf. Lætorum Batavorum Contraguinensium; præf. Lætorum Lagensium" (Maurer, *id.*, note 84). We read of their holding land: "Terrarum spatia quæ gentilibus; hæc spatia vel ad gentiles" (C. Th. de terris limit. vii, 15, ann. 409); "terræ læticæ" (*id.*, de Censoribus, xiii, 11, ann. 399); and therefore it is very probable they paid tax or rent,

or gave military service for it. Jakob Gothofridus, Grimm, and Gaupp identify these early *Læti* with the later *Liti* and *Lati*, and identify them with the class known in later times as "Hörigen" (Maurer, 14). They were found, however, among those who were not subject to the Romans, as among the Saxons ("Annales Laures." ad. ann. 780), "tam ingenuos quam et lidos"; again, in the Saxon capitulary of the year 789, "nobiles et ingenuos similiter et lidos" (Chron. Moissiac ad. ann. 780); "tam ingenuos quam et lidos" (Maurer, 14, note 92). The name *Liti* answers to the *Coloni* and *Liberti* of Tacitus, and in later times the names are used indifferently (*id.*, 15). Maurer argues against Walter that the great bulk of the *Liti* were not derived from those who were once free and had lost their liberty. He on the contrary says the change from one class to another was infrequent. He cites two instances only—one of a noble becoming a *litus*, from a document of the ninth century, "Vulfrie quondam nobilis solidum nunc noster litus est," and another in a deed of the year 800, "sunt aldiones duo, qui propter hostem ad ipsam villam se tradiderunt" (*id.*, 15, notes 94, 95). The greater part of the *Læti*, he says, sprang from conquered tribes. Thus in the "Annales Lauriss" ad. ann. 77 we read: "Multitudo Saxonum baptizati sunt, et secundum morem illorum omnem ingenuitatem et alodem manibus dulgtum fecerunt" (*id.*, note 96). This is confirmed by the legends preserved by Meginhart (Pertz, xi, 675), and by Adam of Bremen ("Hist. Eccles.," i, 4): "Qui Saxones eam (terram) dividentes, cum multi ex eis in bello cecidissent, et pro raritate eorum tota ab eis occupari non potuit *partem illius*, eam maxime qua respicit orientem, *colonis tradebant*, singulis, pro sorte sua, *subtributo* exercendam"; also Witukind (Pertz, v, 424): "Saxones igitur possessa terra summa pace quieverunt, societate Francorum atque amicitia *usi parte quoque agrorum cum amicis auxiliaris aut manumissis distributa* reliquias pulsæ gentis tributis condempnaverunt: unde usque hodie gens Saxonica triformi genere at lege præter conditionem servilem dividitur" (Maurer, *op. cit.*, 98). This view is doubtless the correct one, and wherever we find *liti*, or an equivalent class among the Germans, we may be sure we are in the presence of the conquest of one tribe by another.

In South Germany the conquered race was the old Roman population, as Waitz has pointed out. The Roman population was probably, at the time of the invasion of the German tribes, in a position of dependence, and did not consist of free landowners, and did not largely change its status. The colonists were called *tributarii*, or *tributales*, as was also their land. Thus we find them mentioned in the Salzburgh *Notitiæ donationum* and the *Congestum Arnonis* as "tributales Romanos . . . colonos,

tributarios; Romanos et eorum tributales mansos; *de Romani* tributales homines 80 cum coloniis suis." Paul the Deacon (xi, 32) says of the Romans, "tributarii efficiuntur" (Waitz, ii, 163, note 1). These *tributales* are contrasted with the servile class: "mansis inter servos et tributales necnon et exercitales homines" (Noldon, xxxiv); "servos manentes in coloniis quatuor et alios tributales manentes in coloniis 10" (Cod, "S. Petri," iv, 293; Waitz, *op. cit.* ii, 163, note 2).

As we have seen, the class does not occur in the Gothic laws (*id.*, i, 176), nor in the laws of the Thuringians (*id.*, 176–7, note 4), making it very probable it was originally of Roman inception.

Aldiones, or *Altones*, also occurs in Bavarian deeds of the eighth century, and were terms also used in Saxony (*id.*, 18, notes 30, 31). They stood between the freemen and the slaves—differing from slaves in that they enjoyed personal freedom. Thus in an old gloss given by Lindenbrog, "Aldius statu liber," and in a definition from old Lombard sources, "Aldia, id est de matre libera nata" (*id.*, 19, note 33), and again in another definition in a deed of 825, "Barshalki (liberi homines qui dicuntur barscalci);" and the word is used interchangeably with *ingenui* and *liberi*: we read of slaves being freed as "*Liti*, *Aldioni*, and *Frilazzi*" (*id.*, 19, notes 38–40). In early times, if the *Liti*, *Aldioni*, or *Lazzi* married with slaves, they were put to death (Pertz xi, 675). In later ones, if an *Aldia* or *Lidia* married a slave she lost her freedom. "Si aldia aut libera—servum maritum tulerit libertatem suam amittet" (L. Rothar, Maurer, xx, note 42). By the same law, however, the children followed the offending hand. These mixed marriages became more and more frequent towards the beginning of the ninth century, which tended greatly to the mixture of the different kinds of *coloni*. Their marriages *inter se* were as valid as those of free people. They were not to marry, however, without the consent of their lords, except the royal *liti* (Maurer, *op. cit.* xx), although when they did so the marriage was deemed valid. As freemen they bore arms and accompanied their lords to war, unless they were granted special immunities: "Si nuntius venerit ut ad succurrendum debeant venire et hoc neglexerit—si litus fuerit solidos 15 componat" (Capt. of 802); "Homines ecclesiæ, liti, et coloni, in expeditionem ire non cogantur . . . quod homines tam liberos quam et lutos in hostem ire compellant . . . ab expeditione hostile tam de litis quam de ingenuis hominibus." This was also the case with the *Aldiones*: "Sunt aldiones duo, qui propter hostem ad ipsam villam se tradiderunt" (Maurer, 20, note 48). In the old Saxon polity they, like the *Edlingi* and *Frilingi*, had the right of audience at the general assembly, and of electing twelve

of their body to serve there (Hucbald, in Pertz, xi, 361). When Charlemagne defeated the Saxons in 780, he took hostages both from the *ingenui* and the *liti*. With the right of bearing arms they had that of *faida* (*Fehdé*, i.e., private war) and of blood revenge (*inimicitia propinquorum*), and claimed a weregild double that of slaves and one-half that of freemen. As the relatives of the dead *litus* shared in his private feud, so they also shared the weregild, not only among the Frisians, Bavarians, and Lombards, but also most probably among the Saxons (Maurer, xxi). As free people they had to answer for their ill-deeds, while masters were answerable for those of their slaves. They had their own special weregild, and were allowed to clear themselves by their oath, with or without compurgators, and to appeal to the test of a judicial duel, when they were unwilling to submit to the ordeal by fire or water; while slaves could only produce the oath of their lords, and were obliged to submit to the ordeal by fire and water (*id.*, 21). As free people they also had their own property (*propria pecunia*—"Omne peculiare, res liti, substantia," &c.), and could employ slaves and even free people (*liberi homines*) and *Liti* in their service. They differed from the fully free in that they had a master (*dominus*) senior protector or patron (*patronus* or *muntherro*). They were not the property of their lord, however, like the slaves, but only under his protection and shelter (*mundium*). They were thence called *mundiali*. They were not answerable for their master's misdeeds, except they shared in the order he had given or freely undertook the responsibility. He could, however, be summoned to appear at the instance of the *Litus*: "Si quis a lido suo pro aliqua causa in ratione fuerit inventus, super noctes 14 ipsum lidum ad placitum adducat, si senior suus in ipso comitatu est. Si in alio comitatu est, ipse lidus suum seniore ad placitum adducat" (*id.*, 23, note 77). He might free an accused *Litus* by his own oath from the ordeal, and by the payment of the composition, from the penalty of death. If, however, he did not wish to be responsible for him he could release the accused *Litus* and other *protegés* from his protection (*dimittatur a domino—maleficos a suo obsequio secure*), and leave him to the blood revenge of the family. Among the Lombards alone were the lords bound to purge their *aldioni* by oath or battle (*per sacramentum aut per pugnun*), or to pay the composition (*compositio*). The *Liti*, like the freedmen, had to pay a specified tax called "litmonium," or "lidmonium": "Isti (*liti*) solvunt denarios iv de litmonio" (*id.*, 34, note 83), and on their death a portion of their assets and their weregild was paid to the lord. Many of the *Liti*, *Aldioni*, and other *protegés*, had for the most part their own property. Speaking of one of several families of *Liti*, it is said, "Isti omnes

habent mansos et censum debitum persolvunt" (Dronke, Trad. Fuld., pp. 48, 49, 51). Of others it is said, "Isti non habent mansos nec hubas vel beneficias sed de proprio corpore debitum censum persolvunt" (*id.*, 24, note 85). Those who held property were tied to the land, and could be transferred with the ground. This class of *Liti* was, in fact, something like the serfs in Russia. In order to change from this condition to that of freemen they required to be emancipated. Marriage between *Liti* and freemen was in early times punished by death. In later times, if a free-woman (*ingenua*, or *libera*) married a *Litus* wilfully, she lost her freedom or was fined. The children of a freeman who had married an *Aldia* were not free-born and legitimate: they had therefore no right of inheritance.

Such were some of the surroundings of the status of a *Litus*. It helps us to bridge the history of Western Europe from the time of the Roman occupation to that of the final domination of the Germanic tribes, to find them all along the borders of the empire settling down, first as military colonists, under the shadow of the great Empire, and forming an irregular portion of its subjects, with an art culture having very much the same facies, whether we test it in Burgundian graves or those of Kent, and gradually, under their own chiefs, and after they had adopted Roman institutions in a large measure, and occupying the country as their own when the hands of the Imperial officials became too feeble to govern them. We will now give a conspectus, so far as we can, of the various occasions in which the Franks are named, from the earliest times to the death of Chlovis.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF SEWDEN.

BY

CSU HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF SWEDEN.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

IN the previous papers which I have had the honour of reading before the Royal Historical Society, I have tried to elucidate the first adventures of the Norse pirates in the west, as related in the contemporary Frank and Irish annals, and have thus laid the foundation for an examination of the earlier story as contained in the Sagas. This is a singularly difficult field of inquiry, and one which has baffled many explorers. I can only hope to throw a few more rays of light into a very dark and perplexed subject. The Sagas are divided by Mr. Laing into two classes, historical (including biographical) and abulous. Of the former, the most important were the Sagas included in the works of Saxo Grammaticus, and Snorro the son of Sturle—two works of world-wide repute, and which have been (especially the former) a riddle and puzzle to most inquirers. Before we grapple with the problem before us, we must first dissect these two famous compilations.

The work of Saxo Grammaticus was written by Saxo, called the Grammarian, on account of his learning. He flourished during the reigns of Valdemar the Great, and his son Knut the 6th (1157–1202). He was provost of Roskilde, and secretary to Absalon, archbishop of Lund. The date of his birth and the particular circumstances of his life are uncertain; but he died in 1204, having spent twenty years in the composition of his history of Denmark from the earliest ages to his own. (Scandinavia, ancient and modern, by Crichton and Wheaton, 163, note.) His famous work has had a singular fate. Throughout the middle ages, and before the days of criticism, it was accepted

as perfectly genuine history, and treated as an authority of almost indisputable value; and we find the mediæval historians of Denmark, one after another, copying its list and order of Kings, and condensing or abstracting its narrative without hesitation, nor did its authority cease with the introduction of criticism into the domain of History. Such famous and learned critics of northern antiquities as Torfæus and Suhm followed Saxo's lead as blindly; and constructed their extraordinary chronologies and narratives from his account. Later, the German method of treating history was applied to Saxo, and his authority speedily gave way. It needs but a very cursory glance at his pages to see how purely artificial the whole arrangement, how full of incongruities and contradictions and how impossible the sequence of events are, and if we pass from an internal criticism to an external one, and try and realize the poverty of the authorities Saxo had before him when he sat down to write in the latter part of the twelfth century, we shall not cease to wonder that amidst so much learning and research his narrative should have held its own so long.

When criticism was duly applied to it, a natural consequence followed. The story which had received everybody's assent was pronounced to be utterly worthless, to be a mere concoction of the old grammarian's, to have no value at all save in its later chapters, where it was more or less contemporary, and a profound scepticism replaced a wide-spread credulity, the pendulum swinging to the opposite extreme.

The latter view seems as erroneous as the former one. Saxo's narrative is apparently not a dishonest one, but is transparently artificial and inconsequent. When he sat down to write at the end of the twelfth century, Christianity had conquered Scandinavia, and the Scalds and pagan poets were pretty nearly, if not entirely, extinct there. Of a continuous history of Denmark there seems to have been none available to him, for the so-called Scioldung Saga, of which the Sogubrot is apparently a fragment, was probably not then composed (*vide infra*). There were available only such

works as Paulus Diaconus, Bede, Eginhardt, Dudo de St. Quentin, and Adam of Bremen, all of whom he used ; as well as some entries in the contemporary Frankish chronicles, a number of detached songs and poems relating to particular events, chiefly battles, and unconnected by any thread, and such portions of Jornandes, the Anglo-Saxon Sagas, etc., as in the eyes of the Provost of Roskilde might fairly claim to relate to his country. These were his materials, and his only materials. He had no regal lists apparently, for all those which are now extant, except the Langfedgatal, which he seems not to have seen, were palpably constructed after his researches, and compiled from his work. He had no scaffolding upon which to build his narrative. He had to construct one for himself, in the best way he could, and to piece together the various fragments before him, into a continuous patchwork. His was not a critical age, and we are not therefore surprised to find that his handiwork was exceedingly rude. A piece of the history of the Lombards by Paul the Deacon, and another taken from the Edda, are thrust in after narratives evidently relating to the ninth century, when Ireland had been more or less conquered by the Norsemen. Icelanders are introduced in the story a long time before the discovery of Iceland. Christianity is professed by Danish Kings long before it had reached the borders of Denmark. The events belonging to one Harald (Harald Blaatand) are transferred to another Harald who lived two or three centuries earlier, and the joints in the patchwork narrative are filled up by the introduction of plausible links. We can thus dissect more or less closely the method of Saxo's handiwork, and to some extent break up again and disintegrate what he has put together, and perhaps when a really critical edition of his work is forthcoming, a work which is sorely needed, we shall be able to detach from its contents the majority of the separate and substantive stories out of which it has been compounded. How bald his story must have been if he had relied on the purely Danish traditions which survived in Denmark, we may gather from

the contemporary and valuable narrative of Sueno Aggeson to which we shall refer presently. Meanwhile, there are two cardinal facts which force themselves upon our attention in Saxo's story. The first is that his chronology is altogether artificial, and the course of events, as he tells it, is utterly, arbitrary ; jumping from century to century, either backwards or forwards without any notice ; separating events which succeeded one another closely, by long parentheses, involving perhaps centuries of time to compass, and bringing together other events which were as widely separated. The other important fact to remember is that our author was patriotic enough to lay under contribution, not only materials relating to Denmark, but to transfer to Denmark the history of other countries. To appropriate not only the traditions of the Anglo-Saxons, the Lombards and the common Scandinavian heritage of the Edda, but also the particular histories of Sweden and Norway, and that a good deal of what passes for Danish history in his pages is not Danish at all, but Swedish, and relates to the rulers of Upsala, and not to those of Lethra ; topographical boundaries being as lightly skipped over by the patriotic old chronicler, whose home materials were so scanty, as chronological ones.

Let us now consider shortly the narrative of Snorro Sturleson. Snorro was born in the year 1178 at Huam, in the modern bailiwick of Dale, in Western Iceland. He belonged to the old royal stock of the north, and his father held the hereditary rank of a godar, *i.e.* of a priest and judge, as belonging to a family descended from one of the twelve godars or companions of Odin. Snorro was well-to-do and learned. He visited Norway more than once, was nominated as cup-bearer by Hakon, King of Norway, and after an adventurous and tempestuous life was murdered in September, 1241. He is best known as the author of the famous "Heimskringla." The word means "the world's circle," being the first prominent word of the manuscript that catches the eye, and which has been used by the northern antiquaries to designate the work itself.

Snorro calls this his *magnum opus* the saga or story of the Kings of Norway, and it extends from the earliest times down to 1178, shortly before his own birth (Laing's "Heimskringla," i. 1 and 2). The copy of the work on which subsequent editions are chiefly based was written in 1230 by Snorro's nephew Sturla (id. 201). Snorro's work, therefore, is nearly contemporary with that of Saxo, having been written only a few years later.

While Saxo lived and wrote where the old traditions of the north had become very largely extinct, and been displaced by Christianity, and had to collect his materials here and there where he could ; Snorro lived in the very arcana of Norse traditions and culture, where many scores of old sagas were preserved, where the Scalds still survived as a living element in the community, and where the old traditions had taken shelter when driven out of the Scandinavian peninsula by Christianity. Not only were his surroundings infinitely more favourable, but his materials were also more valuable. There is no reason to doubt that the earlier part of his history, the first saga which relates the history of the Inglings down to the time of "Rognvald Mountain High," was founded upon, and incorporates the famous Inglingatal, composed by Thiodolf-hin-Frode, or the Wise, the Scald of King Harald Fairhair, and that his first saga, therefore, dates as to its matter from the ninth century, and was composed somewhat earlier than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as we now have it. Besides this, Snorro no doubt had before him several of the famous biographical sagas, and especially the works of Are-hin-Frode, who was born in Iceland in 1067, and lived till 1148, and according to some till 1158, and whom he specially quotes as an authority.

The passage in which he enumerates the qualifications of Are-hin-Frode is singularly interesting as showing the means of information commanded by that old historian. He says "he was the son of Thorgils, the son of Gellis, and was the first man in this country (*i.e.* in Iceland) who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new. In

the beginning of his book he wrote principally about the first settlements in Iceland, the laws and government, and next of the lagmen, and how long each had administered the law, and he reckoned the years at first, until the time when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and afterwards reckoned from that to his own times. To this he added many other subjects, such as the lives and times of the Kings of Norway and Denmark, and also of England ; beside accounts of great events which have taken place in this country (*i.e.* Iceland) also. His narratives are considered by many men of knowledge to be the most remarkable of all ; because he was a man of good understanding, and so old that his birth was as far back as the year after Harald Sigurdson's fall. He wrote, as he himself says, the lives and times of the Kings of Norway, from the report of Odd Kollason, a grandson of Hall of Sidu. Odd again took his information from Thorgeir Afradskoll, who was an intelligent man, and so old that when Earl Hakon the Great was killed he was dwelling at Nidaros (*i.e.* Drontheim). Are went when three years old to live with Hall Thorarinson, with whom he lived fourteen years. Hall was a man of great knowledge and an excellent memory ; and he could even remember being baptized, when he was three years old, by the priest Thangbrand, the year before Christianity was established in Iceland. . . . Hall had traded between the two countries, and had been in partnership in trading-concerns with King Olaf the Saint, by which his circumstances had been greatly improved, and he had become well acquainted with the kingdom of Norway. . . . Teit, a son of Bishop Isleif, was fostered in the house of Hall of Haukadal, and afterwards dwelt there himself. He taught Are the priest, and gave him information about many circumstances which Are afterwards wrote down. Are also got many a piece of information from Thurid, a daughter of the Godar, Snorro. She was wise and intelligent, and remembered her father Snorro, who was nearly thirty-five years of age when Christianity was introduced into Iceland, and died a year after King Olaf's fall, *i.e.* in 1030. So it is not wonderful

that Are the priest had good information about ancient events, both here and in Iceland, and abroad, being a man anxious for information, intelligent, and of excellent memory, and having besides learnt much from old intelligent persons" (Laing's "Heimskringla." Snorro's preface, 213—215). Of Are's works the Landnama bok, the Islandinga bok, and the Flateyjar Annall, are still extant. But he was not the only author of the eleventh century who wrote history in Iceland. Isleif, already named the first Bishop of Iceland, who died in 1080, is said to have written a history of Harald Fairhair and his successors, down to Magnus the Good, who died about 1047, compiled from ancient sagas, and his son, also a Bishop, is said to have collected and written down histories in the common tongue. Saemund-hin-Frode, who was born in 1056, and was a contemporary of Are, is supposed to have written the "Elder Edda," and to have commenced the Annals known as the "Annales Oddenses." Kolskegg, another contemporary of Are, and Brand, Bishop of Holen in Iceland, who died in 1206, are also known to have compiled sagas. We thus see that when Snorro wrote his master work, he had abundant materials upon which to found it. It was from Iceland also that Saxo himself had to draw his chief information. "Nor is the industry of the Tylenses (*i.e.* the Icelanders), to be passed over in silence," he says, "who, from the sterility of their native soil, being deprived of every luxury of food, exercise a perpetual sobriety, and turn every moment of their lives to the cultivation of a knowledge of the affairs of other countries, and compensating their poverty by their ingenuity, consider it their pleasure to become acquainted with the transactions of other nations, and hold it to be not less honourable to record the virtues of others than to exhibit their own; and whose treasures in the records of historical transactions I have carefully consulted, and have composed no small portion of the present work according to their relations, not despising, as authorities, those whom I know to be so deeply imbued with a knowledge of antiquity." (*Op. cit.* 30—32).

The facts here mentioned leave us no other alternative than to rely on Snorro and the Icelanders in preference to Saxo. The latter in questions of chronology, the order of kings, etc., is absolutely worthless, and his narrative in these respects is purely artificial. When we have broken up his story into its initial fragments we may, no doubt, find some very valuable matter in them to fill up the gaps in our story; for, as Mr. Laing says, "he appears to have had access to many sagas, either in manuscript or in *vivâ voce* relation, which are not now extant" (id. 32). In this way we shall use him, but not attempt the futile and absurd task of reconciling his narrative with that of the Icelanders, or his arbitrary arrangement and dubious and artificial lists of kings with theirs. Having said this, we must guard ourselves against being supposed to hold the notion that the Icelandic narratives are themselves infallible. Not even contemporary annals written year by year are so, much less sagas handed down traditionally, and not written down till long after the events. Even though their narratives be protected by the artificial language in which they are framed, and by the fact that they embody a common tradition of a school of Scalds which can correct any individual errors.

When the sagas were written down in an orderly fashion, as in the "Heimskringla," etc., we have the further difficulty that the glosses and theories of their writers were incorporated with them, and thus the events of some heroes were transferred to others of the name. An example or two from Snorro's own pages will act as a warning in this respect. In speaking of Ivar Vidfame, Snorro says he subdued the whole of Sweden; he brought in subjection to himself all the Danish dominions, a great deal of Saxonland, all the East country, and a fifth part of England. Now, in regard to England, at all events, this is an anachronism. The phrase "the fifth part of England" means Northumbria in the sagas. Northumbria was not conquered nor ruled by a Norse king before the ninth century, and it is clear that the deeds of Ivar, the son of Ragner Lodbrog, who did

conquer Northumbria, have been transferred to his ancestor Ivar Vidfame. Again, Snorro identifies the Turgesius, or Thorgils, who is named in the Irish annals as having captured Dublin in the year 839, and who occupied us somewhat in the last paper, with Thorgils, the son of Harald Fairhair ("Heimskringla," i. 304). This again is a great anachronism; for Harald Fairhair, according to the best calculations, was not born until about the year 851, so that his son could not have taken Dublin in 839. There are several other anachronisms of this kind, which put us on our guard against trusting Snorro too implicitly. I must now say a few words about a fragment of a saga, known as the Sogubrot, which I shall quote largely presently, and which has been given much too high an authority by Geijer and other inquirers. Suhm, the Danish historian, deemed it a fragment of a lost Sciolding saga, in which the history of Denmark was told in a similar fashion to that of Norway in the "Heimskringla." Müller, in his *Saga Bibliothek*, long ago argued that this saga was written after the days of Saxo, and assigned it to the fourteenth century. In putting it at a late date he is followed by Dahlmann, the famous Danish historian ("Forschungen auf dem gebiete der Geschichte," i. 307). I believe myself it was actually composed by Snorro. It is singular that it contains precisely the same genealogy of Ivar Vidfame as the "Heimskringla;" and what is more curious is that while the latter makes Ivar Vidfame conquer a fifth part of England, thus confusing him with Ivar Beinlaus, the Sogubrot does precisely the same thing, and identifies him and his predecessor, Halfdane of Scania, with Halfdane and Ivar, who succeeded one another in Northumbria. It also makes a pointed reference to King Granmar, whose story is told in the "Heimskringla." It lastly has an almost identical phrase about Sigurd Ring having been succeeded by Ragnar Lodbrog. The first of these statements enclosing a notable anachronism points out the fragment as in fact being far from a contemporary document, and I believe it was written by Snorro himself as a companion to the "Heimskringla."

There is one other document which is looked upon with

especial veneration by Norse antiquaries as the *fons et origo* of their reasoning on the genealogies of the Northern Royal. This is the famous table called the Lanfédgatal. Because it terminates with Harold Fairhair it was treated by Langebek as a work of great antiquity, and it apparently was also so treated and used by Snorro. Yet when we come to examine it closely, we shall find little reason for considering it as of any high authority. It begins the genealogy with Noah and Japhet, showing that it was constructed after Christianity had been introduced into Iceland; it then passes on to Saturn and Jupiter, and then to Memnon and the Trojan war, showing it was also written after the Norsemen not only became Christians, but were also imbued with classical culture. The introduction of the Trojans is probably due, as Dahlmann says, to the author treating Thor as an eponymos; and it is curious that he names him thus: "Trot whom we call Thor." After Thor follow seventeen names, the greater portion of which are taken from the Anglo-Saxon genealogical tables, which is clearly shown when we reach the name of Odin, which is written thus "Voden whom we call Odin" (Dahlmann, *op. cit.* 357—359). All this shows conclusively that the table is not of older date than the tenth century, and more probably of the eleventh.

From these facts it may be gathered that those who lean implicitly on the chief props supplied by the Old Norse literature for the early history and genealogy of the North lean on very unsafe supports. The fact is, we must treat these genealogies and these continuous histories as compilations made up from isolated and detached traditions—epics in which some individual or some battle was described, and in which the links and the connections between the pieces have been supplied according to the ingenuity of the compilers; in which the arrangement and chronology are to a large extent arbitrary; and in which it has been a great temptation to transfer the deeds of one hero to another of the same name.

Under these circumstances what is a modern historian to do? In the first place he must take the contemporary

chronicles—Frank, English, and Irish—as his supreme guides, and not allow their statements to be perverted by the false or delusive testimony of the sagas, and where the two are at issue, sacrifice the latter without scruple, while in those cases where we have no contemporary and independent evidence then to construct as best we can our story from the glimmers of light that have reached us. I propose to take this course in a small corner of our great subject this evening.

I would first postulate two important factors. The Norsemen were an intensely feudal race. Their kings were also their priests, and the royal stock was also a sacred stock, far removed in the popular eyes from the commonalty. Descended from the sacred companions of Odin, claiming kin directly with the Gods themselves, there was in consequence an extraordinary loyalty and devotion towards them. This feeling of caste made it impossible for *novi homines*, those without blood or descent, to rule in the North. Such a thing was there unknown, and, consequently, when we meet with the mention of rulers and leaders in the chronicles, we may be sure they belonged to the royal stock.

Secondly, this royal stock in Scandinavia comprised at least two great branches. The Inglings, who ruled originally at Upsala in Sweden, and the Scioldungs, who similarly ruled at Lethra in Denmark. The theory which I have adopted for explaining the revolutions in the North at the very dawn of history is that there was a continuous feud between these two stocks for supremacy. I shall begin at the point where this feud first seems to have commenced, or perhaps only culminated, namely, with the overthrow of Ingiald the Ill-ruler by Ivar Vidfame, by which feud the family of the Inglings was thrust out of Sweden, and was succeeded there, for awhile at least, by that of the Scioldungs. The history of this event is told in the “Heimskringla,” on the authority of Thiodolf, who lived at the court of Harald Fairhair of Norway in the ninth century, and who was therefore a very respectable witness; but I would add that his testimony is corroborated by Sueno Aggeson the contemporary of Saxo, who in naming Ingild, as he calls Ingiald, says that after his time for many years sons did not

succeed their fathers in the kingdom, but grandsons. This is precisely what took place, since Ingiald was succeeded by his grandson Ivar Vidfame, and Ivar Vidfame by his grandson Harald Hildetand. Sueno also says Ingild was succeeded by Olans, which is in accord with Snorro's statement that Ingiald's son Olaf, the Tree-feller, having fled to Norway, began a new line of sovereigns there, while his grandon Ivar succeeded to the crown of Sweden. It is also supported *pro tanto* by Saxo, for there can be small doubt that his Ingellus is the same person as the Ingiald of Snorro and the Ingild of Sueno. Like Snorro, he makes Ingiald the son of Frotho, and like Snorro, he makes him be succeeded by Olaf, whom he calls his son, while he adds that some old traditions make him his nephew (*Saxo*, by Müller, i. 318). He also speaks of Aasa, whom we shall mention presently, but makes her the sister instead of the daughter of Ingiald. The history of Ingiald's reign, it is no part of my present purpose to describe, and I shall merely deal with the concluding acts of his life as told by Snorro. He says that by his wife, Ingiald had two children, Aasa and Olaf. Ingiald was king over the greater part of Sweden. He married his daughter Aasa to Gudrod, king of Scania. She was like her father in disposition, and brought it about that Gudrod killed his brother Halfdane, father of Ivar Vidfadme; she also brought about the death of her husband Gudrod, and then fled to her father; thence she got the name of Aasa the Evil-adviser.

Ivar Vidfadme came to Scania after the fall of his uncle Gudrod, collected an army in all haste, and moved with it into Sweden. Aasa had before this returned to her father. King Ingiald was at a feast in Raening when he heard that Ivar's army was in the neighbourhood. Ingiald thought he had not strength to go into battle against Ivar, and he saw well that if he betook himself to flight his enemies would swarm around him from all corners. He and Aasa took a resolution which has become celebrated. They drank until all their people were dead drunk, and then put fire to the hall and it was consumed with all who were in it, including themselves, Ingiald and Aasa. Thus says Thiodolf:

“ With fiery feet devouring flame
 Has hunted down a royal game
 At Raening, where King Ingiald gave
 To all his men one glowing grave.
 On his own hearth the fire he raised—
 A deed his foemen even praised—
 By his own hand he perished so,
 And life for freedom did forego.”

—Laing’s “Heimskringla,” i. 254.

Ivar now seems to have succeeded to the throne of Sweden and Denmark proper, while, as it would appear, Jutland remained under its own reguli. It has often been noted as a remarkable circumstance that Ivar is not named among the kings of Denmark, as given by Saxo, but the fact is that his narrative at this time is so confused it is impossible to make one’s way through it. It would seem, however, that he refers to Ivar as *Alver Suetiæ rex* and as *Alver tyrannus* (*op. cit.* i. 352, 355).

Let us, however, go on with our story. Of the details of Ivar’s reign, except of its concluding phases, we know nothing. These are described for us in the Sogubrot, and unfortunately that document is mutilated.

The story in the “Sogubrot” begins in a broken sentence in the midst of a description of a curious dramatic scene, in which the Swedish king is seen trying to create discord in Denmark. Jutland was then ruled by two brothers, named Rurik and Helge, or Helgius.

It would seem that Helgius had made his way to the Swedish Court, and had there become a suitor for the hand of Audr, the daughter of Ivar. She viewed him favourably, but Ivar urged that there were many other kings better endowed by nature and art than Helgius ; and that it had not been the custom with kings’ daughters previously, to accept the first suitor. Audr replied, it was no use arguing, as it was clear he had made up his mind. Having summoned Helgius, Ivar said his daughter had told him there was no king’s son whom she deemed worthy of herself, and he enlarged

on her pride, ending up with the deceitful statement that he would prosecute the matter further at a more convenient season. Helgius now returned home. Meanwhile, his brother Rurik was urged to marry by his counsellors, who recommended him also to seek the hand of Ivar's daughter. He told them that it was unlikely he could succeed, where his brother who was so much his superior, had so conspicuously failed. They urged that he clearly could not win unless he made a venture, nor would it be a disgrace to him to fail. He, accordingly, determined to try his fortune, and sent Helgius as his ambassador for the purpose. Helgius set out, and was well received by Ivar, to whom he opened his business, demanding the hand of Audr. The king grew angry, and said that the request was inopportune, and that it was not probable Rurik would succeed with his daughter when she had refused him, who was in every way his superior. Helgius denied this last statement, and contended that his brother's qualities were less known than his own, because he stayed at home, and was not so adventurous, and he asked him to name the matter to his daughter. The next day Ivar accordingly summoned Audr, who indignant at the fickleness of Helgius at once agreed that she would marry Rurik. This answer much surprised her father, who reproached her for her waywardness; but as she insisted, Helgius was sent for, and Ivar craftily told him he could not understand how she, who had refused so great a king as himself, now consented to marry Rurik.

It was arranged that Helgius should escort her. When they had travelled beyond the borders of Sweden, they began to talk about how the matter had been arranged, and disclosed what Ivar had said to each of them.

When they arrived in Seland, Rurik sent a cavalcade out to meet them, and arranged a feast, at which he married Audr. That winter Helgius stayed at home in Seland, and the next year set out, as usual, on a piratical expedition.

By Audr, Rurik had a son, named Harald. His eye-teeth were prominent, and of a yellow colour, whence he was called

Hildetand or War-tooth. He was of great stature, and fair to look upon ; and when he was three years old he excelled other boys of ten.

On one occasion when Ivar went with his fleet from Sweden to Reidgothia, he went to Seland, and sent word to Rurik to go and meet him. Rurik told his wife Audr of the invitation he had received. When he went to bed that night he was provided by her with a new couch with new ornaments. This was put in the middle of the room. She asked her husband to take notice of his dreams, and report them to herself the following morning. He reported that in the night a vision appeared to him. There was a fertile plain near a wood ; on this plain a stag was standing, when a leopard with a golden-coloured mane came out of the wood, which having been transfixcd in the shoulders by the horns of the stag, fell lifeless to the ground. After this a huge dragon swooped down on the spot where the stag was, seized him with his claws and tore him to pieces. Then came out a she bear with a whelp ; the dragon wished to seize the whelp, but the mother protected it. He then awoke. Audr said, "This is an extraordinary dream ; and when you meet my father, mind he does not circumvent you with his wiles, for it would seem that the animals in your dream were the tutelary genii of kings who are to fight together, and it is to be hoped the stag was not your genius, although it seems very probable."

On the same day a great crowd had assembled together to go and meet King Ivar, and having entered his ship went into the poop and saluted him. When he saw them he did not speak. Thereupon Rurik said he had prepared a feast for him, notwithstanding his enmity towards him. Ivar went on to say that he was enraged because Helgius and Audr had behaved so badly, since it was in the mouths of all men that Harald was in fact the son of Helgius, and that he had gone to make inquiries about the matter. Rurik said he had not heard of it before, and asked Ivar what he should do ? Ivar replied that there were but two courses open to him : he must either kill Helgius or surrender his

wife to him. Soon after Ivar set out for Reidgothia. The following autumn, when Helgius returned home, Rurik was very down-spirited. Meanwhile Audr prepared a grand feast at which different games were arranged. Helgius was much touched by his brother's sadness, and proposed they should play together, and it was agreed they should have a struggle. Rurik thereupon put on his armour, his helmet, cuirass, sword and spear, and mounted his horse; the other horsemen carried poles: Helgius also carried a pole. Rurik now ran up to his brother, with his lance under his shield, and he thrust it into him and killed him. Those who were about galloped up and inquired why he had committed this crime. He replied that there were abundant reasons, and especially that his wife had been unfaithful to him. They all denied it, and declared it to be false. Audr herself was satisfied that the whole thing was a design of her father's, and she set off, with a considerable company, with her son Harald.

Ivar presently returned from the south and Rurik rode to meet him. Ivar professed to be outraged by the murder of Helgius, and ordered his men to make ready their arms to avenge him. He planted some bodies of troops in ambush in a wood, who fell on Rurik and his company and killed them all, and thus Ivar possessed himself of the kingdom, those present submitting to him. Audr escaped towards the south, *i.e.* probably towards Reidgothia, and Ivar not being strong enough to pursue her, returned to Sweden. The same winter having collected all the gold and precious objects which had belonged to Rurik, she sent them to the island of Gothland. She followed her treasures there, and thence went eastwards to Gardariki, that is to the Scandinavian kingdom about the Gulf of Finland. At this time Radbard was king there. He received the fugitives very hospitably, and proposed to marry Audr, who, in the hope of receiving assistance to enable her son Harald to recover his own again, agreed to his proposals.

When Ivar heard that Radbard had married his daughter without his consent, he collected a vast army from all his kingdom, both Sweden and Denmark, and set sail east-

wards for Gardariki, and threatened to devastate it with fire and sword. When he neared the recesses of the Carelian gulf (recessus Karialanos, *i.e.* the Gulf of Finland), where King Radbard's dominions commenced, it fell out, we are told, "that one night the king was reposing on the poop of his ship and he dreamt that a huge dragon came out of the sea with its skin shining like burnished gold, and spitting forth a shower of sparks towards the sky, so that the neighbouring shores were lit up with the light. The dragon seemed attended by all the birds which lived in the northern regions. Presently a cloud appeared to rise from the sea in the north, and such a storm of rain and hurricane came on that the neighbouring woods and land were flooded with water, and there was also a violent display of thunder and lightning. Thereupon the dragon just named seemed to rush at the raincloud ; but it as well as the birds were speedily hidden by thick clouds. The king heard a great clap of thunder in the south and west, and the ships of the fleet seemed to be converted into sea monsters, and to be gliding into the water. Awaking from his sleep he summoned his foster-parent Hordus (*i.e.* the God Hordr) to interpret the dream, Hordus replied that he was so old that he could not explain dreams. He stood on a rock overlooking the tide, while the king lay sick under the canopy in the poop of the ship, and a conversation began between them. The king urged strongly that he should interpret the dream ; but Hordus replied it was unnecessary he should interpret it, for Ivar could himself understand that it meant that shortly the affairs of Denmark and Suecia would receive a new turn, and that he would die. The king bade him join him on the ship and continue his interpretation, but he said he would stay where he was and speak. The king then asked who Halfdane the courageous had been transmigrated into among the Asirs. He is now Balder, he replied, whom the gods regret, and who is most unlike thee. Very well, said the king, and again invited him on to the deck ; he again said he preferred to stay where he was. The king continued. Who had Rurik become ? He replied Haener the most timid of the Asirs ; and

who was Helgius now? Hordus replied that he had been changed into Hermodus, who was endowed with a great mind; and who had Gudrod (*i.e.*, Gudrod, Ivar's uncle, the brother of his father Halfdane) become? Hemidallus, said Hordus, the most stupid of the Asirs. And what shall I be among the Asirs? Thee, said Hordus, I take to be the vilest serpent living, namely, the serpent of Midgard. The king, in a rage, replied "If thou foretellest my coming death, I tell thee that thou shalt not long survive me. Come nearer to the serpent of Midgard, and feel his strength." Thereupon the king threw himself from the poop into the water. Hordus at the same time jumped out from the rock into the sea, and they were seen no more." Surely this is a fierce and wild story; reporting a fitting end to the great pirate chief.

After his death an assembly was summoned on the land, where it was discussed what should be done, and it was decided that Ivar being dead, as his people had no special grievance against King Radbard, that consequently each one should make his way home by the first favourable wind. This was accordingly done. Thereupon Radbard gave his stepson Harald a contingent of troops, which he took away with him to Seland, where he was elected king; thence he passed into Scania, into the kingdom which had belonged to his maternal ancestors, where he was well received and his following was greatly augmented. Thence he went to Suecia and subdued all Swedia and Gothia, which had been ruled by his grandfather Ivar. We are told that a number of petty reguli who had been deprived of their inheritance by Ingiald and Ivar deemed it a fitting opportunity while Harald was so young to recover their own. He was but fifteen years old when he mounted the throne. His counsellors, fearing that on account of his youth he might be undone by some of his enemies, prepared a great incantation or spell, by which he was rendered proof against weapons, and he always afterwards dispensed with body-armour. He fought a great number of successful battles and appointed kings and vicegerents, and levied tribute; *inter alios*, he nominated

Hiormund, the son of Hervard the Ilving, to the throne of Eastern Gothland, which his father Granmar had held before him.

Harald Hildetand was, no doubt, the most prominent figure in Scandinavian history at the close of the heroic period, and he fills a notable space in the very crooked narrative of Saxo. It is a typical instance of the perversity and carelessness of that author that he gives Harald Hildetand two fathers and mothers. In one place he makes him the son of Borkar and Groa, the countess of Alvilda (*op. cit.* 337), while in another place he makes him the son of Haldan and Guritha (*ed.* 361). The former must be discarded as a slip of the pen or mistake, as the sentence in which it occurs is only a parenthetical one, while the latter is part of the narrative, and is found at the beginning of Saxo's account of the reign of Harald Hildetand. We must take it, therefore, that his theory was that Harald was the son of Haldan and Guritha. There seems to be a grain of truth, however, in the former statement. "*Alvildæ comitem Gro nomine*," is his phrase, and it seems to be built up out of some misunderstood phrase, for on turning to the Hervavar saga, we find it stated that Harald Hildetand was the son of Valdar, King of Denmark, and his wife Alvilda. This Alvilda is surely the same person as the Audr of the Sogubrot. The statement of the latter authority as to the parentage of Harald is supported by the Langfedgatal, which calls him the son of Hraerekr Slavngvanbavgi, and also by an old list, known as the Huersu Noregr bygdest, and by the early poem called Hyndluljod cited in Rafn's notes to the Sogubrot. As the latter ends with Harald Hildetand, it was probably composed not much later than his time. It may be added that the Hervavar saga also calls Alfhilda the daughter of Ivar Vidfadme, and makes her husband a King of Denmark as Hraerekr or Rurik was, and I have small hesitation in accepting the genealogy of the Sogubrot as at least tentatively the most probable. Let us now continue our notice of Harald. Although Saxo's notice of him is long, it will be found to contain scarcely anything about him.

It is filled up with parenthetical stories about other people, referring doubtless to other times altogether, while the stories it contains about his exploits in Aquitania, and Britain, and Northumbria, show very clearly, as Müller has pointed out, that he has confused his doings with those of another, and much later Harald, probably Harald Blaatand (*op. cit.* 366, note 3). It is only when we come to the close of his reign that we have a more detailed and valuable story. This is the account of the famous fight at Bravalla, of which we have two recensions, one in Saxo, and the other in the Sogubrot, and which have preserved for us one of the most romantic epical stories in the history of the north. The story was recorded in verse by the famous champion Starkadr, whom Saxo quotes as his authority, and whom he seems closely to follow. Dahlmann has, I think, argued very forcibly that the form and matter of this saga as told by Saxo is more ancient, and preserves more of the local colour of the original than that in the Sogubrot (Forsch, etc., 307, 308).

And yet the story as it stands is very incongruous, and makes it impossible for us to believe that it was written by a contemporary at all. How can we understand Icelanders fighting in a battle a hundred years before Iceland was discovered, and what are we to make of such champions as Orm the Englishman, Brat the Hibernian, etc., among the followers of Harald? It would seem that on such points the story has been somewhat sophisticated, perhaps, as in the Roll of Battle Abbey, names have been added to flatter later heroes; but let us condense what it has to tell us.

It would seem that Harald's mother had by her second husband Radbard, a son Randver, who, we are told, was married to a Norwegian princess, and by her became the father of Sigurd Ring. When he became an old man, Harald gave Sigurd the command of his army, and after he had lived a long time with him he appointed him his deputy or vicegerent over Sweden and West Gothland, with his capital at Upsala, while he himself retained Denmark and East Gothland. As he grew old and feeble, we are told in the Sogubrot,

his followers, who feared the realm might go to pieces in his hands, determined to kill him in his bath. Having heard of their plot he decided upon a more glorious death, and wrote to his nephew Sigurd to challenge him to a mortal fight. According to Saxo, Odin himself appeared in the form of Brune, and having the confidence of both kinsmen, he made them fight, Harald willingly consenting. It was better, he deemed, for him to die in battle than on a sick bed, that he might arrive at Valhalla with an ample retinue.

The two relatives now summoned their forces from all sides, and a long list of the champions on either side is recorded—each man by his name and some descriptive epithet denoting his country or some peculiarity, as Orm the Englishman, Ubbo the Friesian, Dal the Fat, Hythin the Graceful, etc. On Harald's side Brunnus was the standard-bearer. There were champions from many quarters and contingents from many lands—Danes and East Goths, Saxons, Norwegians, and Wends, which last, we are told, used long swords and short shields; there were also Berserkers and Amazons. Harald's armament was so vast that it covered all the Sound from Seland to Scania like a bridge.

On the side of Sigurd were the forces of Sweden and West Gothland and many from Norway. Among his champions was the poet Starkadr; Syvaldus, who furnished a contingent of eleven ships; Thrygir and Torwil, who supplied twelve; and Eric the Helsinger, who brought an enormous "dragon," or war galley; together with many famous Berserkers from Telemarken. Sigurd's fleet, as it passed through Stock Sound, where Stockholm now stands, numbered 2,500 ships. He led his army overland, and marched through the Kolmarker Forest, which divides Suithiod or Sweden proper from East Gothland; and when he had come out of the wood to the Bay of Bra he found his fleet waiting his arrival, and pitched his camp between the forest and the sea (Geijer, 11). King Harald's fleet, sailing with a gentle wind, reached Calmar in even days. There seems to have been a fog, which hid the sky from his men, but they kept close in shore; they were guided

by the Scanians, who marched overland. They were joined *en route* by the contingents from the Slaves and Livonians and by 7,000 Saxons. The battle was fought on land. When the two forces came in view of one another we are told that Sigurd bade his men remain quiet till they received the order to join issue. He told them that Harald was feeble with age, and well-nigh blind; that the Swedes were about to fight for liberty, for their country, and their children; while, on the other side, there were but few Danes, but a great number of Saxons and other effeminate peoples; and he excited them by contrasting the vigour of the Scandinavians with the feeble qualities of Germans and Slaves (Saxo, *op. cit.* 386, 387). Harald, on the other hand, according to the Sogubrot, rode in his chariot into the battle, and sent Brunnus and Huda to inquire how Sigurd had planted his men, and, being told in the wedge-shape-formation (*acium cuneatum*), he asked who had taught him this, for he thought no one knew it but Odin and himself. At length the trumpets sounded, and the two armies joined issue. The narrative bristles with Homeric touches about the deeds of single champions, male and female, but we must not detail them, and will conclude the account in the words of Geijer, who has well condensed this part of the narrative:—"At length," he says, "when victory appears to have declared for the foe, King Harald causes his horses to be urged to their utmost speed, seizes two swords, and cuts desperately among their ranks, till the stroke of a mace hurls him dead from his car. Odin himself, in the form of Brune, was the slayer of Harald. The empty chariot tells Sigurd that the old king has fallen; he therefore orders his men to cease from the fight, and searches for the body of his relative, which is found under a heap of slain. Then he causes a funeral pile to be raised, and commands the Danes to lay upon it the prow of King Harald's ship. Next he devotes to his ghost a horse with splendid trappings, prays to the gods, and utters the wish that Harald Hildetand might ride to Valhalla first among all the troops of the fallen, and prepare for friend and foe a welcome in the hall of Odin.

When the corpse is laid on the pyre, and the flames are kindled, and the chiefs of the war walk round lamenting, King Sigurd calls upon every man to bring gold and all his most costly arms to feed the fire which was consuming so great and honoured a king, and so all the chieftains did" (*op. cit.* 11). Saxo says there fell 12,000 men in Sigurd's army and 30,000 in that of Harald (*op. cit.* i. 390). Thus passed away the old king. The battle is one of the most famous in the world's history, and marks a critical point in the chronology of Scandinavia. My friend M. Kunik, who has devoted much time to its discussion, fixes it at about 775 A.D. Harald Hildetand is generally considered to be the "Haraldus quondam rex" mentioned by Eginhardt in his Annals under the year 812.

With the death of Harald, the saga of the Bravalla fight seems to have naturally ended, and we accordingly find that immediately after, our authorities are again at variance. From this point to the reign of Godfred the narrative of Saxo is singularly crooked, taking us back at a long leap to the legends of the Edda and of the Lombards in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, and being apparently quite regardless of chronology or sequence in its narrative of events. The Sogubrot and northern writers are at least consistent with probability. The former authority says that after Harald's death Sigurd Ring was King of Sweden and Denmark, and this is consistent with the Frankish writers, who, as I have shown in a former paper, make Sigfred or Sigurd the King of Denmark, who was reigning at the end of the eighth century, and who is first mentioned in the year 777 (Eginhardt's Annals, Pertz i. 157—159).

Sigurd Ring, according to the Sogubrot, married Alvilda, the daughter of King Alf, who ruled in the district between the rivers Gotha and Glommen in Raumariki, which was called Alfheim, and by her he had an only son, Ragnar Lodbrog. Sigurd Ring apparently succeeded also to his mother's heritage; for we find in the "Heimskringla" a passage in which it is stated that the Swedish King Eric

Eymundson claimed to have as great a kingdom in Viken as Sigurd Ring or his son Ragnar Lodbrog had possessed, and that was Raumariki and Westfold all the way to the island Grenmar, and also Vingulmark, and all that lay south of it (Laing's "Heimskringla," i. 282). It would seem, in fact, that Harald Hildetand left sons ; one of them, Eystein, is pointedly referred to in the saga of Ragnar Lodbrog and the Lod-broker Quida as reigning at Upsala. Another one I believe to have been Halfdane, to whom I shall revert presently, and who may perhaps have been the person referred to by Saxo as Olo. The author says that on Harald's death, Scania was separated from Denmark, and was ruled over by Harald's son Olo. Dahlmann understands this to mean that Sigurd Ring put his cousin Olo, or Halfdane, as I would correct it, over Scania. Meanwhile he was doubtless over-king over both Sweden and Denmark during his life.

I ought to add that Saxo distinctly makes the king who fought against Harald, his nephew, but by a sister who had married Ingeld, a son of Alver, King of Sweden (*op. cit.* 363—367). While he makes "Sivardus styled Ring" (the father of Ragnar Lodbrog), whom he confusedly makes another person, a son of a Norwegian leader of the same name by a daughter of King Gotric or Godfred, and tells us he reigned over Scania and Seland. It is far from improbable that Randver, the father of Sigurd, married a daughter of Godfred, and that the latter, as well as Harald, was Sigurd Ring's grandfather.

Of the facts of his reign we unfortunately know scarcely anything. I have elsewhere detailed the notices of him contained in the Frankish chronicles. Among them the most interesting perhaps is the one contained in the "Annales Laurissenses," where we have under the year 782 the enigmatical statement that Charlemagne, in that year holding a convention at Cologne, envoys went to him from Sigfred—" *Missi Sigifridi regis id est Halpdani cum sociis ejus.*" This phrase has given rise to a great controversy, in which my friend M. Kuink has taken a prominent part, and in which

he maintains that Halfdane is here used as a synonym for Sigfred, and that the phrase ought to be translated the envoys of King Sigfred, that is, of Halfdane. In this view I cannot concur. Not only does the phrase *cum sociis ejus* preclude such a conclusion, but Halfdane was, I believe, historically a different person altogether from Sigfred, and, as I have said, I take him to have been a son of Harald Hildetand. The Sogubrot breaks off abruptly in an account of how Sigurd, when an old man, was asked by his relative, the son of Gandalf, to grant him assistance against King Eystein, who then reigned over Westmar or Westfold, and he says that at this time sacrifices were being held in Skiringsal (*i.e.* in Westfold in Norway) for all Viken. Here it breaks off. This Eystein is probably the Eystein, son of Harald Huitbein, King of Westfold, mentioned in the "Heimskringla" (Laing's *ed.* i. 257) King Sigurd or Sigfred is mentioned for the last time in the Frank chronicles as King of Denmark in the year 798 (Eginhardt Annales, Pertz i. 185; Kruse, 32). This does not mean exactly that he died then. I believe that at this time a great revolution took place in the North. The family of the Ingling, which had been so long in security in Westfold, greatly enlarged its power, and, under Gudrod the Magnificent, whom I have elsewhere identified with the Godfred of the Frankish writers, succeeded in appropriating Denmark and Scania. He continued to rule there till 810. This revolution probably took place on Sigurd Ring's death, and Godfred displaced not only Ragnar Lodbrog, but Halfdane, the son of Harald, who became a vagabond on a large scale, and who, as I have shown before, went with a large fleet in 806, and submitted to the Frank Emperor (Poeta Saxo, Pertz i. 263). Godfred was succeeded by his nephew Hemming, who died two years later, *i.e.* in 812, and thereupon a struggle ensued for the throne between Anulo, by whom Sigurd Ring has certainly been understood by Saxo and nearly all other commentators (*annulus*, of course, meaning a ring; *anulo*, however, is conjugated *anulo*, *anulonis*). He is expressly called "*nepos Herioldi quondam regis*," by which I understand not the nephew but the grand-

son of Harald Hildetand (*nepos* meaning both nephew and grandson). This Anulo fought on the one side, and Sigurd, the nepos Godofridi (where nepos perhaps means nephew), and who would thus be the brother of Hemming, on the other. The story would then read that on the death of Hemming a struggle ensued for the Danish crown between the family of the Inglings, represented by Hemming's brother Sigurd, and the Scioldings, by Halfdane's son Anulo.

Saxo, as might have been expected, in weaving the sagas before him with the narrative in the Frank Chronicle, identifies Sigurd Ring and Anulo; but this seems impossible, for we are expressly told by Eginhardt that the brothers of Anulo were Harald (*i.e.*, Harald Klak) and Reginfred, who were certainly no brothers of Sigurd Ring, and it would seem that Anulo is the corrupt form of some Norse name, which has only a superficial resemblance to annulus. Saxo further applies the epithet kings to both rivals, calling one "Syvardus cognomento Ring," and the other "consobrimus ejus Ring." According to Saxo, whose account is altogether very suspicious, on the death of Hemming the kingdom was divided between Sigurd Ring and Godfred's nephew, the former taking Scania and Seland and the latter Jutland. He goes on to say that the former not being very popular left home, *peregrina bella civilibus præferrendo*, *i.e.* in English, "he preferred the life of a Viking." His rival, taking advantage of his absence, tried to conquer the whole kingdom. The Selanders, however, gathered round Ragnar, Sigurd's son. Sigurd, meanwhile, returned home, and a battle ensued between the rivals (*op. cit.* 439—441), in which Sigurd was killed, and was succeeded by his son Ragnar. Harold and Reginfred, as I have shown in a former paper, were the sons of Halfdane and, according to my theory, grandsons of Harald Hildetand, and, therefore, represented the stock of the Scioldungs, who by their victory now regained supremacy in Denmark. This was only transient, however. On the defeat of their party the sons of Godfred went among the Swedes accompanied by a considerable number of the Danish

grandees, and collected a large force. This means doubtless that the Inglings, as represented by Godfred's family, retained their hold upon Sweden although they lost Denmark. They returned in 813 with a large force and drove out Harald and his brother (Eginhardt Annals, Pertz i. 200 ; Kruse, 69), and thus united the two kingdoms once more under the Inglings. I have described elsewhere in detail the struggle that now ensued between Godfred's sons and the exile Harald. From the way in which they are always named it would seem that the former had a joint authority, owing doubtless some kind of allegiance to Eric, who appears for the first time by name in 827.

Godfred had at least five sons. The death of one of them, the oldest, is mentioned in Eginhardt's Annals in the year 814 ; while four others are referred to in 819 by the same author, where he tells us that two of the sons of Godfred were driven out of the kingdom, while two others stayed at home and shared it with Harald (Kruse, 78). In neither instance are any of them mentioned by name. I believe that they divided the empire between them, and that while two of them remained in Denmark two others went to Sweden. The two latter I believe to have been Biorn and Olaf, who occur so conspicuously in the narrative of St. Rembert to be cited presently. This Biorn has been generally identified with the Biorn Hauge, or Biorn of the Hill of the Hervavar saga, and it is very curious that that saga in fact gives him a brother called Eric whom it styles Eric Upsallensis. This theory makes clear why Eric should have been on terms of such close intimacy with the kings of Sweden as is shown by Rembert's narrative, and accounts also for the long-continued peace between the two countries. The Amund of Rembert's narrative I take to have been the son of Biorn, a view supported by Amund's attachment to Christianity. This will appear more clearly later on.

After a silence of some years we again find mention of Sweden in the year 829, and it is a very remarkable notice. We are told that in that year some envoys went from the Swedes to the Emperor Louis, who reported to him that there

were many among them who wished to adopt the Christian faith, and that their king desired that he would send them some priests (Rembert's Life of St. Anskarius, Pertz ii. 696, etc.). We are told that this greatly delighted the Emperor, who set about finding a suitable person to undertake such a mission. He was not long in difficulty ; Anskar, whose journey with Harald I described in a former paper and who had now been living some time on the borders of Denmark, eagerly volunteered to go. Another monk of Corbey named Withmar agreed to be his companion. Anskar left a friend behind in charge of his flock on the Danish March. His was a very strange and a very romantic journey, and it would be interesting to know by which route he went. He seems to have set sail direct for the Malar Lake.

He travelled with a number of merchants who apparently had several ships. It was necessary to go thus in convoy because of the pirates who then frequented the Baltic, but even this was poor protection, as our travellers found to their cost. For when but half-way on their journey, they were attacked by the corsairs. The merchants, we are told, defended themselves vigorously, and at first even beat off the enemy, but afterwards they were in turn beaten and lost their ships and all that they had. It is curious to read of these merchant fleets then traversing the Baltic. We are too apt to consider all the Danes and Norsemen of those days as mere pirates, the fact being that piracy was at that date probably only beginning to develop itself, and that it was only in later days when every seaman in the North Sea and Baltic was also a buccaneer. The great trysting-place of the pirates was probably the Isle of Gothland, and it was probably in the narrow channel between it and the main that the travellers were attacked. The missionaries escaped with their lives, but lost the presents which their masters had sent to the Swedish king, and lost also some £40 of their own which had been collected for their needs. Having reached the land, they had a long and wearying journey overland before they reached the royal port called Birka.

The position of this port has been much contested, and it is only in recent years that its site has been placed beyond all question.

Among the many islets which dot the beautiful Malar Gulf, whose rocky bosses covered with many-coloured lichens and draped with birch and pine form one of the most striking pictures in the memory, is an obscure island still called Biorke, *i.e.*, "the Birch Island." Here, a few years ago, a wonderful mine of archæological treasures was discovered in the site of an old city, strewn with burnt wood, the remains of domestic animals, ornaments and arms, and extending over many acres. This is now being explored by the Swedish antiquaries, and it no doubt represents the site of the ancient mart of Birka.

Let us now revert to our story. Having arrived at Birka, Anskar and his companions were courteously welcomed by the king, who was called Biorn. Who was this Biorn? A number of writers have identified him with Biorn Ironside, the son of Ragnar Lodbrog; but this is chronologically and otherwise impossible. Geijer, with whom I agree, identifies him with Biorn Hauge, or Biorn of the Hill, who is mentioned in the Hervavar saga. I further hold him to have been a son of Godfred.

The Icelanders tell us that Brage the aged, one of the most famous of the old Scalds, lived at his court (Geijer, *op. cit.* 35). Having learnt the object of their mission and consulted with his counsellors, he at length gave them permission to stay and preach the Gospel, and also permitted any to become their followers who pleased. Many listened to them gladly, for the Christian captives who lived there had already tried to share their faith with the Norsemen among whom they dwelt. Many of the latter were baptized. Among others Herigar (*i.e.*, Hergeir), the prefect of the place, and one of the king's chief councillors, who shortly afterwards built a church on his own property, the first Christian temple set up on the mainland of Scandinavia. He afterwards became a zealous furtherer of the faith

(Rembert, "Life of St. Anskar," Pertz ii. 696, 697 ; Kruse, *op. cit.* 110). These events occurred in the year 830. Having stayed in Sweden for a year and a half, Anskar in 832 returned homewards, bearing with him letters for the emperor written in the Swedish king's own hand. Anskar, on his return, was received with a cordial welcome by the emperor, who set about the fixing of some site where a new bishopric might be founded, which should have charge of the evangelization of these northern lands. The land beyond the Elbe had hitherto, it would seem, been outside episcopal jurisdiction. A church had been built there and consecrated by a Gallic bishop named Amalhar in the time of Karl the Great. The district attached to this church had been afterwards assigned to a priest called Heridag, whom the Emperor Karl intended to have consecrated as bishop, but Heridag's death prevented this. Louis, the son of Karl, now determined to enlarge the mere parish, and accordingly with the consent of the bishops, etc., he founded the archiepiscopal see of Hamburgh, and subjected to its jurisdiction all the country north of the Elbe, with the especial duty of evangelizing Scandinavia.

To this See Anskar was now consecrated by Drogo, archbishop of Metz, Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, Hetti, of Treves, and Otgar, of Mayence. At the same time Willeric was consecrated bishop of Bremen, which See, with that of Verden, were made subject to him.

As Hamburgh was situated in a dangerous locality from its proximity to the barbarians, and as it was also but small in extent, a certain foundation, called Turholt (now Torout), in Flanders, between Bruges and Ypres, was attached to it, apparently as a kind of endowment (Pertz ii. 698). Anskar having repaired to Rome, received the pall from Pope Gregory, and was nominated Apostolic Legate to the Swedes, Danes, Slaves, and other northern nations. A joint commission was apparently given to Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who had been a very ardent missionary, and to whom the Emperor assigned the little district of Welanas (now called Munsterdorf), on the Stur, to defray his expenses when he should go to those parts (*id.* 699).

After the consecration of Anskar, it was thought prudent, as Sweden was so far off and so entirely apart, that a special bishop should be consecrated to act as his vicar there. Ebbo accordingly recommended a relation of his (Adam of Bremen calls him his nephew), named Gauzbert, who having been supplied by him and the Emperor with the necessary surroundings (*i.e.* books, vessels, etc., etc.), set out on his journey. The district of Welanas already mentioned was assigned to him as a place of shelter in case of necessity (*id.* 699, 700 ; Kruse, *op. cit.* 115). It would seem that Gauzbert, at his consecration, took the name of Simeon. He was well received by the King of the Swedes (*i.e.* by Biorn) and his people ; and began, with the goodwill of all, to build a church, and publicly to preach the Gospel, and was joined by numbers of converts (Pertz, ii. 700). Meanwhile, Anskar worked ardently in the conversion of his neighbours, and redeemed from slavery numbers of boys who had been captured by the Danes and Slaves, whom he brought up in the service of the Church, retaining some of them by him, and sending others to Turholt, already mentioned, to be brought up.

Rembert then goes on to describe how Hamburg was attacked by the pirates. This happened when the Marquis of the frontier, Bernhard, was dead, and although the bishop tried to inspire his flock with courage, they were overpowered and obliged to flee ; he not even saving his cope (*etiam sine cappa sua vix evasit*). Many of the people were killed, and others fled. The pirates captured the town and plundered the neighbourhood ; they burnt the cathedral and monastery, and set fire to the library, which had been presented by the Emperor ; and his biographer tells us, that although so much of his life's work was thus destroyed, Saint Anskar made no complaints, nor did he revile his enemies, but humbly confessed that it was God who had given, and God might equally take away.

The date of this burning of Hamburg is not very clear. Pertz dates it in 837 (*id.* notes) ; Kruse, as I think with

much greater probability, in 845 (*op. cit.* 169). The bishop and his people were now vagabonds, and wandered about for some time, bearing with them the precious relics of the saints. About the same time, we are told, the Swedes, seized with diabolical frenzy, began to persecute their bishop Gauzbert, and a number of them broke into his house, and slew his nephew, Nithard. They plundered the house, and drove the rest of the inmates into exile. These things were not done at the instance of the King, but by a popular outbreak (*id.* 701; Kruse, 168-9). This King was probably Biorn. After these events there were no priests in Sweden for a space of seven years. Then Anskar, anxious for the Christians there, and especially for his godson Herigar, determined to send a certain anchorite, named Ardgar, to them. He speedily sought out Herigar and the rest, to whom he distributed the consolations of religion. By Herigar's influence the Christians obtained the royal licence to propagate their faith, and he also protected them from insult, notwithstanding the popular feeling. At an out-of-door assembly, the missionary held a controversy with the Swedes, who lauded the virtues of their gods, and boasted of the blessings they had conferred on them. The missionary, in order to confound them, we are told in the ingenuous phrases of Rembert, invoked a miracle. As a storm was impending, he bade them pray to their gods that the rain might not wet them—he also would pray to his God that it should not wet him; and the test of who was the true God was to depend on the issue of the miracle. They accepted the proof, and we are told, sat down in a body, while he sat apart with a boy. The rain was not long in coming, and it deluged them, while not a drop fell on him. On another occasion, says his much-believing biographer, Ardgar having lamed his leg and being prostrate, the Swedes jeered him and advised him to pray to their gods if he wished to be cured. Goaded into reply he appealed to Christ and was restored to health as before, thus confounding his enemies (*id.* 702).

At this time it happened that a certain Swedish

King, named Amund, having been exiled from the kingdom had sought shelter among the Danes. I am pretty sure from the subsequent narrative, that Amund was a comparatively unimportant person. It seems clear that Olaf was at this time King of Sweden, and Amund was only a king in the Norse sense, that is, a district or subordinate king. I believe, as I have read, that he was Olaf's nephew, and the nephew also of Eric of Denmark.

To continue our story. Amund being anxious to return home, began to collect recruits, promising to reward them handsomely when they returned to Birka, since there were many rich merchants and much wealth and treasure there. Eager to plunder so famous a mart, they supplied him with twenty-one ships, besides which he had eleven of his own. With this fleet he duly set sail from Denmark, and arrived at Birka. The King (? Olaf) was not at home, and there was no force at hand competent to resist him. Herigar, the governor of the town, with some merchants and others were alone. When hard pressed they determined to retire to a city near at hand (probably Sigtuna), and began to offer prayers to their gods for help. Feeling still weak, they sent away to the invaders to ask for peace. This they at length bought by a fine of 100 pounds of silver. The Danes were not satisfied, and determined to sack the town. The citizens in their distress proposed to immolate a victim to propitiate their gods, a view which was sternly opposed by Herigar, who counselled them to abandon their useless deities and to turn to the Christian God. This they accordingly did, and we are told they offered prayers and alms voluntarily and by one consent in an assembly held in the open air.

Meanwhile, according to Rembert, Amund addressed his followers, and informed them that in this place were the shrines of many powerful gods, including the God of the Christians, who was the most powerful of all, and that they had better beware how they incurred His resentment. They determined to decide the matter by an appeal to necromancy. The answer was that they should not molest the place, and that they should

leave what they had captured. They were not to return home empty-handed, however, but were to repair to a distant city, on the borders of the Slaves. They went there and captured the town, and made a great booty, with which they returned safely home again. Amund returned a portion of the silver (to the Swedes ?), and made a treaty with them and lived there for some time as he wished to conciliate them (Pertz ii. 704). From this account, it would seem probable that Amund was a Christian, and probably a friend of Herigar's. The latter did not let his vantage slip, but seems to have used his triumph for the furtherance of the faith. He died an old man, a Christian, and received the last sacrament from Ardgar (Pertz ii. 704 ; Kruse, 201, 202).

Rembert mentions that among the Swedish converts was a woman called Frideburg or Fretheburg, who resisted all the importunities of her people to sacrifice to idols, etc., and remained a faithful Christian. As she was nearing her term of life, and there was no longer a priest there, Gauzbert being dead ; knowing that Christians before they died consoled themselves by taking the viaticum or last communion, and there being no priest who could duly consecrate the elements, she bought, and set apart some wine, and ordered her daughter to give it to her when she was dying, in the hope that this sacrifice might be acceptable in her difficult circumstances. This was three years before the arrival of Ardgar. She lived on, however, and only died after receiving the sacrament duly from him, and ordering her daughter Calla to distribute some of her wealth as alms among the poor, and in case she found but few poor, she recommended her to take the money to Dorestadt, where there were many churches, priests, and poor, and there to distribute her alms. She went there and performed her mother's behests (Pertz, *op. cit.* ii. 704, 705). After the death of Herigar, Ardgar left Sweden, which was again therefore left without spiritual control.

In 846 Pope Sergius issued a commission to Anskar confirming him as apostle of the Wigmodians, Nordalbingians, Danes, Norveni, Suecii, and whatever nations he should

subject to the faith, and granting him the use of the pallium at his see of Hamburg (Kruse, 176). As I have mentioned, that missionary see on the borders of the heathen was too poor to support itself, and the emperor had accordingly assigned it the revenues of the monastery of Turholt for its support. On the death of Louis the Pious, Turholt fell to the share of his son Charles, while Hamburg belonged, if to anybody, to Louis the German. Charles accordingly detached the monastery from the see and gave it to one Reginar (Pertz ii. 706). The consequence of this, added to the previous ravage of the Danes, was that the see of Hamburg was reduced to desolation. About this time the bishopric of Bremen becoming vacant, it was determined at a synod of bishops, held at Mayence in the autumn of 847, to appoint Anskar to the post, and thus unite Bremen and Hamburg, which was accordingly done. This introduced a new difficulty. Bremen was a suffragan see of Cologne, while Hamburg had been constituted an independent archbishopric.

The Archbishop of Cologne now claimed Anskar as one of his suffragans, which the latter resented. The matter was discussed at a synod at Worms, attended by the two brothers, Lothaire and Louis, and it was determined to remit the matter to the decision of the Holy See. Louis accordingly appointed Salomon bishop of Constance (*Constantiæ civitatis episcopus*) to go there, and Anskar was represented by a priest named Nordfrid, who is described by Rembert ambiguously as *filium suum* (i.e. of Anskar) *fratrem nostrum* (i.e. of Rembert). The matter having been duly brought before Pope Nicholas, he issued a bull uniting the two dioceses of Hamburg and Bremen, and constituting them an archiepiscopal see, independent of that of Cologne, while the diocese of Verden, of which Waldgar was bishop, was detached from them (Pertz ii. 706, 708).

Anskar now resumed his efforts for the conversion of the Danes. We are told he endeavoured to conciliate the good will of Eric, who was now sole king of the country, by presents and otherwise, in order to gain permission to preach

the faith, and seems to have had some interviews with him. Anskar also seems to have exerted himself to create a good feeling between the Danes and Franks, and to have been an intermediary in their negotiations. In consequence Eric became much attached to him, and even initiated him in his State secrets. Anskar now introduced the question of Christianity, and tried to persuade Eric to be baptized. He seems to have had considerable effect on the king, and at last persuaded him to allow a church to be built within his borders. The site was fixed at Schleswig, a port, says Rembert, much frequented by merchants, and there was accordingly founded the first Christian temple within the borders of Denmark. The king also granted permission to any of his subjects who pleased to be baptized. The church was duly dedicated to the Virgin, and a priest appointed to it. Rembert says there were already many Christians there who had been baptizied at Hamburgh or Dorestadt, among whom were some of the officials of the town, who accordingly encouraged the movement, and many, both men and women, now followed their example (*id.* 709). It will be remarked that Rembert nowhere says that King Eric himself was baptized, nor that he became a Christian. This fact is mentioned by Adam of Bremen, who was a very late and irregularly inaccurate chronicler of the events of this time, and whose authority as compared with Rembert is *nil*. I cannot doubt that if Eric had really become a Christian, that such a proof of the triumphant campaign of his master would not have been overlooked by his scholar and biographer.

Anskar was now much troubled for the condition of Sweden, where there was no longer any priest, and he persuaded King Eric to assist him in the matter. After a conference with Gauzbert, who had been there before, and had been driven away, and who seems to have dreaded similar treatment, it was determined that the latter should go, and Eric sent a letter with him, commending him to the Swedish King Olaf, a proof, as I take it, that Eric and Olaf,

who were according to my contention nearly related, if not actually brothers, were good friends, and in no sense rivals and enemies. In his letter he referred to him as sent by King Louis, as one anxious to serve the cause of religion, and wishful to spread the Gospel in Sweden. Having set out they reached Birka in about twenty days, where they met the king and a large number of people. Rembert goes on to say that the crowd was much elated about their arrival, for one who claimed to have been sent from the very council of the northern gods, had addressed the crowd in terms like these: "By your zeal for us you have secured our goodwill, and in consequence peace and plenty have flourished in the land. Now you propose to rob us of sacrifices and other offerings, and what we deem even worse, to supplant us by another god. If you wish us to continue propitious to you, continue the old sacrifices, and to pay us the dues as formerly, and do not receive this other god, who denounces us, among you, nor worship him. If needs be that you are anxious for other gods, and that we do not suffice for you, then choose Eric, who was formerly your king, and whom we will unanimously welcome among us to be a god." This Eric it has been argued was Eric of Upsala, who by some is made a brother of Biorn of the Hill, but this is hardly likely. So recent a king would hardly in the north have been suggested as a god. He was rather in all probability some semi-fabulous hero of the Heroic age.

The above address seems to have greatly excited the mob, who in accordance with it nominated the Eric just named as one of their gods, and thereupon began to offer gifts and sacrifices to him. Bishop Gauzbert now consulted his old friends as to the course he should pursue, and what were the king's sympathies in the matter. They counselled him to withdraw at once, and if he had anything of value about him to present it to the king so as to be permitted to go away alive. Gauzbert refused to comply, and said he was prepared for martyrdom. At length by the advice of his friends he invited the king, who was no doubt the Olaf already

named, to his house. He there offered him hospitality and presents and presented his commission, which had already been named to him by his own friends and by the envoy of Eric of Denmark. The king seemed very gracious, and willing to comply with his wishes ; but he added, " There were priests here before who were driven away, not by the royal mandate, but by a popular outbreak. Before I can or dare confirm your mission I must consult the auguries of our gods, and see what the wish of the people is. Attend the next meeting of the assembly (*placitum*) and I will advocate your cause to the people, and if the gods are willing then your wishes shall be carried, if not then the contrary." This, says Rembert, was according to their custom, for among them matters of public moment were decided by the popular will rather than by the royal wish. Gauzbert consented to this and prepared himself by prayer and fasting for the interview (*id.* 711, 712). The king having assembled his grandees discussed the matter with them, and they proceeded to test by lots what the will of the gods was. The lots were cast on the open field, and they fell that it was the will of the gods that the Christian religion should be established there. This news was taken to Gauzbert by one of his friends, and the latter accordingly prepared to attend the general assembly with confidence. The assembly was held at Birka, and the king having caused the decision just mentioned to be announced there was considerable uproar, when there uprose an elderly man who addressed the crowd, saying, " Hear me, king and people. The worship of this God is well known to many of us who have received benefits from Him, for many of us have proved His goodness in perils on the sea. Formerly several of us who have been to Dorestadt have there adopted the faith. Now on account of the many pirates and dangers that infest the way, we hardly ever make our way there." *

The orator bade his audience attend to their own interests,

* This is surely a graphic proof of what I have elsewhere urged, that the Norsemen were originally traders and not buccaneers, and that piracy was an accomplishment they learnt later on.

and in those cases where their gods were not propitious to court the favour of this one who was always willing to help those who asked Him. This speech had its due effect, and it was agreed that priests should settle among them, and that the mysteries of Christianity should be practised without hindrance. The king had this conclusion announced to the bishop, but he still withheld his own consent until another *placitum* or assembly had been held in another part of the country. This was probably for Gothland, as the former one was for Sweden proper. This followed the example, and confirmed the decision of the former assembly. The king now proclaimed the decision of the two meetings, granting the right to build churches and to make converts freely. Gauzbert then commended Erimbert, the nephew of Anskar, to the good graces of the king, and asking for his patronage for him. The king thereupon ordered a hall (*atrium*) to be built for an oratory, and the bishop bought another for him to live in. These were both at Birka. The bishop then once more returned home.

About this time Rembert reports an expedition undertaken by the Swedes against the Cori, whom he describes as a people situated a long way off, and who were clearly the Curones or people of Curland. He says they had formerly been subject to the Swedes, but this was a considerable time before (*jam tunc diu erat*).

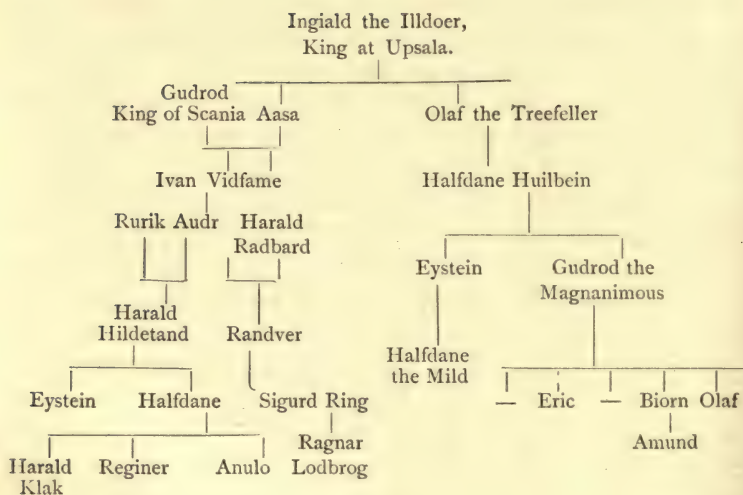
The Danes having learnt this, determined about the time when the bishop (*i.e.* Gauzbert) was among the Swedes to send a large fleet there to plunder and subdue them. The kingdom of the Cori then comprised five different states (*civitates*), whose inhabitants united together to repel the invaders. They were successful. One half of the Danes were killed, and their fleet was plundered of its gold and silver. The expedition in fact seemed to have been a disastrous failure. King Olaf and the Swedes having heard of this, and wishing to acquire fame, and to compass what the Danes had failed in doing, piqued also, inasmuch as the Curlanders were formerly their subjects, collected a very large force and crossed

the Baltic to Curland to a city then called Seeburg, where there were 7,000 warriors collected. This town some have identified with Seleburg in Semgallia at the mouth of the Duna, others with Segeburg in the south of Livonia (Pertz ii. 714, note 60; Kruse, 227, note 1). Kruse also suggests from the fact of the town having so large a garrison that it was the capital of Curland. Other possible sites are Libau, which from its situation on the coast may have been called Seeburg by the Danes, or, perhaps Pills Callns near Kapsehden (*op. cit.* 227, note 2).

Having captured, sacked, and burnt the town, they went on a five days' journey to another town, called Apulia, which, as Pertz suggests, was, doubtless, Pillen on the river Windav, in Curland. There were assembled 15,000 warriors, who shut themselves up in the town and defended it bravely.

For eight days the siege was prosecuted with great vigour. The Swedes then began to grow weary, and as they were five days' journey from the port where their ships lay, they were much troubled in their minds as to what they should do, they determined to cast lots and see whether their gods meant to assist them, or intended that they should retire. These lots having been cast it was found that none of the gods were willing to help them; whereupon a terrible wailing arose in the camp. "What miserable creatures are we!" they said; "our gods have forsaken us, and none of them will support us! Whither must we fly? Our ships are a long way off; if we retire to them, those who follow in pursuit will destroy us. Where, then, is our hope?" In this difficulty, some merchants who were with them, and who remembered the teaching of the bishop, spoke out, and said, "The God of the Christians is mighty in assisting those who seek Him. Let us see if He is with us, and if so, let us obey Him." The lots were again cast, and it was found that Christ was in fact with them. This news greatly raised their drooping spirits. With joyful hearts they again closely beleaguered the town, which it appears began to run short of provisions, and some propositions were made by the garrison, that they wished for peace rather than war, and were ready to make a truce with the

Swedes and to surrender some of the booty which they had captured during the previous year from the Danes. They offered a ransom of half-a-pound of silver for each man in the garrison, to renew the homage they formerly did, and to give hostages, and in future to deem themselves subjects of the Swedish king. Some of the more bellicose Swedes were not for accepting these terms, but rather for insisting upon the capture of the town, and upon its plunder ; but this was overruled by the king and his more prudent counsellors ; and having collected a great ransom, and received thirty hostages, they made their way back to their ships. The delighted Swedes now inquired from the merchants, whose advice they had previously sought, what the God of the Christians would deem a grateful return for the benefits he had conferred on them. It was determined that they should fast for seven days, and then abstain from meat for seven days ; and after an interval of forty days should by a general assembly decree a similar abstention of forty days. After this we are told they were very friendly disposed to Christianity, and adopted the Christian mode of fasting, and the fashion of distributing alms to the poor, and in consequence the priest Erimbert, whom I have mentioned, continued to live among them in peace and quiet (Pertz ii. 714, 715). This is a fitting close to the present paper ; we have carried down the history of Sweden to the date when the battle took place in Denmark, where Eric was killed, and which was the great turning-point in northern history, and I will in conclusion give a short genealogy of the kings before mentioned, in order to make my story more plain.



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THE
BIRTHPLACE
OF
TIM BOBBIN;
IN THE
PARISH OF FLIXTON.

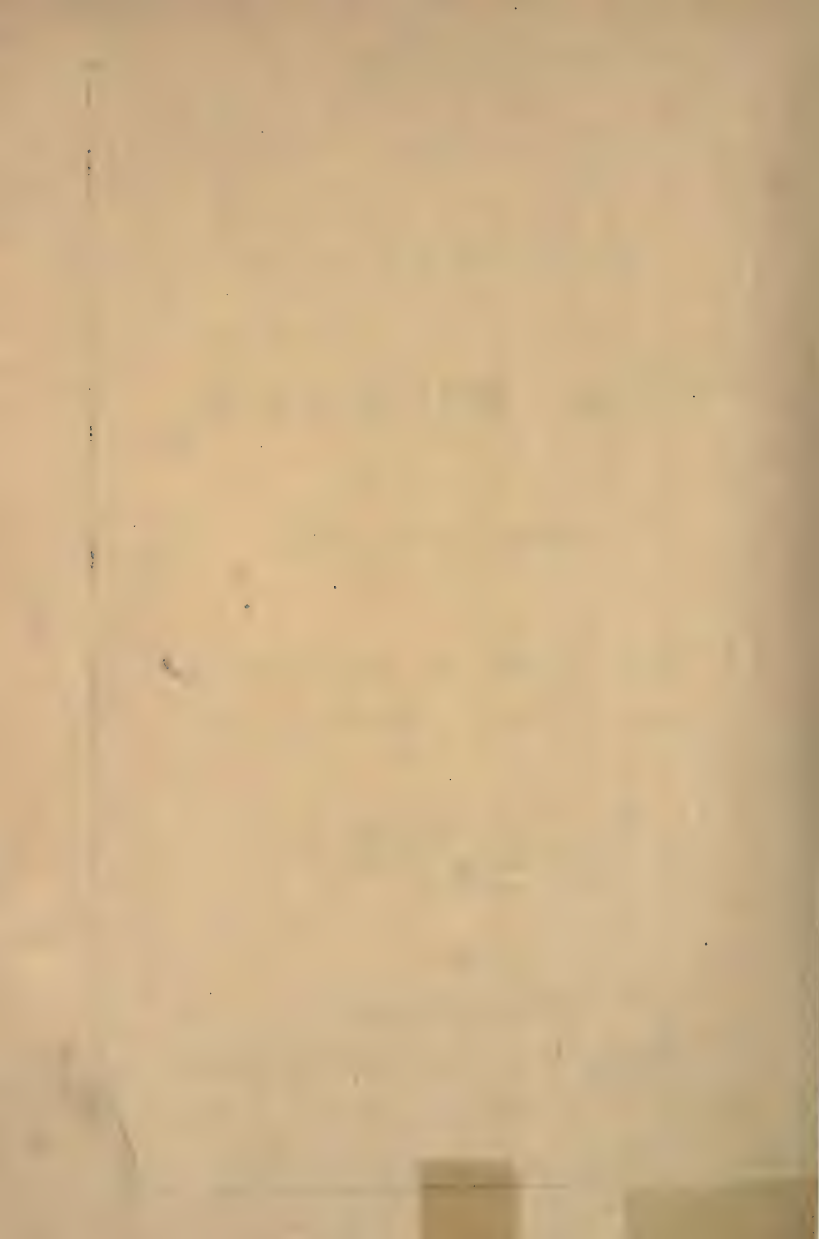
BY EDWIN WAUGH,
AUTHOR OF "SKETCHES OF LANCASHIRE LIFE," ETC.

"Not a hamlet could we pass,
Rarely a house, that did not yield to him
Remembrances; or from his tongue call forth
Some way-beguiling tale."

WORDSWORTH.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

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THE BIRTHPLACE OF TIM BOBBIN.

CHAPTER I.

"A merrier man,
Within the limits of becoming mirth,
I never spent an hour's talk withal :
His eye begets occasion for his wit :
For every object that the one doth catch,
The other turns to a mirth moving jest ;
Which his fair tongue (conceit's expositor)
Delivers in such apt and gracious words,
That aged ears play truant to his tales."

Love's Labour Lost.

THERE is a quiet tract of country on the eastern border of Lancashire, lying in a corner, formed by the junction of the rivers Mersey and Irwell, and having but little intercourse with those great towns of the county which boil with the industry and traffic of these days, a few miles off to the north and eastward. It is the green selvidge of our toilful district in that direction ; and the winding waters of the Mersey lace its meadows lengthwise, until that river joins the more soiled and sullen Irwell, on the northern boundary of the parish. In all the landscape, there are no hills to break the view with picturesque variety ; and, considering the extent of land, trees are but sparsely scattered over it. It is singular, also, that the oak will not flourish in this particular spot, although there are some fine specimens of the other

trees common to the English soil. But the country is generally fertile, and prettily undulated in some places ; and it is, altogether, a pleasant scene in hay time, “ when leaves are large and long,” and the birds are singing with full-throated gladness in the green shade, while the dewy swathe is falling to the sweeping stroke of the stark mower, in the sunlight of a June morning. Looking eastward, across the Mersey, the park-like plains and rustling woods of Cheshire stretch away in unbroken rural beauty, as far as the eye can see. Indeed, the whole of this secluded tract, upon the Lancashire side of the river, may be naturally reckoned a part of that fruitful Cheshire district which has, not inappropriately, been called “ the market-garden of Manchester.” The parish of Flixton occupies nearly the whole of this border-nook of Lancashire ; and the scattered hamlet of Urmston, in this parish, lays claim to the honour of being the birthplace of our earliest and most popular native humourist, the celebrated John Collier, better known by his self-chosen name of “ Tim Bobbin ;”—

“ A lad whose fame did resound
Through every village and town around ;
For fun, for frolic, and for whim.”

And certainly the hamlet of Urmston is a spot quite in keeping with all we know of the general character, and all we can imagine of the earliest training of a man who owed so much to nature, and who described the manners of the country folk of his day, with such living truth, enriched with the quaint tinge of a humorous genius, which was his, and his only. Fortune, and his own liking, seem to have made him a constant dweller in the country. He was, by fits, fond of social company, and business led him into towns occasionally ; but whenever he visited towns, he seems to have always turned again towards the darling old chimney-corner of his country home, with an undying love, which fairly glows in every allusion he makes to his dwelling place at the village of Milnrow, and even to the honest, uncouth hinds, who were his neighbours there ; and whose portraits he has drawn for us so inimitably in his celebrated dramatic story of “ Tummus and

Mary." He was "a fellow of infinite jest; of most excellent fancy." May his soul rest "in the bosom of good old Abraham!"

Here, then, in green Urmston, John Collier is said to have been born; and the almost unrecorded days of his childhood were passed here. Even now, the scattered dwellers of the place are mostly employed in agriculture, and their language and customs savour more of three centuries ago than those which we are used to in manufacturing towns. Their way of human life is but little altered from what it was in the olden time. From the cottage homes and old fashioned farm-houses which are dropped over the landscape like birds' nests, "each in its nook of leaves," generation after generation has come forth to wander through the same grass-grown byeways and bramble-embroidered old lanes; to weave the same chequered web of simple joys and sorrows, and cares and toils; to lie down at last in the same old churchyard, where their "rude forefathers of the hamlet" are sleeping together so quietly. It is a country well worth visiting by any lover of nature for its own sake. Its natural features, however, are those common to English rural scenery in districts where there are no great elevations, nor anything like thick woodlands; and though such scenery is always pleasing to my mind, it was not on account of its natural charms, nor to see its ancient halls, with the interesting associations of past generations playing about them; nor the ivied porches of its picturesque farm-houses; nor to peep through the flower-shaded lattices of its cottage nests; nor even to scrape acquaintance with the honest old-fashioned people who live in them, that I first wandered out to Flixton; though there is more than one quaint old soul down there that I would rather spend an hour with than with any two fiddlers in the county. Particularly "Owd Rondle," the market gardener, who used to tell me the richest country tales imaginable. He had a dog, which "wur never quiet but when it wur feightin." He was a man of hopeful temper and clear judgment, mingled with a warm under-current of chuckling humour, which thawed away stiff manners in an instant. The last time I saw him a friend of his was complaining

of the gloom of the times, and saying that he thought England's sun had set. "Set," said Rondle, "not it! But iv it wur set, we'd get a devlish good moon up! Dunnut be so ready to mout yor fithers afore th' time comes. Noather me nor England mun last for ever. But Owd Englan's yung yet, for oather pace or war, though quietness is th' best, an' th' chepest, if they'n let us be quiet, uppv a daycent fuuting. So, keep yor heart up; for th' shell shall be broken; an' th' chicken shall come forth; an' it shall be a cock chicken; an' a feighter; with a single kom!" But "Rondle" was not always in this humour. He could doff his cap and bells at will; and liked, what he called "sarviceable talk," when any really serious matter was afoot. But it was not to see curious "Owd Rondle" that I first went down to Flixton. The district is so far out of the common "trod," as Lancashire people say, that I doubt whether I should ever have rambled far in that direction if it had not been for the oft-repeated assertion that Urmston, in Flixton, was the birth-place of John Collier. And it was a desire to see the reputed place of his nativity, and to verify the fact, as far as I could, on the spot—since the honour has been claimed by more than one other place in Lancashire—that first led me out there.

In my next chapter, gentle reader, if thou art minded so far to do me pleasure, we will ramble down that way together; and, I doubt not, that in the course of our journey, thou wilt hear or see something or other which may haply repay thee for the trouble of going so far out of thy way with me.

CHAPTER II.

"By the crackling fire,
We'll hold our little snug, domestic court,
Plying the work with song and tale between."

It was on a cold forenoon, early in the month of April, that I set off to see Urmston, in Flixton. The sky was gloomy, and the air chill; but the cold was bracing, and the time convenient; so I

went towards Oxford Road Station in a cheerful temper. Stretford is the nearest point on the line, and I took my ticket to that village. We left the huge manufactories, and the low miserable chimney tops of "Little Ireland" down by the dirty Medlock; we ran over a web of dingy streets swarming with dingy people; we flitted by the end of Deansgate (the Ratcliffe Highway of Manchester), and over the top of Knott Mill, the site of the Roman Station, now covered with warehouses and other buildings connected with the Bridgewater Trust; we left the black stagnant canal coiled in the hollow, and stretching its dark length into the distance, like a slimy, pestilent snake. We cleared the cotton mills, and dyeworks, and chemical manufactories of Cornbrook. Pomona Gardens too we left behind, with the irregular carpentry of its great picture sticking up raggedly in the dun air, like the charred relics of a burnt wood-yard. These all passed in swift panorama, and the train stopped at Old Trafford, the site of the "Art Exhibition," just closed. Three years ago the inhabitants did not dream that this was to be the gathering place of the grandest collection of works of art the world ever saw, and the scene of more bustle and pomp than was ever known on any one spot in the north of England before. The building was up, but not opened, and as we went by we had a good view of the shapeless mass; and of many curious people tooting about the enclosure to see what was going on. Old Trafford takes its name from the Trafford family, or rather, I believe, gives its name to that family, whose ancient dwelling, Old Trafford Hall, stands in part of its once extensive gardens, near the railway. Baines says of this family, "The Traffords were settled here (at Trafford) at a period anterior to the Norman conquest, and ancient documents in possession of the family show that their property has descended to the present representative, not only by an uninterrupted line of male heirs, but without alienation, during the mutations in national faith, and the violence in civil commotions. Henry, the great grandson of Ranulphus de Trafford, who resided at Trafford in the reign of Canute and Edward the Confessor, received lands from Helias de Pendlebury; in Chorlton, from Gospatrick de

Chorlton ; and in Stretford from Hamo, the third baron of that name, of Dunham Massie ; and from Pain of Eeborn (Ashburn) he had the whole of the lordship of Stretford." The whole of Stretford belongs to the Traffords still. "In the reign of Henry the Sixth, Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford, assisted at the coronation of the king, and received the honour of Knight of the Bath on that occasion." A certain poet says truly,

" Though much the centuries take, and much bestow,
Most through them all immutable remains ;"

but the mind sets out upon a curious journey when it starts from modern Manchester, with its industrialism and its political unions ; its hearty workers and its wealthy traders ; its charities and its poverties ; its mechanics' institutions and its ignorance ; its religions and its sins ; and travels through the successive growths of change which have come over the life of man since the days of Canute (when Manchester must have been a rude little woodland town) ; speculating as it goes as to what is virtually changed, and what remains the same through the long lapse of time, linking the "then" and "there," with "now" and "here." But we are now fairly in the country, and the early grass is peeping out of the ground, making all the landscape look sweetly green. In a few minutes the whole distance had been run, and I heard the cry, "Out here for Stretford !" Leaving the station, I went to the top of the railway bridge, which carries the high road over the line. From that elevation I looked about me. It commands a good view of the village hard by, and of the country for miles around. This great tract of meadows, gardens, and pasture land, was once a thick woodland, famous in the Withington district for its fine oak trees. In Flixton the oak was never found, except of stunted growth. A few miles to westward the parks of Dunham and Tatton show how grand the old growth of native trees must have been on the Cheshire border ; and in the north-east the woods of Trafford make a dark shadow on the scene. And here at hand is the old village of Stretford, the property of the Traffords, of Trafford, whose arms

give names to the principal inn of the village, as well as to one or two others on the road from Manchester. The man in motley, with a flail in his hand, and the mottos, "Now, thus;" "Gripe Griffin; hold fast!" greet the traveller with a kind of grim historic salutation as he goes by. These are household phrases with the inhabitants, many of whom are descendants of the ancient tenantry of the family. Quiet Stretford! close to the Cheshire border! The first rural village after leaving that great machine-shop called Manchester. Depart from that city in almost any other direction, and you come upon a quick succession of the same manufacturing features you have left behind, divided, of course, by many a beautiful nook of country green. But somehow, though a man may feel proud of these industrial triumphs, yet, if he has a natural love of the country, he breathes all the more freely when he comes out in this direction, from the knowledge that he is entering upon a country of unmixed rural quietness and beauty, and that the tremendous bustle of manufacture is entirely behind him for the time. Stretford is an agricultural village, but there is a kind of manufacture which it excels in. Ormskirk is famous for its gingerbread; Bury for its "simblins" or "simnels;" Eccles for those spicy cakes, which "Owd Chum"—the delight of every country fair in these parts—used to sell at the "Rushbearings" of Lancashire; but the mission of Stretford is black-puddings. And, certainly, a Stretford black-pudding would not be despised even by a famishing Israelite, if he happened to value a dinner more than the ancient faith of his fathers. Fruit, flowers, green market stuff, black-puddings, and swine's flesh in general—these are the pride of the village. Roast pork, stuffed in a certain savoury way, is a favourite dish here. The village folks call it the "Stretford Goose;" and it is not a bad substitute for that pleasant bird, as I found. Stretford is nearly all in one street, by the side of the highway going into Cheshire. It has grown very much in late years, but enow of its old features remain to give the place a quaint tone, and to show what it was fifty years ago, before Manchester merchants began to build mansions in the neighbourhood, and

Manchester tradesmen began to go out there to lodge. There was once an old church in Stretford, of very simple architecture, built and endowed by the Trafford family. Nothing of it now remains but the graveyard, which is carefully enclosed. I looked through the rails into this weedy sanctuary of human decay. It had a still, neglected look. "The poor inhabitants below" had been gathering together there a long while, and their memories now floating down the stream of time, far away from the sympathies of the living, except in that honourable reverence for the dead, which had here enclosed their dust from unfeeling intrusion. It was useless for me to wonder who they were that lay there; how long they had been mouldering in company; or what manner of life they had led. Their simple annals had faded, or were fading away. The wind was playing with the grave-grass; the village life of Stretford was going on as blithe as ever round this quiet enclosure, and I walked forward. Even such is time:—

" Who in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days."

The "curfew" has "toll'd the knell of parting day" over the woods and fields around this village ever since the time of William the Conqueror. I had agreed to call upon a friend of mine here before going down to Flixton, so I walked a little way further down the village, and then turning through a certain orchard, as directed, I came into a green lane beyond. There stood the house, on the opposite side of the lane, at the top of a gentle slope of garden, shaded with evergreens, among which rose up one remarkably fine variegated holly. The hedgerows were trim; and the cottage on the knoll, with its bright windows "winking through their screen of leaves," looked very sweet, still, and nest-like. And then the little garden—

" A garden faire, and in the corner set
Ane harbour grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about, and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegeis knet,
That lyf was non walking there forbye,
That might within scarce ony wight aspye."

I stood still a minute, for the place was pleasant to look upon, and then opening the gate, and, starting the birds from every bush, went up through the little garden. I met with a hearty welcome, and mine host and myself soon had the snug tree-shaded parlour to ourselves. I was at home in a minute; but, as we chatted about the books on the shelves and the pictures on the walls, there came from somewhere in the house an aroma that "made my teeth shoot water." I was talking of books, but in my mind I was wondering what it was that sent forth such a goodly smell; for I was hungry. My friend either divined my thoughts, or else he was secretly affected in the same way, for he said, "We are going to have a 'Stretford Goose' to day." Now, I was curious, and the smell was fine, and my appetite keen, and I was fain when the goose and its trimmings came in. When we fell to, I certainly was the hero of the attack, and the goose came down before our combined forces like a waste warehouse in flames. When the cloth was taken away I would not have thanked to dine at a king's banquet. It was a wholesome, bountiful English meal, "wi' no fancy wark abeawt it;" and since that April noontide, I have always felt an inward respect for a "Stretford Goose."

When dinner was fairly over I lost no time in starting for Flixton, which was only three miles off, with what some people call "a good road" to it. And it certainly is better than those terrible old roads of North Lancashire, of which Arthur Young writes with such graphic ferocity. "Reader," says he "didst thou ever go from Wigan to Preston? If not; don't. Go to the devil rather; for nothing can be so infernal as that road is." The hedges by the wayside were covered with little buds. The murky clouds had left the sky, and the day was fine. There was a wintry nip in the air, which was pleasant enough to me; but it gave the young grass and the thorn-buds a shrinking look, as if they had come out too soon to be comfortable. The ground was soft under foot, and I had to pick my way through the "slutch" now and then. There had been long and heavy rains, and I could see gleaming sheets of water, left on the low-lying meadow lands on

the Cheshire side of the river. But I was in no humour for grumbling, for the country was new to me, and I looked around with pleasure, though the land was rather bare and shrivelled—like a fowl in the moult,—for it had hardly got rid of winter's bleakness, and had not fairly donned the new suit of spring green. But the birds seemed satisfied, for they chirruped blithely among the wind-beaten thorns, and hopped and played from bough to bough in the scant-leaved trees. If these feathered tremblers had weathered the hard winter, by the kindness of Providence, and amidst this lingering chill, could hail the drawing near of spring with such a glad content, why should I repine? By the way, that phrase “the drawing near of spring,” reminds me of the burden of an ancient May song, peculiar to the people of this district. In the villages hereabouts, they have an old custom of singing in the month of May; and companies of musicians and “May-singers” go from house to house among their neighbours, on April nights, to sing under their chamber windows this old song about “The drawing near unto the merry month of May.” An old man, known in Stretford as a “May-singer,” a “herb-gatherer,” and a “Yule-singer,” who gets a scanty living out of the customs of each season of the year as it comes, furnished me with a rough copy of the words and music of this old “May Song.” The words, however, are in too crude a state to present just now. In one verse of the song, each member of the sleeping family is addressed by name, in succession,—

“Then rise up Sarah Brundrit,
All in your gown of green;”

and as each appears at the window, they are saluted with a “Merry May.” There is something very sweet about these old country customs; and when I get the “Stretford May Song” in a complete state, the reader shall have it.

About a mile on the road, I came to a green dingle, close by the wayside, called “Gamershaw.” A large, new, brick dwelling-house now occupies the spot, which was formerly shaded by spreading trees,—a flysome nook, of which the country folk were

afraid at night-time, as the haunt of a goblin, called "Gamershaw Boggart." Every rustle of the trees at Gamershaw was big with terror to them half a century ago. Even now, when "Gamershaw Boggart" has hardly a leaf to shelter its old haunt, the place is fearful after dark, to the simple, superstitious people of Flixton parish. And yet, there seems to be some change working in this respect, for, when I asked a villager, further on, whether "Gamershaw Boggart" was ever seen now, he said:—"Naw; we never see'n no boggarts neaw, nobbut when th' brade-fleigh's (bread-rack) empty!"

CHAPTER III.

"I there wi' something did forgather,
That put me in an eerie swither."—BURNS.

LEAVING "Gamershaw," I "sceawrt eendway," as Collier says. Here, I had the advantage of an intelligent companion, with a rich store of local anecdote in him. He was not a man inclined to superstition; but he said he once had an adventure at this spot, which startled him. Walking by "Gamershaw," one pitch-dark night, and thinking of anything but boggarts, he heard something in the black gloom behind, following his footsteps with a soft, unearthly trot, accompanied by an unmistakeable rattle of chains. He stopt. It stopt. He went on, and the fearful sounds dogged him again, with malignant regularity. "Gamershaw Boggart, after all, and no mistake," thought he; and in spite of all reason, a cold sweat began to come over him. Just then, the goblin made a fiendish dash by, and went helter-skelter down the middle of the road, trailing the horrible clang of chains behind it with infernal glee, and dived into the grim midnight beyond. To his relief, however, he bethought him that it was a large dog belonging to a resident in the neighbourhood. The dog had got loose, and was thus making night hideous by unconsciously personifying "Gamershaw Boggart."

And now, my companion and I whiled away the road from

Gamershaw with a pleasant interchange of country anecdote. I have just room for one, which I remember hearing in some of my rambles among the moorland folk of my native district. It is a story of a poor hand-loom weaver, called "Thrum" trying to sell his dog "Snap" to a moorland farmer. I have put it in the form of a dialogue, that it may be the more understandable to the general reader. It runs thus:—

Thrum.—Maister, dun yo want a nice bull-an-tarrier?

Farmer.—A what?

Thrum.—A bull-an-tarrier, dog wi' feet as white as snow! Brass wouldn't ha' parted me an' that dog, iv there hadn't bin sich ill deed for wheyvers just neaw,—it wouldn't for sure. For aw'd taen to th' dog, an' th' dog had taen to me very mich, for o' at it had nobbut thin pikein' sometimes. But poverty parts good friends neaw an' then, maister.

Farmer.—A bull-an-tarrier, says to?

Thrum.—Ay; an' th' smartest o'th breed at ever ran at a mon's heels! Its brother to that ghreyt dog o' Lolloper's, at stoole a shoolder o' mutton, an' ran up a soof with it.

Farmer.—Ay; is it one o' that family?

Thrum.—It is for sure. They're prime steylers, o' on 'em.

Farmer.—Has it a nick under its nose?

Thrum.—A nick,—naw it hasn't. * * Houd; what mak ov a nick dun yo mhyen?

Farmer.—Has it a meawth?

Thrum.—Ay; its a grand meawth; an' a rook o'th prattist teeth at ever wur pegged into a pair o' choles! A sharper, seawnder set o' dog-teeth never snapt at a ratton! Then, look at it e'en; they're as breet as th' north star ov a frosty neet! An' feel at it nose; its as cowl as iccles! That dog's some sarviceable yelth abeawt it, maister.

Farmer.—Aw'll tell tho what, it looks hungry.

Thrum.—Hungry! Its olez hungry! An' it'll heyt aught i'th world, fro a collop to a dur latch. * * Oh, ay, its reet enough for that.

Farmer.—Well, owd mon; aw've nought again thi dog, but that nick under it nose. To tell tho th' treawth, we may'n meawths here faster nor we may'n mheyt. Look at yon woman! Aw would e'en ha' tho to tay thi dog wheer they're noan as thick uppo th' clod as here.

Thrum.—Oh, aw see. * * Well, eawr Matty's just the very same; nobbut her nose has rayther a sharper phoynt to't nor yor missisus. * * Yo see'n, aw thought it wur time to sell th' dog, when aw had to ax owd Thunge to lend mo a bite ov his moufin whol aw'd deawn't my piece. But aw'll go fur on. So good day to yo. * * Come Snap, owd lad; aw'll find thee a good shop, or else aw'll sweat."

Chatting about such country characteristics as these, we came up to a plain whitewashed hall-house, standing a little off the road, called "Newcroft." This was pointed out to me as the residence of a gentleman related to the famous "Whitworth doctors." The place looked neat and homely, and had orderly grounds and gardens about, but there was nothing remarkable in its general appearance which would have stopt me, but for the interesting fact just mentioned. It brought to my mind many a racy story connected with that worthy old family of country doctors, and their quaint, independent way of life in the little moorland village of Whitworth, near "Fairies Chapel," the scene of one of those "Lancashire Traditions" which Mr. John Roby wrote about. I found afterwards that this "Newcroft" was, in old time, the homestead of the great Cheshire family of Warburton, of which family R. E. E. Warburton, Esq., of Arley Hall, is the present representative. I understand that the foundations of the old hall are incorporated with the present building. There are very few trees about the place now; and these afford neither shade to the house, nor much ornament to the scene. The name of Warburton is still common about here, both among the living, and on the gravestones of Flixton churchyard. The saying, "Aw'll tear tho limb fro Warbu'ton," is common all over Lancashire as well as Cheshire. One side of its meaning is evident enough, but its allusions used to puzzle me.

I find that it has its origin in the curiously-involved relations of the two Cheshire rectories of Lymm and Warburton, and in some futile effort which was once made to separate them. Written this way, "I'll tear tho limb (Lymm) fro Warbu'ton (Warburton)," the saying explains itself better. There is a ballad in Dr. Latham's work on "The English Language," in which the present "Squire ov Arley Ha'" is mentioned in a characteristic way. It is given in that work as a specimen of the Cheshire dialect. It certainly is the raciest modern ballad of its kind that I know of. The breeze of nature has played in the heart of the writer, whoever he be. Its allusions and language have so much affinity with the Lancashire side of the water, that I think the reader will forgive me for introducing it, that he may judge of it for himself. The title is, "Farmer Dobbin; or, a Day wi' the Cheshire Fox Dogs." Here it is; and I fancy that a man with any blood in his body will hunt as he reads it:

Thear's slutch upo thi coat, mon, thear's blood upo thi chin,
It's welly toime for milkin, now where ever 'ast 'ee bin?"
Oiv bin to see the gentlefolks o Cheshur roid a run,
Owd weneh I oiv bin a hunting, an oiv seen some rattling fun.

Th' owd mare was in the smithy when the huntsman he trots through,
Black Bill agate o' 'ammerin the last nail in her shoe;
The curver laid so wheam like, and so jovial fine the day,
Says I, 'Owd mare, we'll tak a fling, an' see 'em go away.'

When up, and oi'd got shut ov aw the hackney pads an' traps,
Orse dealers and orse jockey lads, and such loik swaggering chaps,
Then what a power o' gentlefolk did oi set eyes upon!
A reining in their hunters, aw blood orses every one!

They'd aw got bookskin leathers on, a fitten 'em so toight,
As roind an plump as turmits be, an just about as whoite;
Their spurs wur maid o' siller, an their buttons maid o' brass,
Their coats wur red as carrots, and their collars green as grass.

A varment looking gemman on a woiry tit I seed,
An another close beside him sittin noble on his steed;
They ca' them both owd codgers, but as fresh as paint they look,
John Glegg, Esquoir, o' Withington, an bowd Sir Richard Brooke.

I seed Squoir Geoffrey Shakerley, the best un o' that breed,
His smolling face tould plainly how the sport wi' him agreed;
I seed the Arl o' Grosvenor, a loikly lad to roid,
Aw seed a soight worth aw the rest, his farrently young broid,

Sir Umferry de Trafford, an the Squor ov Arley Haw,
His pockets full o' rigmarole, a rhoiming on 'em aw;
Two members for the cointy, both aloik ca'd Egerton,
Squoir Henry Brooks and Tummus Brooks, they'd aw green collars on.

Eh! what a mon be Dixon John, ov Astle Haw, Esquoir,
You wudna foin'd, an mezzur him, his marrow in the shoir?
Squoir Wilbraham o' the forest, death and danger he defois
When his coat be toightly buttoned up, an shut be both his oies.

The Honorable Lazzles, who from forrin parts be cum,
An a chip of owd Lord Delamere, the Honorable Tum;
Squoir Fox an Booth an Worthington, Squoire Massey an Squoire Harne,
An many more big sportsmen, but their names I didna larn.

I seed that greet commander in the saddle, Captain Whoite,
An the pack as thrung'd about him was indeed a gradely soight;
The dogs look'd foin as satin, an himsel look'd hard as nails,
An he giv the swells a caution not to roid upo' their tails.

Says he, "Yung men o' Manchester an Liverpoo, cum near,
Oiv just a word, a warning word, to whisper in your ear;
When, starting from the cuvver soid, ye see bowd Reynard burst,
We canna 'ave no 'untin if the gemmen go it first."

Tom Rance has got a single oie worth many another's two,
He held his cap abuv his yed to show he'd had a view;
Tom's voice was loik th'owd raven's when he shrieked out "Tallýho!"
For when the fox had seen Tom's feace he thought it toim to go.

Eh moy! a pratty jingle then went ringin through the skoy,
First Victory, then Villager begun the merry croy;
Then every maith was open, from the owd'un to the pup,
An aw the pack together took the swelling chorus up.

Eh moy! a pretty skouver then was kick'd up in the vale,
They skim'd across the running brook, they topp'd the post an rail,
They didna stop for razzur cop, but play'd at touch an go,
An them as miss'd a footin there, lay doubled up below.

I seed the 'ounds a crossin Farmer Flareup's boundary loin,
Whose daughter plays the peany and drinks whoit sherry woin,
Gowd rings upon her fingers and silk stockings on her feet;
Says I, "It won't do him no harm to roid across his wheat,"

So, toightly houdin on by 'th yed, I hits th' owd mare a whop,
Hoo plumps into the middle o' the wheatfield neck and crop;
An when hoo floinder'd out on it I catch'd another spin,
An, missis, that's the cagion o' the blood upo' my chin.

I never oss'd another lep, but kept the lane, and then
In twenty minutes' toime about they turned toart me again;
The fox was foinly daggled, an the tits aw out o' breath,
When they kilt him in the open, an owd Dobbin seed the death.

Loik dangling of a babby, then the huntsman hove him up,
 The dugs a baying round him, whoile the gemmen croid, "Whoo-up!"
 Then clane and quick, as doosome cauves lick fleetings from the pail,
 They worried every inch on 'im except his yed and tail.

What's up wi' them rich gentlefolk and lords as was na there?
 There was noither Marquis Chumley, nor the Viscount Combermere;
 Noither Legh, nor France o' Bostock, nor the Squoire o' Peckforton,
 How cums it they can stop awhom, such sport a goin on?"

Now, missus, sin the markets be a doin moderate well,
 Oiv welly made my mind up just to buy a nag mysel;
 For to keep a farmer's spirits up 'gen things be gettin low,
 Theer's nothin loik fox-hunting and a rattling "Tallyho!"

I think the reader will agree with me in saying, that this characteristic song has much of the old expressive ballad simplicity and vigour about it. The county of Cheshire is rich in local song; and R. E. E. Warburton, Esq., mentioned in these verses as, "the Squoir ov Arley Haw,"

"His pockets full o' rigmarole, a rhoimin' on 'em aw;"

is the author of several fine hunting songs, in the dialect of that county; he is, also, the editor of a valuable and interesting volume of Cheshire Songs.

CHAPTER IV.

"In sunshine and in shade, in wet and fair,
 Drooping or blithe of heart, as might befal;
 My best companions now the driving winds,
 And now the 'trotting brooks' and whispering trees,
 And now the music of my own sad steps,
 With many a short-lived thought that passed between,
 And disappeared."

WORDSWORTH.

A SHORT walk from "Newcroft" brought me to a dip in the highway, at a spot where four roads meet in the hollow; a "four-lone-cends," as country folk call it. Such places had an awful interest for the simple hinds of Lancashire in old times; and, in remote parts of the county, the same feeling is strong yet, with regard to them. In ancient days, robbers, and other malefactors, were sometimes buried at the ends of four cross roads, unhallowed by "bell,

book, and candle." The old superstitions of the people, cherished by their manner of life, dwelling, as they did, in little seclusions, scattered over the country around, made these the meeting-places of witches, and all sorts of unholy things of a weird nature. It is a common belief now, among the natives of the hills and solitary cloughs of Lancashire, that the best way of laying a ghost, or quieting any unearthly spirit whose restlessness troubles their lonely lives, is to sacrifice a cock to the goblin, and, with certain curious ceremonies, to bury the same deep in the earth at "a four-lone-cends," firmly pinned to the ground by a hedge-stake, driven through its body. The coldly-learned, "lost in a gloom of uninspired research," may sneer proudly at these rustic superstitions; yet, surely, he was wiser who said that he would rather decline to the "traditionary sympathies" of unlettered ignorance, that constantly see and hear

"The repetitions wearisome of sense,
Where soul is dead, and feeling hath no place:
Where knowledge, ill begun in cold remark
On outward things, in formal inference ends."

Near this place, stands the handsome mansion of J. T. Hibbert Esq., the president of the Mutual Improvement Society, at Stretford, and a general benefactor to the neighbourhood in which he resides. He seems to have awakened that locality to the spirit of modern improvement; and is making what was, comparatively, a desert nook before, now gradually smile around him. The people, thereabouts, say that "it wur quite a lost place afore he coom." We are now in the township of Urmston, though not in the exact spot where "Tim Bobbin" was born. As I stood in the hollow, looking round at the little cluster of dwellings, my friend pointed to a large sleepy-looking old brick house with a slip of greensward peeping through the paling in front, as the dwelling of William Shore, Esq., an eminent local musician, the author of that beautiful glee-arrangement of the music to Burns's matchless carousal song, "Willie brewed a peck o' maut," so much admired by all lovers of the concord of sweet sounds. And, certainly, if the musician had

never done anything more than that exquisite gem of harmony, it would have added an interest to his dwelling-place, such as gold could never buy. Who, that loved music, could go by such a spot without noticing it? Not I; for, as Wordsworth says of the pedlar who sometimes accompanied him in his mountain rambles, so, partly, may I say,—

“Not a hamlet could we pass,
Rarely a house, that did not yield to him
Remembrances; or from his tongue call forth
Some way-beguiling tale.”

And yet, I have a misgiving that the reader thinks I am lingering too tediously on the way; but, really, wherever one goes in England, apart from the natural beauty of the country, he finds the ground rich as “three-pile velvet” in all sorts of interesting things, new and old. It is a curiously-illuminated miscellany of the finest kind; and, in spite of all it has gone through, thank heaven, it is neither moth-eaten nor mildewed, nor in any way weakened by age. Its history is written all over the land, in rich memorials, with a picturesque freshness which he that runs may read, if he only have feeling and thought to accompany him about the island, as he wades through the harvest of its heroic annals, strewn with flowers of old romance, and tale, and hoary legend; and dewy with gems of native song.

Quitting the hamlet, we passed a mansion, half hidden by a brick wall, and thinly shaded by trees; a few straggling cottages; a neat little village school came next; one or two substantial English granges, surrounded by large outhouses, and clean, spacious yards, with glittering windows adorned with flowers, and a general air of comfort and repose about them; and then the hamlet dribbled away with a few more cottages, and we were in the open country, upon the high level land, from whence we could look westward over the fields, below which “the Cheshire waters,”

“To their resting-place serene,
Came fresh’ning and refreshing all the scene.”

In the recently published "History of Preston and its Environs," by Mr. Charles Hardwick, the author of that admirable volume enters into an ingenious dissertation upon the derivation of the name of this river, and after suggesting that its name may be derived from "mere" and "sea," or sea-lake, says "South of Manchester, at this day, the river is not known by many of the peasantry as the Mersey. It is called by them the 'Cheshire Waters.' The modern name appears to have been derived from the estuary, and not from the fresh water stream." Mr. Hardwick's remark is equally true of the people dwelling here by that river, on the eastern side of Manchester. A few fields divide the high road from the water, and then slope down to its margin. From the road we could see the low, fertile expanse of Cheshire meadows and woods spread away to the edge of the horizon, in one beautiful green level. When the river was swollen by long rains, the nearer part of the Cheshire side used to present the appearance of a great lake, before the embankment was thrown up to protect the fields from inundation. In past times, that rich tract must have been a vast marsh. But yonder stands Urmston Hall, upon a green bank overlooking the river. As I drew nearer the building, I was more and more struck with its picturesque appearance as seen from the high-road, which goes by it, at about a hundred yards' distance. It is a fine specimen of the wood-and-plaster hall, once common in Lancashire, of which Hulme Hall was an older and perhaps the richest example so near Manchester. Urmston Hall is "of the age of Elizabeth, adorned by a gable, painted in lozenges and trefoils." Baines says, "according to Seacombe, Sir Thomas Lathom possessed the manor of Urmston, in this parish (Flixton), and at his death, I. Edward III., he settled upon his natural son, Sir Oscatel, and his heirs, the manors of Irlam and Urmston, about the time when the Stanleys, whose heir had married Lady Elizabeth Lathom, assumed the crest of the Eagle and Child." He says, further "that according to other and higher authorities, the lands and lordship of Urmston, have been the property of the Urmstons and Hydes in succession, from the time of King John to the 17th century; and

that the Urmstons resided at Urmston Hall, until they removed to Westleigh, and were succeeded by the Hydes. The spacious carriage road still preserves its old proportions, though now rutted by the farmers' carts belonging to the present occupants of the place. A few tall relics of the fine trees which once surrounded the hall are still standing about, like faithful domestics clinging to the fallen fortunes of an ancient master.

And now, I began to think of the special errand which had brought me to the place. There stands the old hall; and yonder is a row of four or five raw-looking, new brick cottages, such as one sees spring up at the edges of great factory towns, by whole streets at once, almost in a night—like Jonah's gourd. They hold nothing—they cost nothing—they are made out of nothing—they look nothing—and they come to nothing—as a satirical friend of mine says, who is satisfied with nothing. If it were not that one knows how very indifferently the common people were housed in those old days when the hall was in its glory, it really is enough to make one dissatisfied with the whole thing. With the exception of the hall and these cottages, the green country spreads out all round for some distance. When we came up to the row, my friend said that the endmost house stood on the spot, three years ago occupied by the old wood-and-plaster building in which "Tim Bobbin" was born, and in which his father, John Collier the elder, taught the children of Flixton parish, gathered from the rural folds in the distance. The house was gone, but, nevertheless, I must make what research I could, and to that end I referred to my note-book, and found that Baines says: "In a small house, opposite (Urmston Hall), bearing the name of 'Richard o'Jones,' was born John Collier, the renowned 'Tim Bobbin,' the provincial satirist of Lancashire, as appears from the following document: 'Baptisms in the parish church of Flixton, in the year 1709.—John, son of Mr. John Collier, of Urmston, baptized January the 8th.—I hereby certify this to be a true extract of the parish register book at Flixton, as witness my hand, this 30th November, 1824.—(Signed

THOMAS HARPER, parish-clerk.'” This was all clear and straightforward so far as it went, but I wanted to prove the thing for myself as far as possible on the spot. I thought it best to begin by enquiring at the nearest of these cottages, opposite Urmston Hall. Inside I heard the dismal, disenchanting rattle of hand-loom at work, and through the window I could see the web, and the wooden beams of the machine, and a pale gingham weaver, swaying back and forward as he threw his shuttle to and fro. The door, which led into the other part of the cottage, was open, and a middle-aged woman, with a thin, patient face, was spinning there, on the wooden wheel still used in country places. This was the first indication I had noticed of any part of this population being employed in manufacture. I went to the open door, and asked the woman if this was not the spot where “Tim Bobbin” was born, expecting a ready and enthusiastic affirmative. She gazed at me for an instant, with a kind of vague curiosity, and, to my astonishment, said that she really couldn’t tell. She hardly seemed to know who “Tim Bobbin” was. Poor as the inmates were, everything inside spoke of industry and cleanliness, and simple honest living. She called her husband from his looms in the other part of the cottage, but his answer was nearly the same, except that he referred me to a person in the neighbourhood, who was formerly master of the school kept in this old house called “Richard o’ Jones’s.” I turned and left the spot with a feeling of disappointment, but with a stronger desire to know whether anything was known about the matter among the inhabitants of the locality. To this end, I and my friend rambled on towards Flixton, inquiring of high and low, and still nobody knew anything definite about it, though there was a general impression among them that he was born at the old cottage formerly standing opposite Urmston Hall; but they perpetually finished by referring to “Jockey Johnson,” “Owd Cottrill, th’ pavor,” “Owd White-yed, th’ saxton,” and the parish schoolmaster before mentioned. The parish-clerk, too, might know something, they said. And here, as we wandered about in this way, a tall gentleman, a little past the middle age, dressed in

black, came quietly up the road. My friend, to whom he was known, at once introduced me to the incumbent of Flixton, and told him my errand. The incumbent kindly invited me to look through the parish register, at his house, the first convenient afternoon I had to spare ; which I did very soon after. Setting aside "Jockey Johnson," and "Owd Cottrill, th' pavor," and the other authorities of the hamlet so oft referred to, till a better opportunity, I thought that the schoolmaster being a native man, and having lived long in the very house where "Tim" is said to have been born, would probably feel some pride in his celebrated predecessor, and, perhaps, be a willing conservator of any tradition existing in the hamlet respecting him. His house was little more than a mile off, and I started along the highroad back to a point, from whence an old lane leads out, eastward, to the schoolmaster's solitary cottage in the distant fields.

CHAPTER V.

"In that sweet mood when pleasant thoughts
Bring sad thoughts to the mind."

WORDSWORTH.

LEAVING the high road at the place I had been told of, I went up an old lane, which soon led between a little fold of cottages. The first of these were old rude buildings of stone, with the roofs fallen in, and seemingly abandoned to decay. The others were of more modern appearance, and partly tenanted by hand-loom weavers. Through the open doors of one or two I saw that cheerful twinkle of humble comfort, which is, perhaps, more delightful to meet with in such lowly nooks than in prouder quarters, because it shews how much happiness may be drawn out of little means by wholesome minds. If the doors had been closed, I could have guessed at the condition of the interior by the clean door-step and windows, and by the healthy pot-flowers peeping prettily through the panes. Folk who can make such places beautiful by simple cleanliness and

native taste, are the unlettered gentry of nature, more blest in their low estate than they can understand, when they compare it with the glitter of the fuming world in the distance. Like the lark's nest, though near the ground, their homes are neat and sweet, out of humble materials, and blithe with the neighbourhood of nature. Some of these cottages were of duller aspect, though there was nothing of that dirty sickliness about them which is so common in the back quarters of city life. But I have noticed that, even in the lowest parts of great towns, now and then there comes a cottage all cleanliness and order; a sweet little household oasis amidst the wilderness of filth around; shining in the gloom, "like a good deed in a naughty world."

When I came to the end of the fold, I found that the lane went forward in two directions; one right into the open green country, where I could see no dwellings at hand, the other winding back towards the village which I had left behind me, at the high road side. An old woman was looking from the cottage door at the corner, and I asked her the way to the schoolmaster's house. Country folk are not always known in Lancashire by their real name, even on their own ground, and she had to consult somebody inside about the matter. In a minute or so, a voice from the cottage called out, "Does he belong to th' owd body, thinken yo?"—meaning the old body of Wesleyan Methodists. I said that I thought he did. "Oh, ay;" replied the voice, "It'll be William, sure enough. * * * Yo mun go reet forrud up th' lone afore yo, till yo come'n to a heawse i'th fields,—an' that'll be it. It stons a bit off th' lone-side. * * * Yo ha' to pike yor gate, mind yo, for its nobbut a mak o' durty under-fuut." On I went, between the hedge-rows, slipping and stepping from pool to pool, down the miry cow-lane, for nearly half a mile, slutching myself up to the collar as I went, and there, about a stone's throw from the way-side, I saw the schoolmaster's low-built cottage, standing in a bit of sweet garden, in the middle of the wide green fields. Entering by a tiny wooden gate at the back, I went along a narrow

garden walk, between little piles of rockery and rows of shells, which ornamented the beds, till I came winding up to the door in front, which was shaded, if I remember right, by some kind of simple trellis-work. The wind was now still,—everything was still, but the cheerful birds fluttering about, and filling the evening silence with their little melodies. The garden and the cottage looked sweet, and sleepily-beautiful. The windows blazed in the sunset, which was flooding all the level landscape with its departing splendour. I heard no stir inside, but knocking at the door, it was opened by a quiet middle-aged man who asked me in. This was the schoolmaster himself; and, by the fireside sat a taller, older man, who was his brother. The only other inmate was a staid, elderly woman, whose dress, and mild countenance, was in perfect keeping with the order and peace of everything around. It was quite a sample of a quaint, comfortable, English cottage interior. As I glanced about, I could fancy that many of the clean, little nick-nacks which I saw so carefully arranged, were the treasured heirlooms of old country housekeepers. Everything was in its right place, and cleaned up to its height. The house was as serene, and the demeanour of the people as seemly and subdued as if it had been a little chapel; and the setting sun streaming through the front window, filled the cottage with a melting glory, which no magnificence of wealth could imitate. Catching, unconsciously, the spirit of the hour, my voice crept down nearer to the delicate stillness of the scene; and I whispered my questions to the two brothers, as if to speak at all was a desecration of that contemplative silence, which seemed to steep everything around, like a delicious slumber filled with holy dreams. We gradually got into conversation, and in the course of our talk, I gathered from the two brothers, that they had lived and kept school in the house where Baines says that Tim Bobbin was born. They said that, though there was a general belief that he was born in that house, yet, they did not, themselves, possess anything which clearly proved the fact. And yet it might be quite true, they said, for they had often known artists come out there to sketch the building as his

birth-place. There were other people in the parish, who, they thought, might perhaps know more about the matter. They said that there were many curious Latin mottoes, and armorial bearings, painted on the walls and other parts of the school-house, which many people attributed to Tim Bobbin,—but they were not quite sure that people were right in doing so. I agreed with the two brothers in this. There is little doubt that Tim was a fair Latin scholar in after life; I myself once possessed a pocket copy of Terence's Comedies, which had undoubtedly belonged to him, and in the margin of which he had corrected the latinity. But according to what is known of Tim's life elsewhere, he must have left the place of his birth very early in youth, probably with some migration of his father's family, long before he could be able to deal with such matters. The brothers did not know whether these relics had been preserved or not when the house was taken down—they thought not. The house had been occupied by them and their fathers for more than a hundred years gone by, as schoolmasters, but they really could not tell much more about the matter. They thought, however, that Owd Tummus so and so would be likely to know something about it,—or Owd Hannah Wood. They were “two o'th' owd'st folk i' Urmston, and that wur sayin' summat.” Was I in the reporting line they wondered. * Well, it was no matter;—but Owd Tummus lived about half a mile off, “o'er anent Cis Lone;” and I should be sure to find him in. Thanking them for the information they had given me, I left the quiet trio in their quiet cottage, and came away. The evening was cold and clear, and the scattered birds were twittering out the last notes of their vespers in secluded solos about the hedges. In the far east “the glimmering landscape” was melting away; but the glory which hovered on the skirts of the sunken sun dazzled my eyes as I came down the old lane in the gloaming; and I was happy in my lonely walk, come of it whatever might.

I came up to the old man's house, just as the evening candles were beginning to twinkle through the cottage windows by the

way. He sat by the fire, a little man, thin and bent, but with a face that spoke an old age that was "frosty, but kindly." There were young people in the house, seemingly belonging to the farm. After some preliminary chat about weather and the like, I drew him in the direction of the subject I had come about; asking whether he had ever heard that Tim Bobbin was born in Urmston. He replied, "Well; aw have yerd it said so, aw think—but my memory hounds naut neaw. * * Tim Bobbin, say'n yo? * * Aw like as aw could mind summat abeawt that,—aw *do*. * * Owd Back'll know; if any body does, he *will*. * * He's a goodish age, is th' owd lad,—he *is*; an' fause with it, *very*. * * Tim Bobbin! Tim Bobbin! * * Aw'st be eighty-three come th' time o'th year. Owd Back's a quarter yunger. * * Aw've a pain taks me across here, neaw an then. We're made o' stuff at winnut last for ever. * * Ay, ay; we'n sin summat in eawr time, has owd Back an me,—we *han*. * * Dun yo know Kit o' Ottiwell's? Hoo lives o' Davyhulme; ax hur; ax hur. Hoo'll be likker to leeten yo abeawt this job nor me. Yo see'n aw connut piece things together neaw. Iv yo'd'n come'd fifty year sin, aw could ha tow'd yo a tale, an' bowdly too,—aw could. But th' gam's up. The dule's gotten th' porritch, an' the Lord's gotten th' pon to scrape,—as usal." I was inquiring further about his friend "Owd Back," when he stopped me by saying, "Oh, there's Owd Hannah Wood; aw'd like to forgotten hur. Eh, that aw should forget owd Hannah! Hoo lives by th' hee-gate as yo gwon to Stretford—hoo *does*. What, are yo after property, or summat?" No. "Whau then. * * Yo mun see Owd Hannah soon, young mon; or yo'n ha to look for her i' Flixton grave-yort; an' aw deawt that would sarve yo're turn but little. * * Folk dunnut like so mich talk when they're gotten theer. * * My feyther an' mother's theer, an' o' th' owd set;—aw'st be amoon 'em in a bit. Well, well; neighbour fare's no ill fare, as sayin' is." In this way the old man wandered on till I rose to go; when, turning to the old woman sitting near, he said, "Aw've just unbethought mo. William — ull be the very mon to ax abeawt this Tim Bobbin; an' so

will their Sam. They live't ith' heawse at he's spheykin' on ; an' so did their on-setters, (ancestors) afore 'em. Beside they're a mak o' larnt folk. They're schoo-maisters ; an' so then." The old man did not know that these were the men I had just left. After resting a few minutes, he raised his head again, just before I came away, to tell me, as others had done, that "Jockey Johnson, an' Cot-trill, th' pavor, were likely folk to sper on." In this way I wandered to and fro, meeting, in most cases, with little more than a glimmering remembrance of the thing, the dimness of which, seeing that few seemed to take any strong interest in the matter, I found, afterwards, was not difficult to account for. One old man said, as soon as the name was mentioned to him, "Let's see. Aw'm just thinkin'. * * Ay, ay ; it's yon heawse opposite th' owd ho'. They'n bin built up again, lately. An' there wur writin'an' stuff upo' th' woles ; but it took somebory with a deecal o' larnin' to understand it." When I called upon the parish-clerk, he told me that a few years ago a gentleman had called to make inquiry upon the same subject, and left instructions for everything in the register relating to Tim to be extracted for him, which was done ; but he never called to get the manuscript, which was now lost or mislaid.

CHAPTER VI.

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
 To the last syllable of recorded time ;
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death."

SHAKESPEARE.

I WAS a little disappointed at first to find that, wherever I went in the parish of Flixton, the inhabitants shewed no strong interest in the quaint man of genius, whose early records I was in search of. But this is no wonder, when one considers what a thinly-inhabited

place this must have been at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign; and remembering, also, that nearly the whole of Tim's long life was spent elsewhere; first, as an apprentice to Dutch-loom weaving, which was looked upon as a rather genteel occupation in those days. But, as his friend and biographer, Richard Townley, Esq., of Belfield Hall, says, "Such a sedentary employment not at all agreeing with his volatile spirits and eccentric genius, he prevailed upon his master to release him from the remainder of his servitude. Though then very young, he soon commenced itinerant schoolmaster; going about the country from one small town to another, to teach reading, writing, and accounts; and generally having a night-school as well as a day one." Now, seeing that the theatre of these obscure and honourable struggles of Tim's youth was the town of Oldham and the villages thereabouts, it is not surprising that the scattered inhabitants of the lonely nook where he was born should have few traditional remembrances of him who left them when he was yet but a child. Tim's father was only forty years old when he was overtaken by total blindness, and this, necessarily, changed the plan he had formed of bringing up his son, our hero, to the church, for "he had conceived a favourable opinion of his abilities." Now, this calamity did not befall the elder Mr. Collier during the time that he was schoolmaster at Urmston, in Flixton; and everything shews that he was not a native of that place, but came from some other part to teach there; remaining only for a short time—during which Tim and his brother Nathan were born—and then moving away again with his young family of nine children to another quarter. What Baines says, on the authority of the inhabitants of Flixton, of the elder Collier never being a clergyman, may be true, so far as it relates to Urmston, of which place there never was a curate, nor was he in holy orders during his residence there; and yet, he may have been so elsewhere. This supposition is strengthened by Tim's own words: "In the reign of Queen Anne I was a boy, and one of the nine children of a poor Lancashire curate, whose stipend never amounted to thirty pounds a-year; and consequently the family must feel the iron teeth of penury with a witness.

These, indeed, were sometimes blunted by the charitable disposition of the good rector (the Rev. Mr. H——, of W——n.)” What an interesting glimpse this gives us of the home of Tim Bobbin’s childhood. Now, it is just possible that the “good rector” may have been the rector of Warrington of that time, whose name begins with the same initial letter. All things considered, I did not wonder that the family had left but little mark among the people of Flixton.

Seeing that so little was known by the inhabitants, I turned my thoughts towards the parish register, setting an afternoon apart for visiting the incumbent, who had invited me to look through it at his house. At the appointed time, I walked through the village of Flixton, a little way into the country beyond the village, and there, by the wayside, at the top of a little sloping lawn, partially screened by stunted trees and bushes, “the village preacher’s modest mansion rose.” The incumbent received me courteously, and entered kindly into my purpose. Ushering me into a little parlour at the front, he brought forth the two oldest register volumes of the parish from their hiding place. The first thing which struck me was the difference in their condition. The oldest was perfectly sound, inside and outside. Its leaves were of vellum, and, with the exception of a slight discolouration in some places, they were as clear and perfect as ever they had been; and the entries in it were beautifully distinct, written in the old English character, and, mostly, in the Latin language. The change in the latter volume was very remarkable. Its binding was poor and shaky; and its leaves of the softest and most perishable writing paper, many of them quite loose in the book, and so worn, tattered, and crumbly, as to be scarcely touchable without damage. I could not help thinking that if any important question should arise a hundred years hence, the settling of which depended upon such a mouldering record as this, it was just possible that decay might have forestalled the enquiry. After a careful examination of the register, I found the following entries relating to Tim’s family, and, besides these, there is no mention of any other person of the name of

Collier, for the space of half a century before, and a century after that date. First, under the head of "Births and Baptismes, in the yeare 1706," appears "Nathan, ye son of John Collier, schoolmaster, borne May 17, baptised May 31." Singularly, I found the same baptism entered a second time, three pages forward, in the same year, with a slight variation, in the following manner:—"Baptised, Nathan, the son of *Master* John Collier, schoolmaster, borne May ye 18th." And then, the last, and only other mention of the Colliers, is the register of the baptism of John, the renowned "Tim Bobbin," which is entered thus, among the baptisms of the year 1710: "John, son of Mr. John Collier, of Urmstone, baptised January the 6th." In Baines's "Lancashire," the baptism is given as occurring in 1709, which is a slight mistake. The origin of that mistake was evident to me, with the register before my eyes. The book seems to have been very irregularly kept in those days; and the baptisms in the year 1709 are entered under a headline, "Baptisms in the year 1709:" but at the end of the baptisms of that year, the list runs on into those of the following year, 1710, without any such headline to divide them; and this entry of Tim's baptism being one of the first, might easily be transcribed by a hasty observer, as belonging to the previous year. I thought there was something significant about the curious manner in which these three entries, relating to the Colliers, are made in the register. In the first entry of the baptism of Nathan, Tim's eldest brother, the father is called "John Collier, schoolmaster;" in the second entry of the same baptism, he is called "Master John Collier, schoolmaster;" and in the entry of Tim's baptism, three years later, the clerk, having written down the father's name as "John Collier of Urmstone," has, upon after-thought, made a caret between "the son of" and "John Collier, of Urmstone," and carefully written "Mr." above it, making it read "Mr. John Collier, of Urmstone." This addition to the names of schoolmasters, or even of the wealthy inhabitants of the parish, occurs so very rarely in the register, that I could not help thinking this singular exception indicative of an honourable estimate of the character of Tim's father among his

neighbours. Such was the result of my search ; and it strengthens my conviction that old Mr. John Collier's family were not natives of Flixton, nor dwelt there long, but departed, after a short residence to some other quarter, where the family were born, married, died, and buried, save the two before-mentioned.

Whilst I was sitting in the incumbent's parlour looking over these old books on that day, a little thing befel which pleased me, though the reader may think it trifling. The weather was very cold, and I happened to have on one of those red and black tartan wool shirts, which are comfortable wear enough in cold weather, though they look rather gaudy, and don't satisfy one's mind so well as a clean white shirt does. As I sat turning over the leaves of these ancient records, in came the incumbent's son, a little, slim, intelligent boy, with large, thoughtful eyes. He watched me attentively for two or three minutes, and then, coming a little nearer, so as to get a good look at the wrists and front of my extraordinary under-gear, he called out, with unreserved astonishment, "Papa ; he has got no shirt on !" The clergyman checked the lad instantly, though he could not help smiling at this little burst of frank, childish simplicity. The lad was evidently surprised to see me enjoy the thing so much.

I cannot dismiss this old parish register without noticing some other things in it which were interesting to me. And, I can tell thee, reader, by-the-by, that there are worse ways of spending a few hours than in poring over such a record. How significantly the births, marriages, and deaths, tread upon one another's heels, as they do in the columns of newspapers ; and, how solemnly the decaying pages represent the chequered pattern of our mortal estate. The exits and entrances of these ephemeral players in the drama of life continually interweave in the musty chronicle as they do in the current of human action. There was a quaint tone running the whole, which I could not well pass by. In the year 1688, the phrase, "buried in woollen only," first

appears, and marks the date of an act for the encouragement of the woollen trade. This phrase is carefully added to every registration of burial, thenceforth, for a considerable time, except in a few cases, where the phrase changes to "buried in sweet flowers only." What a world of mingled pathos and prettiness that phrase awakes in the mind! To a loving student of Shakespere, it might, not inaptly, call up that beautiful passage in Ophelia's burial scene :—

" *Laertes.* Lay her i'the earth ;—
And from her fair and unpolluted flesh
May violets spring ! * * *
Queen.—Sweets to the sweet : Farewell!
(Scattering Flowers.) "

Sometimes an instance occurs, where a burial takes place "in linen only." In this year of 1688, it is singular that there are only two marriages entered in the Flixton parish register. There was, perhaps, some particular reason for this at the time ; but the fact will give the reader some idea of the smallness of the population in those days. From this time, the phrase "Sworn by so-and-so, before Justice So-and-so," is attached to some entries of burial, as thus :—"Thomas, ye son of John Owen, of Carrington, buried in sweet floweres, attested by ye wife of George Twickins. Ye same day of burial, viz., 10th Oct. (1705), John, ye son of John Millatt, jun., of Carrington, an infant, buried in sweet floweres only." Then follows, "James Parren was not buried in any materiall contrary to a late act for Buryinge in Woollen.—Sworne by Mary Parren, before Justice Peter Egerton, Jan. 28th, 1705." The burials in the year 1706, are almost all "in sweet floweres only." This is the year when Nathan Collier was born, being the first mention of that family in the register. Three years after, his brother John (Tim Bobbin) was born ; after which the Colliers disappear from the register altogether. Some of the burials occurring between 1720 and 1726, are remarkable for the manner of their entry, as, "Sarah, daughter of Schoolmaster Pony ;" "James, Thomas Chad-dock's father ;" John Swindell, taken out of ye river !" "Widow Peer's child, Aug. 5th ;" and this is followed three days after by "Richd., son of Widow Peers, Aug. 30th ;" "Old Ralph Haslam,

from Carrington ;” “ Old Henery Roile, from Stretford ;” “ Old Mrs. Starkey ;” “ Old John Groons ;” “ Moss’s wife of Urmeston ;” “ Horox’s child, of Urmestone ;” and “ Hannah, daughter of one Dean, of Stretford.” Then come these, in their proper order, entered in a clerkly hand :—“ Thomas Willis, of Bleckley, in the county of Buckingham, Esq., and Mrs. Ann Hulme Heiress of Davy Hulme, and of the lordship and manor of Urmston, were marry’d, Sep. 3rd, 1735 ;” and then, “ Anna Willis, the first daughter of Thomas Willis, Esq., born August the 11th, 1736, and baptised ye 14th Aug.—JOHN WILLIS, clerk of Bleckley, in Bucks.” I found the christian name of Randal, very common in this register. The names of Starkey, Holt, Rogers, and Egerton, ever accompanied by the title of gentleman ; and for the rest, the names of Warburton, Taylor, Royle, Coupe, Darbishire, Shawcross, Gilbody, and Knight, form the staple of the list, with the addition of the Owens, of Carrington Moss, who seem to have been a very prolific generation.

CHAPTER VII.

“ The evening comes, and brings the dew along.
The rodie welkin sheeneth to the eyne,
Around the alestake minstrels sing the song,
Young ivy round the door post doth entwine ;
I lay me down upon the grass, yet to my will,
Albeit all his fair, there lacketh something still.”

CHATTERTON.

The people of southern England are apt to sneer at the enthusiasm with which Lancashire men speak of Tim Bobbin ; and, if this imperfect sketch should fall into the hands of any such readers, it is not improbable that they may look upon the whole thing as a great fuss about next to nothing. One reason for this is, that, for the most part, they know next to nothing of the man,—which is not much to be wondered at. But, the greatest difficulty in their case, is the remote character of the words and idioms used by Tim. To the majority of such readers, the dialogue of “ Tummus and

Mary " is little more than an unintelligible curiosity : and, I believe, speaking generally, that it would be better understood by the natives of the metropolis if it had been written in French. The language in which the commanding genius of Chaucer wrought, five hundred years ago, and which was the common language of the London of those days, is, even in its most idiomatic part, very much the same as that used in all the country parts of Lancashire at this hour. But great changes have come round since the time of Chaucer ; and though an Englishman is an Englishman in general characteristics, all the world over, there is as much difference now in the tone of manners and language in the North and South as there is between the tones of an organ and those of a piano. I have hardly ever met with a southern man able to comprehend the quaint, graphic wealth which hitches and chuckles with living fun and country humour, under the equally quaint garb of old language in which Tim clothes his story of "Tummas and Mary." But, on its first appearance, the people of his own district at once recognised an exquisite duagerrotype of themselves ; and they hailed the picture with delight. He superintended several editions of his works during his life-time—a time when the population of Lancashire was very scanty, and scattered over large, bleak spaces, and when publishing was a very different thing to what it is now. Since then, his principal story has continually grown in the estimation of scholars and students, as a valuable addition to the rich treasures of English philology, even apart from the genius which combined its humorous details with such masterly art, and finished and rounded it into the completeness of a literary dew-drop. That tale was calculated to command attention and awaken delight at once,—and it will long be cherished with pride by Lancashire men at least, as an exceedingly natural "glimse of auld lang syne." But those who wish to understand the force of Tim's character, must look to his letters, and other prose fragments, such as "Truth in a Mask." These chiefly reveal the sterling excellence of the man. He was a clear-sighted, daring, independent politician,—one of the strong old pioneers of human freedom

in these parts. He had a curious audience in that secluded corner of Lancashire where he lived,—in those days,—a people who had worn their political shackles so long that they almost looked upon them as ornaments.

“ But *Tim* kent what was what fu brawly ;’

and he was continually blurting out some startling truth or another, in vigorous unmistakeable English ; and he gloried in the then disreputable and dangerous epithet of “ Reforming John.” This, too, in the teeth of patrons and friends whose political tendencies were in an entirely opposite direction. Let any man turn to the letter he writes to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Heap, of Dorking, who had desired him to “ spare the levitical order,” and then say whether there was any shadow of sycophancy in the soul of John Collier. Under the correction of magnifying the matter through the medium of one’s native liking’s then, I will venture to declare a feeling akin to veneration for the spot where he was born ; and I know that it is shared by the men of his native county generally, even by those who find themselves at a difficult distance from his quaint tone of thought and language,—for it takes a man thoroughly soaked with the Lancashire soil to appreciate him thoroughly. But, apart from all local inclinings, men of thought and feeling will ever welcome any spark of genuine creative fire, which breathes such a genial glow of human sympathies, and such an honourable sense of justice as John Collier evinces, however humble it may be in comparison with the achievements of those mighty spirits who have made the literature of our sea-girt island glorious in the earth. The waters of the little mountain stream singing its lone, low song, as it struggles through its rocky channel, are dear and beautiful, and useful to that rugged solitude, as is the great ocean to the vast shores on which its surges play in ever-changing melodies. Nay, what is that ocean, but the gathered chorus of these lonely waters, in which the individual voice is lost in one grand combination of varied tones. With this imperfect notice, I will, at present, leave our old local favourite, and just take another glance at Flixton, before I bid adieu to his birth-place.

The reader may remember that, on the day of my first visit to John Collier's birth-place, I lounged some time about the hamlet of Urmston, conversing with the inhabitants. Leaving that spot, I rambled leisurely along the high road to Flixton, hob-nobbing, and enquiring among different sorts of people about him, whenever opportunity offered. When I drew near to Shaw Hall, I had traversed a considerable part of the length of the parish, which is only four miles, at most, by about two in breadth. There is nothing like a hill to be seen ; but, as one wanders on, the country rises and falls in gentle undulations. Now and then a pool of water gleamed afar off in the green fields, or, close by the road, rippled into wavelets by the keen wind which came down steadily from the north that day, whistling its shrill cadences among the starved thorns. I cannot give a better idea of the character of the soil than by borrowing the words of Baines, who says :—" Much of the land in the parish of Flixton is arable, probably to the amount of nine-tenths of the whole. The farms are comparatively large, and the soil is in general a rich black, sandy, vegetable loam, producing corn, fruit, and potatoes in abundance." I believe the land is now in better cultivation than when these words were written. Shaw Hall is an important place in the history of Flixton. The lords of the land dwelt there in old times. It is now occupied as a boarding school, by Mr. James M'Dougall, who was kind enough to show me through the interior when I called there in my ramble. Baines says of Shaw Hall :—" It is a venerable mansion, of the age of James I., with gables and wooden parapets on the S. W. and N. sides. The roof has a profusion of chimneys, and a cupola in the centre. In one of the apartments is a painting covering the principal part of the ceiling, which represents the family of Darius kneeling in supplication before Alexander the Great. This picture, though two hundred years old, is in fine preservation, and the faces and figures indicate the hand of a master. There are some smaller paintings and tapestry in the rooms, on one of which is represented a Persian chief at parley with Alexander, and afterwards submitting to the conqueror. Stained glass in the windows exhibit the arms

of Asshawe and Egerton, successive lords of Flixton." * * "Ad-joining to the ample gardens and filbert grove was once a moat, which has partly disappeared. Shaw Hall is now used as a boarding school, a purpose to which, by its situation, it seems well adapted." I cannot leave this place without mentioning, that the present tenant of the hall is a poet of no mean promise, who has recently contributed an interesting volume of poems and songs to the literature of this district. From the high road, a little beyond the hall, the most prominent and pleasing object in the landscape is the old parish church of Flixton, standing in its still more ancient graveyard, upon the brow of a green knoll, about an arrow's flight off, with the village of Flixton clustering behind it. At the foot of that green knoll, to the westward, where all the country beyond is one unbroken green,

"The river glideth by the hamlet old."

The ground occupied by the church seemed to me the highest in the landscape; and the venerable fane stands there, looking round upon the quiet parish like a mother watching her children at play, and waiting till they come home, tired, to lie down and sleep with the rest. It was getting late in the evening when I sauntered about the old churchyard, looking over the gravestones of Warburtons, Taylors, Cowpes, Gilbodys, Egertons, and Owens, of Carrington. Among the rest, I found the following well-known epitaph, upon William Oldfield, of Stretford, smith:—

"My anvil and my hammer lie declined,
My bellows have quite lost their wind;
My coals are done, my debt is paid,
My vices in the dust are laid."

This epitaph, which appears here in such an imperfect shape, is commonly attributed to Tim. In Rochdale parish churchyard, it appears in a much completer form on the gravestone of a blacksmith who lived in Tim's time.

I rambled about the old village a while in the dusk, waiting for the omnibus which leaves there for Stretford. Now and then, a

villager lounged along in the direction of the inn, near the church, where I could hear several boisterous country fellows talking together in high glee, while one of them sang snatches of the popular old ballad, called the "Golden Glove :"—

"Coat, waistcoat, and breeches she then did put on,
And a-hunting she went with her dog and gun ;
She hunted all around where the farmer did dwell,
Because in her heart she did love him full well."

At length the horses were put to, and we got fairly upon the road, which took us back in another direction, round by Davy Hulme, the seat of the Norreys family. Immediately after clearing the village, Flixton House was pointed out to me ; "a plain family mansion, with extensive grounds and gardens." The wind was cold, and the shades of night gathered fast around ; and before we quitted Flixton parish, the birth-place of Tim Bobbin had faded from my view. I felt disappointed in finding that the place of his nativity yielded so little reminiscence of our worthy old local humourist ; the simple reason for which is that very little is known of him there. But there was compensating pleasure to me, in meeting with so many interesting things there which I did not go in search of.



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A PAPER

READ BY

A. M. WORTHINGTON, Esq., M.A.,
Late Assistant Master at Clifton College,

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BIRMINGHAM TEACHERS'
ASSOCIATION.

Although the subject of my address to-night is announced as the "Teaching of Physics," yet I beg at the outset to say that it will be limited to the teaching of Physics in schools, and this not only because my own personal experience has lain principally in school teaching, but because it is chiefly just this elementary part of the work that is not yet in a satisfactory condition as regards methods and organisation.

In universities, colleges, and institutions which are the resort of older pupils, there is not very much fundamental variety in the manner of teaching adopted either in this country or on the Continent. The best methods seem, on the whole, to have been found, and only great changes in the condition of our knowledge are likely to affect the manner in which different branches of the subject are presented.

But with the schools the case is different; and in discussing the best methods of teaching Physics there, it is necessary to have our minds clear as to the objects with which we teach natural science at all, and as to the relation of physics to other branches of natural science. It is well, therefore, to bear in mind that the modern demand for this teaching in our schools has arisen from the perception of two facts—firstly, that all progress in practical achievements was in the hands of those whose efforts were guided by scientific knowledge; and, secondly, that such knowledge is absolutely necessary if any intellectual satisfaction is to be derived from the contemplation of the world around us.

If, to borrow words from a great modern writer, the universe is to be to us more than an infinite litter of detail, a rubbish heap of confused particulars, we must become acquainted if not with the processes, at least with the results of many branches of natural science. Thirty, and even twenty years ago, one class of parents was complaining loudly that their sons were learning nothing at school that was of any use to them; while another, more leisured or more enlightened, that

their children seemed likely to enter upon life with no notions, or with antiquated notions, as to the meaning of the natural phenomena with which they were surrounded, and with no knowledge of the results and tendency of modern thought. And though of these two cries, for the means of success in practical achievements, and for the means of intellectual satisfaction, the former was, as might be expected, the louder and more frequently heard, yet the latter has been not the less potent in securing the introduction of natural science into our schools. It is this which has influenced our universities, and indirectly, through them, gained freedom of action, first for our secondary, and now for our primary schools.

Called in under these circumstances to attempt to satisfy a double demand, the position of the teacher of natural science in a school was peculiar and significant. The task assigned him was hardly a possible one. For what the man of business would no doubt like, and what he has lurking in his mind, is that his son should leave school already equipped with any technical knowledge that he may be required to exercise, while the more liberal but loose-minded idealist would leave no branch of natural knowledge untaught. Such ideals are unattainable; but the public is, after all, reasonable, and if well served, always willing to take counsel of its servants. The practical man is practical enough to admit that if his son comes to his business not indeed knowing anything of its details, but with intelligence and aptitude quickly to acquire the requisite knowledge, and familiar with the mechanical or chemical principles which underlie the processes that he has to deal with, he cannot be said to have learned nothing useful; and our philosopher is philosophical enough to perceive that much which he desires for his children can only be attained with mature years, and to be content if the seeds of future interest and information have been carefully planted and tended, and, above all, habits imparted of serious attention to natural phenomena, and of exact and rigorous thinking about them.

Although with these abatements the task becomes more feasible, yet since the time when Natural Science first found a place in our public schools, it has taken a good many years of experience and experiment in various directions to find out what to teach and how to teach it. Nor can we be said to have yet arrived at a complete solution, or else I do not suppose we should be talking about it to-night. Moreover, the position of the science teacher has meanwhile considerably shifted, for within the last thirty years a great change has come over the *whole* of the teaching, at least in our great public schools. The influence of modern thought and learning is visible everywhere; indeed there seems to be danger of the teaching becoming too coldly scientific and too little emotional; and so far from the science teacher being regarded as the privileged exponent of scientific methods, bringing light where there was darkness, he is more often, from the circumstances of his training, in danger of being narrower and less enlightened than his colleagues. Unless, therefore, he can establish unanswerable claims for his particular subjects and methods, his *raison d'être* is not very obvious.

At first, before schoolmasters had clearly realised the reasons for which the work was undertaken, every enthusiastic amateur began to teach the subject he happened to be most interested in. Botany, astronomy, geology, chemistry, or some branch of physics or biology, and the results of experience were confused; for a good teacher would make something of an unsuitable subject, while a good subject failed in the hands of a poor teacher. And Royal and other Commissions

were appointed, and much evidence taken, and recommendations issued; out of which tentative and preliminary condition of things there has emerged the fact that the systematic teaching of physics and chemistry has come to form the staple of the scientific training given in our schools.

It is important for the purpose in hand to-night to summarise briefly the causes of this selection. I might quote from the answers given to one of the Royal Commissions just mentioned, but, for brevity, will give what seems to be the substance of the experience.

Physical geography, the elements of geology, of botany, or of physical astronomy, may be taught with great advantage descriptively to younger pupils (say from eleven or twelve years old). Such studies involve the acquisition of a great amount of information and ideas which, to the majority of pupils, may be made deeply interesting and stimulating, and the habits of observation may be thereby very satisfactorily cultivated in certain directions. But, except for occasional enthusiasts, these studies cannot be made sufficiently exacting and severe for purposes of mental discipline. Moreover, and this is the most important point, no true progress in any of them is possible without considerable knowledge of physics and chemistry; and it is no use to push such studies to any length with senior students, by attempting to give parenthetically, and in an unsystematic manner, such knowledge of physics or chemistry as is at every other moment required.

To such studies as these, physics and chemistry are logically prior; and the pupil who is being taught astronomy without mathematics and physics, or geology without physics and chemistry is sure to feel (and to feel pretty soon) that he is not really gaining power, while, with botany, as often taught, the same feeling probably arises from another cause—namely, that the useful applications of his knowledge are generally ignored. The early association of astronomy with astrology, botany with medicine, chemistry with the fantastic hopes of the alchemists, will serve to remind us how much a belief (right or wrong it may be) in power to be gained has been from the earliest times an incentive to scientific study. And though the claim of practical utility is one which the pupil himself, judging from imperfect knowledge, is rather too apt to reiterate, yet he is often more nearly right in the matter than many an enthusiastic but narrow teacher is willing to admit, and the attitude towards the subject, of generous and healthy young minds, is an indication not to be disregarded by the instructor.

Chemistry and Physics run no risk of failing to commend themselves on this ground. The practical applications of each are so numerous and well known that it is impossible to escape perpetual allusion to them in teaching, while, on the other hand, the logical priority of these sciences, and the simple severity of the reasoning they demand, constitute claims which all parties now admit.

Such are the general considerations which have led to the prominent position that has been gradually accorded physics and chemistry in school teaching. But though I have so far spoken of these two branches of science together, I do not admit that the two subjects stand upon the same footing. I believe, on the contrary, that from nearly every point of view Physics has the prior claim, and one of the objects of my address to-night will be to lay before you the reasons of this opinion.

To do so it is necessary to pass at once to the details of the subject, and to explain what I understand by Physics and consider the best methods of teaching it. Under the title of Physics are nowadays

included such subjects as mechanics both molar and molecular; hydrostatics, heat, light, sound, electricity and magnetism, and perhaps others. As long as we are dealing with inanimate matter that may be regarded as neither dissociating nor forming new chemical compounds, the problems presented are purely physical; but since every one of the subjects I have mentioned embraces many subdivisions, each presenting almost a literature of its own, the first duty of the teacher is one of selection and arrangement.

In this he has an important principle to aid him. All these various branches of Physics have one important feature in common, viz., that they all deal with measurable quantities. Physics is, in fact, essentially the science of measurements. It is the province of the physicist to find out what are the measurable quantities in nature and to devise accurate means of determining them. It is this that renders Physics the servant of all other branches of natural science. It is she who presents the chemist with his balance of precision; the astronomer with his clock, his telescope, spectroscope, and micrometer; the biologist with his microscope; the surveyor with his sextant and theodolite; the architect and engineer with tables and data of every description. In fact, it is hardly possible to find any branch of mechanical activity, from cookery to navigation, which does not depend, and even largely depend, on the use of instruments and apparatus whose action is purely physical and only to be thoroughly understood by means of an acquaintance with physical principles.

Looking, then, at Physics from this point of view, as the science of measurements, and in this capacity as the servant of all who use either her methods or results; the teacher has, it seems to me, three valuable maxims to aid him both in choice of subject and manner of teaching. Firstly, his selection must be guided by logical order, fundamental methods of measurement, on which others depend, being taken first. Secondly, he must have an eye to utility, for some branches of information and some classes of measurements are called into requisition far more frequently than others. Thirdly, the pupil must make the observations and, wherever possible, measurements for himself. Hence the importance in this, as in all other branches of experimental science, of laboratory work.

In order to give an idea of the direction which I think this school laboratory work should take, I will describe what is done on the modern side in Clifton College, where I have had experience in conducting such teaching.

A large well-lighted room, some 30 feet by 20, is there set aside exclusively for physical work, and is fitted for the accommodation of classes of thirty boys at a time. These work in pairs, each pair at a separate table and independently of all the rest. The boys are allowed to choose their own partners at the beginning of each school term, unless there are special reasons for separating or associating particular boys. The subject is treated as part of the regular work of two forms, in which the ages range from about fourteen to seventeen. Thus the age of the boys when they begin it is about fourteen years. The beginners come to the laboratory for one, or sometimes two, hours a week, but they also attend experimental lectures in Physics two hours a week, besides devoting two hours to Chemistry; and it is an advantage that the lectures in Physics should be given by the same master who conducts the laboratory teaching, that he may be able to make occasional reference to that work in his lectures.

The kind of table at which each pair works is shown in the accom-

panying diagram. [A diagram of one of the Clifton College work-tables was here exhibited.] This is really a table for four boys. It is six feet long and three wide: a movable strip of wood separates the two halves of the top. It is a great advantage in physical work to have the corner of a table to work at; indeed, for some experiments, it is essential. Tables such as these are, therefore, much better than the long benches used in chemical laboratories. The tops are very stout and firm, two inches thick, and fixed either to the wall or, as in the diagram, to a central wooden partition. They overlap to leave room for the feet, and are cut square at the edge. Below each half of the table is a cupboard with a shelf, to contain the apparatus in most frequent use, while at the back is a long narrow cupboard, running the whole length of the double table, in which are kept note-books or special apparatus in current use. The diagram also shows the water-taps and small sinks, provided with a trap in the escape-pipe for recovering small objects which may have been accidentally dropped down. The gas-heads are also shown, and on one table is the movable upright staff for holding the balance when in use. In front of the partition are fixed, as shown, tall, upright iron rods of the same thickness as the rod of the retort-stand, with which each table is provided; so that the retort-stand clips can be fixed at any desired height on the upright, for holding pendulums, torsion wires, &c. For other tables these uprights are fixed to the walls of the room.

It is convenient to have the front cupboards fitted with snap-locks, all of which can be opened with the same key. In order to secure complete tidiness in the cupboards, I have found it essential that every piece of apparatus should have its place duly marked in the cupboard, and to insist that each piece shall be put back *exactly* in its right place. Three or four minutes before the end of the lesson, the word is given to put away the apparatus, and either before or after the boys have gone, the master, walking round and looking at the open cupboards, can tell at a glance whether everything is in its place. The cupboard doors are snapped to, and five minutes after the cessation of work he can walk out of the room, assured that all is in perfect order for the next lesson. The apparatus not in immediate use is kept in suitable cupboards against the walls, from which the boys are allowed to fetch for themselves what they require. A very necessary rule is that no talking is allowed except in quite a low voice between partners. This is easily enforced, and secures discipline, which, however, the interest felt in the work renders very easy. I remember the head master of Clifton College one day bringing the present Archbishop of Canterbury to see the work; they entered quietly, and stood for some minutes absolutely unnoticed, so diligently was everyone employed.

The instructions which the boys follow in doing the exercises were given originally on printed or "graphed" sheets, but are now embodied in a printed book. The master goes round from pair to pair, watching the progress, helping with hand or hint, or, as often, declining to help. The teaching has thus a peculiarly individual character, eminently favourable for teaching boys to teach themselves.

One pair will get on much faster than another, and the independence is an advantage, not only because it prevents the necessity of keeping apparatus enough for all to be doing the same thing at once, but also because it makes each boy feel that his progress is in his own hands. It also helps to abolish competition and hurry, which have no place in any experimental work. Over the portal of every labora-

tory should be written : "All *haste* abandon, ye who enter here." The fact that one pair of workers does not know (and does not even care to know) what their neighbours on either side are doing, makes it possible to allot marks for patience and care, for effort as well as success.

To be sure, I have sometimes stopped the work of the whole Form for a moment in order to call public attention to excellence in the work of particular boys ; but the excellence has often consisted in working cheerfully and perseveringly, perhaps for several successive lessons, at the same experiment in order to get a good result ; while I have remarked that the heads of Smith and Brown are reluctantly lifted from their own work, even to hear the praises of Jones and Robinson.

As regards the nature of the instructions given. I have found that it is desirable, when setting a young student to perform an experiment for himself, to give him something more than a bald description of what is to be done. It is necessary in many cases to point out clearly what the experiment is designed to teach. One way of doing this is to make the laboratory work run hand in hand with lectures, so that the boys repeat for themselves experiments that they have seen in lectures. I have tried this plan and found that it is not on the whole a very good one. Exigences of school arrangement often prevented the experimental classes from consisting of quite the same individuals as the lecture classes. The lectures would get ahead of the laboratory work, or the laboratory work of the lectures. Moreover, the pairs would not keep together, and one had to let boys leave an experiment before it had been satisfactorily performed. But another very important reason is that the lecture time is required for other purposes, a point to which I shall return later on. For three reasons it is preferable to give with the experiments instructions that take the form of a carefully written commentary, summarising, if need be, information already acquired in lectures, in order that the significance of the experiment and its results may be fully perceived. So that the remarks by which the experiments are introduced or explained, often assume the character of a written lecture, affording the student the requisite materials for teaching himself. An important part of the instructions consists in explaining how to record or tabulate the experimental results, for which purpose blank schedules or examples of a similar exercise fully worked out are freely used.

The work done in the laboratory during the first term comes under the head of mensuration, and includes measurements of lengths, areas, volumes, weight, and specific gravity.

The first thing that a boy has to do is to learn to use his metre measure with accuracy, to place the scale so as to avoid errors of parallax, and to learn to estimate tenths of a millimetre. After measuring straight lines in diagrams, &c., he passes to the measurement of curved lines, employing among other means the little wheel-measure, called the opisometer, used for measuring the lengths of roads and lines on a map. He also measures in various ways the circumference of circles, and finds experimentally the value of π , *i.e.*, the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter.

At first the boys make even these simple measure very inaccurately ; a millimetre (which is about a twentieth-fifth of one inch) seems to them a very minute division ; but a little practice soon advances their standard of precision, and they learn to estimate the tenth part of a millimetre.

Before passing to the measurements of areas, the metric system of weights is explained, and rules to be observed in using the balance are

given. The balance employed is a small unmounted pair of scales, which, when in use, is suspended from a hook in a movable upright, which can be stuck into the table when wanted. It is seldom required to weigh anything heavier than 500 grams (about a pound); and when thus loaded the balance will turn with a weight of two centigrams. A centigram weight is the smallest we use. Even with such a balance much useful work can be done.

The pupil then passes to the measurement areas, first of rectilinear then of curvilinear figures, circles, and spheres.

Let me quote an experiment in illustration. The tenth exercise of the course is

To verify the statement (which can be proved by geometry) that the area of an ellipse = π times the rectangle contained in the semi-axes.

Instructions.—Describe an ellipse accurately on a rectangular sheet of uniform cardboard—the pupil has been previously told how to do this—measure and record the length of major and minor axes. Then find the area of the ellipse by cutting out and weighing, exactly as was done with the irregular figure in Exercise 8. Compare the result with the value of $\pi \times \text{semi-major} \times \text{semi-minor axis}$.

You will notice that the pupil is not told to use as large a sheet of card as he can get, or to describe on it as big an ellipse as he can; though these would be the right things to do. He ought to have learnt already, by previous exercises, that his weighings and measurements will not be accurate if made on a very small scale. If he has not yet learnt this, it is best to let him make the mistake and obtain discordant results, and then to point out the cause.

Then follow measurements of volume, first of regular figures, such as prisms, cylinders, and spheres. Then of irregular solids by displacement of water. This leads naturally to the subject of relative density and the use of specific gravity flasks; and the relative density of liquids, of solids which sink, which float, which are attacked by water, are found in turn.

This terminates the first term's work. It will be observed that the object is not at first to teach how the physicist makes his measures of length, volume or density as accurate as possible, but to give a clear idea of what such measures mean. For this reason all subordinate corrections and secondary considerations which would obscure the main issue, are avoided. Meanwhile the low standard of accuracy, with which the pupil begins, is gradually raised. He exercises his arithmetic and geometry in a way which interests him, learns the real utility of decimals; how to reject unnecessary figures, to record his results in an orderly and intelligent fashion, and to *use his wits* in finding out where he has made mistakes.

The next set of exercises or experiments are in hydrostatics and include the principle of Archimedes and its applications: Flotation, the Barometer, and the verification of Boyle's law.

Then follow mechanics, beginning with experiments on levers and the parallelogram of forces; then experiments on centre of gravity; on the laws of statical friction; the inclined plane; and the friction of cords and pulleys. The value of the experiments must always depend very largely on the care taken in their arrangement, so that they may develop the subject in a thoroughly instructive manner, and on the clearness of the language with which they are introduced. On such points it is hardly possible in the limited time at my disposal to enter into detail. I may, however, mention a point of practical importance. It is always necessary when a large number of pupils are working together to select experiments that can be performed on a *small scale*.

Thus many of the admirable experiments mentioned in Ball's mechanics are unsuitable for school work on account of the space they demand and the magnitude of the weights, ten pounds and twenty pounds, that are required.

The experiments I have just alluded to in mechanics take somewhat less than one term of twenty-six hour-lessons (the pupils now coming for *two* hours a week), and are followed by a term's work in elasticity, including observation of the bending of laths, of spiral springs, twisted wires, india-rubber cords, tuning forks and pendulums.

For the details of this, or any other part of the work, I must refer those who are interested to this little book, which has just been published for me by Messrs. Rivingtons under the title of "A First Course of Physical Laboratory Practice.

With respect to the course of heat, which constitutes about a term's work of twenty-six hour lessons, I would only mention that, after a few experiments on conduction, radiation (including Newton's law of cooling), fusion, and solidification, come a carefully-arranged set of experiments on heat-quantity.

I am aware that some teachers have found it difficult to get boys to make at all accurate measures of the specific heat of a metal or of (say) the latent heat of steam, and I think it not unlikely that the difficulty has arisen from the boys not having previously made a sufficient number of simple preliminary experiments, which serve to show up the particular errors to which they are liable. At any rate, I am able to report that the errors in specific heat were generally less than 6 per cent., and in the latent heat of steam not more than 3 or 4 per cent., and that good results could be often repeated.

The experiments on magnetism and static electricity that are possible without very refined apparatus are chiefly qualitative, though indirect or null methods can sometimes be used for purposes of measurement. The exercises in these subjects consist, for the most part, in the observation and description of phenomena, and the drawing of correct inferences. The experiments in magnetism are generally found easy, and the subject has often been taken earlier in the course. Those in static electricity require more skill, but I may mention that, with due care, we have never found the state of the atmosphere even at Clifton, which is as damp as most places in the West of England, such as seriously to interfere with the experiments. The great secret is to trust only to ebonite or sealing wax for insulation, never to glass.

In current electricity the galvanometers used are made by the boys themselves; with these, and a simple form of Wheatstone's bridge and rheocord, they are able to verify Ohm's law, to measure the relative conductivity of different metals, the internal resistance of a cell, to compare the electromotive force of two cells, and to calibrate a galvanoscope.

It is true that the measures thus made give little idea of the sensitiveness and precision of modern electrical instruments. But the principles which underlie the simple rough apparatus used by the boy and the delicate appliances of the professional electrician are, for the most part, precisely the same, and the use of the one is a great aid to understanding the other. Moreover, it is out of such originally simple forms that the latter devices have been developed.

And here I take the opportunity of replying to an objection that has sometimes been made to the whole of such work as I am advocating. It has been thought by some that experiments executed

with comparatively simple and inexpensive apparatus, such as that which we use, cannot be exact and thorough enough to be a good training; that, on the contrary, the training is harmful. The objection is urged very forcibly in one of the answers quoted in the valuable Report of the United States Government Bureau of Education, No. 7, 1884, in reply to a question as to the desirability and feasibility of laboratory work in schools in the following words.

"It is objectionable to put students to experimental work when unqualified for it, and with inadequate means. Thus, habits of slovenly experimenting and inconsequent induction are formed, or the student is disgusted with the unsatisfactory nature of the whole thing. Especially is a loose way of experimenting with cheap apparatus, and obtaining only the remotest approximation in results—results which would not of themselves even suggest the principle or law, very much to be deprecated."

Yes, I quite agree with the writer: a loose way of experimenting with *any* kind of apparatus is much to be deprecated. And if your experiment is so badly devised that the result does not even suggest the physical law to be exemplified, it had certainly better not be made by students. But it is the teacher's business to see that the experiments are not loose or badly devised nor the inferences slovenly. And it is not difficult to ensure this.

In the introduction to the little book which I have just published, describing the elementary course followed at Clifton, I have remarked that our experience at Clifton has shown that experiments can be selected which shall lead to quantitative results quite sufficiently accurate to suggest or confirm the correctness of the principle involved without taxing too much the patience or the intelligence of the young experimenter. And we have found that, so far from being disgusted with the unsatisfactory nature of the experiment, he is generally encouraged by feeling that an accurate result is within his reach if he takes sufficient pains. To be sure, his own standard of accuracy is a low one in comparison with that of a trained physicist, but this is only a symptom of his undeveloped condition, and as he becomes more practised, his standard improves of itself. It is precisely thus that the standard of precision in all attainments grows gradually with practice and increasing mental power. How many stages lie between the games of young children and the same games as played by men! Such a laboratory course as I advocate recognises the low standard of a particular faculty, and gives it an early opportunity of natural growth. No doubt it would be prejudicial to keep a pupil very long at work in which the highest standard attainable was kept out of sight. For this reason this preliminary laboratory work at Clifton is confined to boys in the middle school, *i.e.*, of about the ages of fourteen to seventeen, after which point it either ceases or is exchanged for more exact work, modelled more or less on the teaching in the university laboratories.

I am glad to be able to quote in this matter, the opinion of so distinguished a scientific man as Professor Newcomb, the American astronomer, who, in pointing out that for instruction in the use of astronomical instruments, comparatively rough and simple apparatus is all that is necessary, says:—"In this, as in nearly every department of professional education, we may lay it down as a rule that the wants of a liberal and a professional education are, so far as the foundation is concerned, identical. We (the professionals) are too prone to lead the student into the minute details of a subject, without that previous training in first broad principles which, though it may not

immediately tell on his progress as a student, will be felt throughout his life, to whatever field of work he may devote himself."

Before leaving the subject of laboratory work, I wish to say a few words about the cost of it. The tables, that I have described cost £3 3s. each, and the total cost of the interior fittings of the Clifton laboratory, for a class of thirty boys, including the tables, wall cupboards, blackboard, a stone sink, central partition, gas and water fittings, may be put at very nearly £70. The original outlay in apparatus four years ago was £40, and the annual cost of working, supplying material, and replacing breakages, has for the last three years been £12 10s. per annum. It must, however, be remembered that the figures just quoted refer only to the elementary work. The same room is used for the more advanced work of the senior boys, who devote special time to the subject, and for whom more costly apparatus is required. Also it must be understood that the sum mentioned has no reference to the apparatus required for the illustration of lectures.

And this brings us to the subject of lectures; for it is obvious that if the pupil is to make any considerable progress, his knowledge cannot be confined within the limits of his own experiments.

The name lecture is perhaps an unfortunate one, because it suggests the state of things so humorously described by Clerk Maxwell as the "crystalline" condition of an association for the advancement of knowledge, "where the members sit in rows while science flows in an uninterrupted stream from a source which we take as the origin. This is radiation of science."

This must be avoided. With young boys a lecture should be as conversational as possible, especially should the boys themselves be encouraged to ask questions even as to the meaning of not very unusual words. But with older boys, with whom it is necessary to get over a good deal of ground in order that their knowledge may acquire massiveness, such interruptions require rather more management.

It would, however, be unpardonable in me, before such an audience as this, to make general remarks on the subject of "How to lecture," in Physics or anything else. The only way in which I think I may be of use, will be to mention a few points that I regard as of special importance in reference to the subject taught. First as regards certain mechanical matters. With young boys make drawings on the blackboard rather than use diagrams; by seeing you draw they learn to draw themselves (besides *you* learn). Use diagrams when rapidly revising the work. Teach them to do the essential parts of the drawing first, so that, if there is not time to finish on the spot, what they have done is still of use. Emphasise the difference between a diagram and a picture, and discourage pictures. With all boys, take care that the note-book used is large enough for proper drawings, &c. For the subject of geometrical optics, for example, a specially large note-book is desirable on account of the nature of the diagrams. Never let a boy have notes on different subjects in the same book. I have seen note-books that were rueful sights in this respect; in which a French translation of Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield was wedged in between the Properties of Chlorine and the Second Journey of St. Paul. Collect the note-books and mark them frequently. One has to be on one's guard not to let bad writing and bad drawing prejudice one too much. It often requires care to distinguish between real and apparent untidiness in a note-book, and untidiness in writing is by no means a sign of slovenliness in thought or arrangement. It is good

to insist on a wide ruled margin with headings, this greatly facilitates the reading of the notes and adds to their value.

Boys may be taught to use a diagram as a sufficient memorandum of many experiments, but they also require teaching that a diagram without explanation can never be an answer to a question.

Many pieces of close reasoning require to be dictated or copied from the blackboard. With young boys it is necessary *at first* to dictate or write on the board notes on the experiments performed in their presence, conclusions deduced &c., in order that they may learn how to make the right kind of note for themselves. They soon learn how to watch an experiment and make extremely good notes about it.

When setting numerical examples to be solved in class let the boys themselves invent some. It is not necessary to insist on all numerical examples being worked out to the bitter end. But it is good to ask for an approximate estimate of the value of the result when left in a complex form. Especially should the denomination of the answer be stated—mils, cubic cm., degrees centigrade, calories, or whatever it may be. A master who will consistently refuse to award marks when this is omitted, deserves the thanks of the community.

In some subjects—*e.g.*, statical electricity and current electricity—I have found it very useful, even with senior boys, to distribute electro-penned notes of my own on the lectures, containing references to text-books and, in cases of close argument, the *ipsissima verba* of the lecture. Along with such notes are distributed also a series of questions, covering every point of importance touched on, and at the close of my lecture I say, "Next time we will take questions 40—55," which means that the boys, by reading the notes, prepare themselves to answer any of these questions. When they come, I select one or two of the questions at discretion, to be answered in writing, which takes but a few minutes. The answers are collected and corrected out of school; sometimes the whole of the questions are gone through *viva voce*. By means of these questions the boys learn how to read the notes with due attention. One has to take care not to distribute notes on lectures that have not yet been delivered. This is like letting the boys "see their dinner." But *questions* on the whole course may be distributed at the beginning. The boys look forward to the time when they can answer the later questions which at first seem impossibly hard.

It is important that such notes or questions should be copied by a legible and neat process, which will reproduce drawings satisfactorily. All "jelligraphs" that I know are bad for such a purpose, but the electro-pen does very well.

From questions of manner in the lectures, I pass to matter.

Most teachers find a definite cycle of subjects desirable. Mechanics, hydrostatics, and pneumatics, and heat form a suitable one-year cycle for junior boys. Heat, dynamics, geometrical optics, magnetism, statical and current electricity and sound, a suitable two-year cycle for older boys. Physical optics is not, to my mind, a suitable school subject; I have never taught it, but have often examined the work of senior boys in this subject, but have always found that most of the finer points (and the subject is full of subtleties) had been missed.

Sound, on the contrary, which is held by some to be an unprofitable subject, is, in my opinion, a very useful one. It not only cultivates a fresh sense, but forms an admirable beginning of the most important subject of wave motion. The subject should be taken

late, so that the mathematical difficulties may not be a serious hindrance. The mistake that some teachers make is to learn the purely objective phenomena of sound, and run into the subjective phenomena of music, about which it is easy to talk nonsense.

In all the subjects taught, the allusions to practical applications should be frequent, and also specially to the effects of physical causes working in nature on a large scale. The teacher must, in fact, constantly remember the two reasons for which the work is undertaken—to supply the means of success in practical achievements, and of intellectual satisfaction. And if he does not do this—if he draws attention very exclusively to the details—however necessary these are to be mastered, the boys will weary of his teaching and resent it—and rightly.

It is not for the sake of the details that the science of physics has been evolved, nor to afford an intellectual gymnastics, but in pursuit of the solution of eternal problems, and in obedience to the instinctive admiration and wonder felt by every successive generation of men for the beauties and powers of Nature. To this sense of admiration the teacher should frequently appeal, and there are occasions when the appeal must be made in language worthy of the subject, in well and carefully-chosen words. For the position of the science teacher is often one of no small responsibility; he stands as a privileged interpreter of Nature to young and eager minds, which he may dismay and dishearten by pedantries, or kindle with enthusiasm for the power of real knowledge; may vulgarise by descending to the level of the juggler, or elevate by the reverent exposition of Divine laws. He who does not recognise this responsibility should not be teaching science at all.

It is partly for the sake of the dignity of the subject, and partly because the argument used is often one which requires a somewhat lengthy exposition and explanation that it is desirable with elder boys to deviate sometimes from the dialectic style. The reading of suitable passages from the works of distinguished scientific writers often contributes greatly to the interest of a course of lectures by presenting the subject in new language and with other associations. Thus Prof. Clifford's lecture on "Atoms," read with a few omissions and alterations, makes an hour's lesson of the greatest value, and Mr. Wilson's well-known lecture on a "Drop of Water" comes in admirably at the close of a course on "Heat."

Most desirable, also, is it that the boys should be allowed to see, where possible, something of the slowly-accomplished steps of experiment or reasoning, of the failures and disappointments that lie behind so many of the discoveries and results which are imparted, perhaps, in a single lesson. No better example of the sort of thing to aim could be found than Prof. Tait's extract from Boyle's paper on the "Spring and Weight of the Air," which occurs in his recently-published "Properties of Matter," or that from Newton's letter to Oldenburg as an introduction to a chapter on the "Refraction of Light." (See "Light," by P. G. Tait).

I have only left myself time for a few words on the question of the relative claims of Chemistry and Physics to a place in our school-teaching, to which I promised to recur.

The points that I want to urge are briefly these:—In the first place a good deal of physics must necessarily precede chemistry. This all chemists will admit. It is their custom, indeed, to begin their text-books with introductory chapters on chemical physics, that is, on those branches of physics which are specially useful to the

chemist, such as specific gravity ; the laws connecting the volume and pressure of gases, heat, and certain portions of light and electricity.

Next, I would observe that the applications of chemical knowledge, innumerable and important as they are, are, nevertheless, more special in character than are those of physics. A point is soon reached in the study of chemistry at which the phenomena observed exist solely in the laboratory or in special manufacturing processes, and it is only those who have made a somewhat prolonged special study of chemistry who find that they can apply their knowledge. In physics this is not so ; the knowledge acquired has generally immediate application to innumerable facts of daily experience. Thirdly, the established position of chemistry in our educational institutions is, without doubt, due largely to the fact that the chemists have been before us in the organisation of laboratory work which has given the training they had to offer a hitherto unique value. But it is remarkable that of late years a considerable change has come over the character of the earlier portion of their laboratory teaching ; that, in fact, they have begun to emphasise in this part of the work also, the physical rather than the purely chemical operations, urging that the foundation of knowledge thus laid is more secure.

I do not, for a moment, wish to be thought to set a low value on the study of chemistry as an educational means, even for young pupils ; with some, especially the unmathematical, I think that more can be done with chemistry than with physics ; but I do wish to maintain that, for the large majority, the information and training that can be acquired at school by the study of chemistry is less useful, both practically and intellectually, than that which is gained by the study of physics during the same time. If this conclusion comes to be generally accepted, as I believe it will be, it will not, I hope, follow that chemistry will be entirely neglected in our schools, but the centre of gravity of the school scientific teaching will be shifted from the side of chemistry, where it now lies, to that of physics. Schools which cannot afford both a chemical and physical laboratory will choose the latter (which, also, is much cheaper), giving to the younger pupils the opportunity of following some such elementary course as I have been describing, and to the elder the means of making more refined or difficult experiments.

In conclusion, I would ask permission to say a word about the very important step you have recently taken in Birmingham of introducing the teaching of elementary physics into your Board Schools. The paper read by Mr. Crosskey at the meeting of the Social Science Congress last year, describing the results of this teaching, was of most hopeful augury, and must have been read with great pleasure by those interested in educational progress. Is it, I would ask, quite out of the question, or quite too early in the day, to think of supplementing the oral instruction given in the experimental lectures in the Board schools, something of laboratory practice ? Would it be impossible, for instance, to afford to the best boys the opportunity of attending once or twice a week some central laboratory either in lieu of school attendance for those hours or when they have left school ? I am confident that the work would be so popular, if well conducted, that you would find the boys willing to go a long distance to attend it, and that in a town like Birmingham, so largely dependent on mechanical activities, no better or more thoroughly useful training could be given to its children.

I have condensed somewhat more than was my first intention

certain portions of the address that I have just read to you in order to leave time to make a few remarks that have been suggested by the reading of two of the addresses recently delivered before the British Association at Aberdeen. The presidents of two of the most important sections, the Mathematical and Physical, and the Chemical, have this year spoken from their point of view as teachers of science, and the speeches of both contain much that it is important for schoolmasters to consider. The following passage from the address of Professor Chrystal seems to me particularly worthy of our attention:—

“It would naturally be expected that we should look carefully to the scientific education of our youth to see that the best men and the best means that could be had were devoted to it; that we should endeavour to make for them a broad and straight road to the newest and best of our scientific ideas; that we should exercise them, when young, on the best work of the greatest masters; familiarise them early with the great men and great feats of science, both of the past and of the present; that we should avoid retarding their progress by making the details and illustrations, or particular rules and methods, end in themselves. Granting that it is impossible to bring every learner within reach of the fullest scientific knowledge of his time, it would surely be reasonable to take care that the little way we lead him should not be along some devious bypath, but towards some eminence from which he might at least *see* the promised land. The end of all scientific training of the great public I take to be to enable each member of it to look reason and Nature in the face and judge for himself what, considering the circumstances of his day, may be known, and not be deceived regarding what must to him remain unknown. If this be so, surely the ideal of scientific education which I have sketched is the right one; yet it is most certainly not the ideal of our present system of instruction. To attain conviction on that head, it is sufficient to examine the text-books and examination papers of the day,” and he then proceeds to point out that the school teaching of geometry and algebra shows, as a rule, “absolutely no trace of the influence of modern methods and discovery,” and that algebra, as usually taught, is “neither an art nor a science, but an ill-digested farrago of rules whose object is the solution of examination problems.”

“All men,” he continues, “practically engaged in teaching, who have learned enough, in spite of the defects of their own early training, to enable them to take a broad view of the matter, are agreed as to the canker which turns everything that is good in our educational practice to evil. It is the absurd prominence of written competitive examinations that works all this mischief. The end of all education nowadays is to fit the pupil to be examined; the end of every examination not to be an educational instrument, but to be an *examination* which a creditable number of men, however badly taught, shall pass.”

The two points which I think here stand out for us schoolmasters to take to heart are these—firstly, to keep the teaching up to date, or, rather, to take care that its direction is influenced by the requirements of modern methods; and, secondly, to resist, wherever we are able, the temptation to prepare pupils for external examinations.

The first is a matter of very great importance, and requires really long and careful consideration and discussion, such as we cannot think of to-night. The teacher who lectures on a cycle of subjects in physics probably employs written notes whose preparation in the

first instance will, if he be at all eager and conscientious, be affected by the very latest information that he has acquired. But, if he be lazy or overworked, there will be a temptation simply to repeat himself as the subject comes round, so that not only will his teaching be liable gradually to become antiquated, but it will suffer, also, in another way.

I remember a boy once expressing to me the greatest surprise at hearing that Joule was a living man. "Oh! sir, I thought the people who discovered all these things lived a very long time ago." The remark needs no comment. I have found nothing more stimulating in my science lectures than to mention work that is absolutely going on. But, for the schoolmaster to be able, I do not say to keep pace with the times, but to keep in any sort of touch with scientific minds, some considerable leisure is necessary. At one educational establishment that I am acquainted with, the scientific staff receive, on appointment, a somewhat higher salary than their colleagues, but are expressly debarred from attempting to add to their income by undertaking any tutorial work, the object in view being to ensure leisure for private study. But leisure alone, without help and guidance, will not usually suffice. We very much want some organised system of communication between the professors or leaders of scientific thought and the schoolmasters which shall enable the former to exercise a direct influence on the elementary teaching. It would be an encouragement of the very best kind to the schoolmaster to feel that both the matter and the manner of his teaching was watched with personal interest by some scientific leader. A conference between the schoolmasters and the professors on this subject might lead to most useful results.

As regards the other point—the examinations. I do not mean to say a word against examinations as used by the teacher himself, as an instrument, though even when so used there is no need to admit the element of competition. I hold very strongly that the true function of our systems of marks is to enable the teacher to check his own impressions as to his pupil's progress, and that the pupil's anxiety should be, not whether he has surpassed or been surpassed by others, but whether he has gained or failed to gain his master's approval. But it is the external examination over which the teacher has no control, but for which he endeavours to prepare his pupils that works all the mischief. But I think we may hope.

At present only the wealthiest and oldest schools can afford to disregard external examinations and to refuse to prepare for them. Others, less fortunate, have to acquire or maintain a reputation by enabling the pupils to pass such examinations; it is the only guarantee of efficiency they can exhibit. The remedy, I think, will come with the inspection of secondary schools, which cannot be long delayed. A system of inspection might easily be devised which should leave ample scope for individuality in the teaching, and would give the official warranty of excellence whenever it was deserved, without compelling the teacher to deviate from the most fundamental principles of sound education. What we have to protest against is not examination by an external examiner for the assistance which the external examiner can afford, may be of the most valuable kind; but the absence of that control on the part of the teacher which is necessary to render the examination a help and not a hindrance to his efforts. Thus I hold that the science teaching throughout the country would benefit in the most marked manner from a measure that secured the inspection of secondary schools.

Professor Armstrong, in that portion of his address before the chemical section which dealt with educational matters, was equally vigorous in his denunciation of the evil effects of external examinations on the science teaching, but he also dwells on other points. "I do not complain," he says, speaking of the young men who come up from the schools to the science colleges, "of their want of knowledge of science subjects, but of the unscientific manner in which they have been trained at school. What is perhaps worst is their marked inability, often amounting to downright refusal, either to take proper notice of what happens in an experiment, or to draw any logical conclusion from an observation. Man is said to be a reasoning being, but my experience as an examiner and teacher would lead me to believe that this fact is altogether lost sight of by the average schoolmaster, who appears to confine himself almost exclusively to the teaching of hard, dry facts, and makes no attempt to cultivate those very faculties which are supposed to characterize the human race; or he is so ill-prepared for his work that he fails to understand his duty. These," continues Professor Armstrong, are "harsh words, but the evil is of such magnitude that it cannot be too plainly stated; those who, like myself, are brought full face to it, fail in their duty if, when opportunity occurs they do not take occasion to call attention to its existence."

Now, in a great many cases, I believe that not the schoolmaster has been to blame, but this wretched system under which he is obliged to work of preparing for external examinations. It is these, as the schoolmaster himself often bitterly complains, that compel him to hasten when there is every reason to go more slowly; to aim rather at the communication of facts to the pupil than at their gradual discovery *by* the pupil. Thus, not only is all the utility taken out of his teaching, but all the pleasure, and his life is passed in perpetual fear of being kicked by some irresponsible examiner.

But there is a point in connection with the teaching of Physics where I think that Professor Armstrong may be right in suggesting that the schoolmaster fails to understand his duty.

In the teaching of Physics the appeal to reason is almost continuous, while that to memory is insignificant; and it is of paramount importance for the teacher to realise how slowly the ability to generalise from particular experiments is acquired by the young; what easy stepping-stones have to be provided for their first essays in inductive reasoning; how often, even when some ability seems to have been gained, it is necessary to rest by the way. "To be sure," as has been well said, "one gets on faster with a child by carrying it; but it is for the child's interest to teach it to run and swim by itself."

The comparison implied in this remark is a very just one; the same gentle loving encouragement is needed in either case. I am afraid that many a schoolmaster has abused a pupil for not being able to argue; but what mother ever scolded her child for not being able to walk? (though, to be sure, *she* does not live in fear of a dancing-master coming to examine the child in *steps*!)

Our science teachers are often so very young, and have not had the invaluable experience of teaching their own children, and do sometimes require to be reminded of those golden watch-words, Love and Patience.

NOTES ON THE WESTERN REGIONS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE "TSËËN HAN_SHOO," BOOK 96, PART 2.

BY

A. WYLIE, Esq.

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NOTES on the WESTERN REGIONS. Translated from the "Tsëen Han Shoo," Book 96, Part 2. By A. WYLIE, Esq.

[Introductory Note by H. H. Howorth, Esq., F.S.A.]

I WISH to prefix a note of explanation to this most valuable paper, probably the last which my accomplished friend Mr. Wylie will be able to write, since his eyes, which have done so much good service in Chinese research, have at last been overshadowed with blindness. The series of papers is now complete, and in them ethnologists in the West of Europe have for the first time presented to them the earliest details contained in Chinese literature about the tribes and peoples neighbouring upon China. Hyacinthe, I believe, published a translation of these annals into Russian; but in that language they are virtually as much buried as in the original language. The period covered by them is that comprised within the domination of the Elder Han dynasty in China (207 B.C. to 9 A.D.) It is to be hoped that they may be followed at some time by a similar gleaning from the annals of the Second or After Han dynasty. This, the last paper of the series, has not had the advantage of Mr. Wylie's complete supervision in passing through the press,¹ and if any printer's or other mistakes occur, they must be assigned to myself, who have corrected the proofs, and who will never cease to be grateful for having been the secondary means of furnishing so much of the raw material for Eastern ethnological research to English students, by persuading Mr. Wylie to undertake the translation.]

*Woo-sun.*²

THE Sovereign of Woo-sun, who is styled the Great Kwān-me, has his seat of government in the city of Ch'ih-kuh, distant from Chang-gan 8,900 *le*. The kingdom contains 120,000 families, comprising a population of 630,000 persons.³ They have an army of 188,800, a Minister of Emoluments, a Left Generalissimo, a Right Generalissimo, three Marquises, a Commander-in-chief, a Protector General, two Inspectors General, a grand official, two household officials, and a Knight. The seat of the Governor General lies 1,721 *le* to the east. The country of Fan-

¹ A revise was afterwards submitted to, and corrected by, Mr. Wylie. [Ed.]

² From the "Se yih t'ung wān che" we learn—and the indications in the text seem to point to the conclusion—that Woo-sun occupied the site of Kulja, and great part of the modern province of Ili, lying to the east of Lake Issikul.

³ A native commentator remarks:—"The people of Woo-sun had the most remarkable figures of all the barbarian races. Their representatives at the present day have blue eyes and red beards; while in shape they resemble apes; from which they are originally descended."

nuy¹ in Kang-keu (Sogdiana) lies 5,000 *le* to the west. On the jungly plains there is much rain and cold. On the hills pine and fir trees abound. The inhabitants do not cultivate the soil, but they plant trees. They roam about with their flocks and herds in search of water and pasture, their national customs being the same as those of the Heung-noo. Horses are very numerous, some wealthy people having as many as four or five thousand. The people are pig-headed, covetous as wolves, and utterly unreliable. They are much given to plundering raids, and are characteristically violent as a nation.

Formerly they were subject to the Heung-noo, but subsequently, on attaining to great prosperity, they cast off their allegiance. The country joins that of the Heung-noo on the east, Kang-keu on the north-west, Ta-wan (Fergana) on the west, and several settled kingdoms possessing cities and villages on the south. The inhabitants were originally Sae (Sacæ); but the Ta Yuě-she (Massagetæ) on the west subdued and expelled the King of the Sae; when the latter moving south, crossed the Hindu Kush; and the Ta Yuě-she occupied the country.

At a subsequent period the Kwăn-mo of Woo-sun attacked and subdued the Ta Yuě-she, who then went westward, and reduced the Ta-hea (Dahæ) to a state of vassalage, while the Kwăn-mo of Woo-sun took possession of their country. In consequence of these revolutions, the population was of a mixed character, containing, besides those of Woo-sun, Sae and Ta-Yuě-she elements also.

On his return from his expedition to the West, Chang Keen had said in his report:—"The Woo-sun nation was originally settled, together with the Ta Yuě-she, between Tun-hwang and China. Now, although Woo-sun has become a great and powerful nation, yet by liberal gifts they might be induced to move eastward and occupy their old country. By bestowing an Imperial Princess in marriage on the Kwăn-mo, a fraternal bond might be formed, which might act as an effectual check on the Heung-noo." These details are found in the Memoir of Chang Keen.²

Woo-te, being at that time the reigning Sovereign, approved Chang Këen's suggestions, and entrusted him with the commission to transact the negotiation, furnishing him with presents of gold and silks for the Kwăn-mo. On the arrival of the envoy, the Kwăn-mo received him with the rites proper to an envoy

¹ *Fan-nuy* is literally "inside the border," and thus the sentence might be read:—"The border land of Kang-keu lies 5,000 *le* to the west." I prefer, however, using *Fan-nuy* as the proper name of the country, the meaning being equivalent.

² See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," August 1880, p. 66.

from the Heung-noo. Chang Këen, who was greatly mortified by this reception, said:—"I am the bearer of gifts from the Emperor; but should your Majesty refuse the customary salutation, I must take them back again." At sight of the gifts, the Kwăn-mo rendered due obeisance, and the other rites were performed the same as of old.

At first the Kwăn-mo had more than ten sons, the middle one of which, the Ta-luh, was of a violent disposition, and having the talents for a general, he put himself at the head of over 10,000 cavalry, and set up a separate establishment. The Ta-luh's elder brother, the heir apparent, had a son called the Tsin-tsow. The heir apparent dying early had on his death-bed requested the Kwăn-mo that the Tsin-tsow might be made heir apparent, a request which the Kwăn-mo in his grief assented to. The Ta-luh was enraged, and gaining over his brothers to his views, while relying on his host of followers, he rebelled, and resolved to attack the Tsin-tsow. Consequent on this, the Kwăn-mo gave the Tsin-tsow also more than 10,000 cavalry, and set him up in a separate establishment. The Kwăn-mo also raised more than 10,000 cavalry for his own protection. The country was thus divided into three factions, and the Kwăn-mo's freedom of action was restrained by the magnates.

On delivering the presents to the Kwăn-mo, Chang Këen addressed him to the following effect:—"There is nothing to prevent the Woo-sun nation removing to their original country in the east; in which case the Emperor of China would send an Imperial Princess for your consort. A fraternal bond might thus be cemented, which would prove an effectual barrier to molestation from the Heung-noo." The Woo-sun, however, being at a great distance from China, they were altogether unconscious of the magnitude and power of the empire; while being in close proximity to the Heung-noo, to whom they had long been subject, the high ministers were all unwilling to remove. The Kwăn-mo himself being old, and the kingdom divided, he felt utterly inadequate to exercise a sovereign control. He sent an envoy, however, to escort Chang Këen home; and took occasion at the same time to forward an offering of some tens of horses as an acknowledgment of favours. The Woo-sun envoy carried back a glowing account of the numbers, wealth, and magnificence of the Chinese, after which they made much more account of China.

The Heung-noo, hearing of their intercourse with China, were bent on attacking them. Furthermore, when the Han sent an envoy to Woo-sun, the envoy passed southward to Ta-wan and the Yüě-she, forming a perpetual alliance with these nations. In

view of these various events, the authorities of Woo-sun took the alarm, and on the strength of Chang Këen's proposals, despatched an envoy with an offering of horses, wishing to obtain an Imperial Princess in marriage, and thus effect a fraternal bond. The Emperor laid the matter before his Ministers, who after consultation assented to the request, and replied:—"It is necessary first to transmit the marriage gifts, after which the lady will be forwarded." Woo-sun thereupon sent a thousand horses as a marriage gift to the Han monarch.

In the *Yuen-fung* period (B.C. 110-105), Se-keun, the daughter of Këen, the King of Keang-too, was sent as the Imperial Princess destined to be the bride. Carriages and an imperial outfit were conferred upon the lady, with a retinue of officers, subordinate officials, servants and attendants, several hundreds in all, and a most costly array of presents. The Kwän-mo made her lady of the right. The Heung-noo also sent a maiden to the Kwän-mo for a bride, and he made her lady of the left.

On reaching her destined home, the Princess had a palace built for her. Once or twice during the year, she and the Kwän-mo gave a feast, on which occasions she presented silks to the kings and accompanying nobles. The Kwän-mo being old, however, and his speech unintelligible, the Princess becoming dejected and melancholy composed the following ballad respecting herself:—

"My parents they have wed me,
All helpless and undone,
In a distant alien kingdom,
To the Monarch of Woo-sun.

"My dwelling's vast and dreary,
Deck'd with felt in place of silk;
My daily food is flesh meat,
Accompanied with milk.

"My mind with thoughts is burden'd,
My heart with grief oppress'd;
Would that I were a yellow stork,
I'd fly back to my nest."

On hearing of the lady's sad condition the Emperor was touched with compassion; and every second year sent an envoy, bearing presents of embroidered hangings and decorations.

In view of his great age, the Kwän-mo wished to give the young Princess in marriage to his grandson the Tsin-tsow. She would not listen to the proposal, however, but forwarded a letter to the Emperor stating her case. The latter desiring so far to conciliate Woo-sun that he might be able by its assist-

ance to crush the Heung-noo, recommended the Princess to comply with the customs of the country. The marriage with the Tsin-tsow was accordingly consummated. On the death of the Kwän-mo, the Tsin-tsow succeeded to the throne. *Tsin-tsow* was an official title. His name was Keun-seu-me. *Kwän-mo* was the royal title borne by his father, whose real name was La-keaou-me. Subsequently the title was written *Kwän-me*.

After the marriage of the Princess of Keang-too with the Tsin-tsow, she gave birth to a daughter named Shaou-foo. On the death of the Princess subsequently, the Emperor again sent Keae-yew, the grand-daughter of Woo, the King of Tsou, as an Imperial Princess, to be the Tsin-tsow's bride. The death of the Tsin-tsow took place while Ne-me, his son by his Heung-noo consort, was still a child; and Ung-kwei-me, the son of the Tsin-tsow's uncle, the Ta-luh, was put on the throne, with the understanding that when Ne-me was of age the dignity should revert to him.

Ung-kwei-me assumed power with the style of the *Lusty King*, and again took to wife the widowed Tsou princess; by whom he had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son was named Yuen-kwei-me; the second, Wan-nëen, became King of Sha-keu (Yarkand); and the third named Ta-lo, was made Left Generalissimo. The eldest daughter Te-she was married to Keang-pin the King of Kwei-tsze, while her sister Soo-kwang was married to the Heih-how of Jo-hoo.

In the time of the Emperor Chaou-te (B.C. 86-74), the Princess forwarded a despatch to Court, saying that the Heung-noo had sent cavalry, who were encamped in the Keu-sze country. The two nations were banded together to invade Woo-sun; and the time was propitious for China to interfere for the deliverance of the latter. While the Chinese in reply to this appeal were training troops and horses, having determined to make an attack on the Heung-noo, the arrangements were arrested by the death of the Emperor.

On the accession of Seuen-te (B.C. 73), the Princess and Kwän-me sent an envoy with a despatch to the following effect:—"The Heung-noo have sent a continuous incursion of troops for the invasion of Woo-sun, and have taken the country of Keu-yen-go-sze, where they have carried off the inhabitants. They have also sent an envoy, desiring Woo-sun without delay to deliver up the Chinese Princess, and cut off all intercourse with the Han. Now the Kwän-me is ready to send the half of his subjects, being the choicest troops in the country, and will himself furnish 50,000 horsemen, straining every nerve in an attack on the Heung-noo. Will the Emperor send an army

to save the Princess and the Kwăn-me?" Upon this China raised a great levy of 150,000 cavalry, under five generals, who started simultaneously on an expedition by five different roads; the details regarding which are given in the "History of the Heung-noo."¹

The Deputy Protector Chang Hwuy was sent with a token of credence to cover the Woo-sun troops. The Kwăn-me took command in person of the Heih-hows and subordinate officials, with a corps of 50,000 cavalry. Advancing from the west, he came upon the Court of the Right Luh-le prince, where he captured the paternal relatives of the Shen-yu, the sister-in-law and her companions, famous princes, Le-han, Protector General, colonels, cavalry generals and subordinates, in all 40,000 prisoners, and over 700,000 horses, oxen, sheep, mules, and sumpter camels. The Woo-sun party returned with their captives and booty; and Chang Hwuy was promoted to be Marquis of Chang-lo. These events took place in the year B.C. 71.

Chang Hwuy was sent with presents of gold and silks to those of the Woo-sun nobles and others, who had distinguished themselves by their military prowess.

In the year B.C. 64, the Kwăn-me of Woo-sun forwarded a letter to the throne through Chang Hwuy to the following effect:—"Desiring that the imperial grandson Yuen-kwei-me should continue the succession, it is my wish that by an alliance with an Imperial Princess, the bond of relationship should be strengthened afresh, and thus our connection with the Heung-noo be completely cut off. I wish to send a thousand horses and the same number of mules as a marriage present." This letter was handed over by the Emperor to the dukes and high ministers for deliberation. The Grand Director of Ceremonies, Seaou Wang-che, remarked that Woo-sun was in a region so extremely remote, that in case of rebellion it would be difficult to preserve it. He thought it inexpedient on this occasion to offer one of the Imperial ladies. The objection, however, was overruled by the Emperor, who extolled Woo-sun for the great military prestige it had established in the recent campaign. He also laid much stress on conforming to precedent.

An envoy was accordingly despatched to Woo-sun to receive the betrothal presents. The Kwăn-me, the heir apparent, the Right and Left Generalissimos, and the Protector General all sent envoys to China, a retinue of more than 300 persons, to receive the young lady. The Emperor selected Seang-foo, the

¹ See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. iii, No. 3, pp. 445-447.

daughter of the Woo-sun Princess, Keae-yew's younger brother, to be the Imperial Princess; and appointed officials, attendants, and coachmen, more than a hundred persons, who were all placed in the Academic Institute to learn the Woo-sun language. The festive gathering preparatory to departure was graced by the Imperial presence. The Heung-noo envoy and the princes of foreign states were present; while the chief actor superintended the valedictory music. The banqueting-house magnate Chang Hwuy, Marquis of Chang-lo, was sent as convoy. Four commissioners holding tokens of credence were appointed to accompany the young lady as far as Tun-hwang. Before they had crossed the boundary, the news reached them that Ung-kwei-me, the Kwān-me of Woo-sun, was dead (B.C. 60), and that the Woo-sun nobles, according to the original agreement, had unanimously appointed the Tsin-tsow's grandson Ne-me to be the new Kwān-me, with the style of the *Mad King*. On receipt of this news Chang Hwuy forwarded a despatch to Court, expressing a desire to leave the young lady at Tun-hwang for a time, while he rode forward to Woo-sun, to reproach them for not setting Yuen-kwei-me on the vacant throne; after which he would return to meet the young lady. The matter was referred to the council of dukes and high ministers. Seaou Wang-che again expressed his views, that Woo-sun was acting a double part, and that it was difficult to maintain a treaty with them. "It is now," he observed, "more than forty years since the first Imperial Princess went to Woo-sun; but the favours and blessings conferred have not been effectual in cementing the confidence of close relationship; nor have we secured peace on the border lands. These are matters of clear evidence. Now as Yuen-kwei-me has not been set on the throne, should the young lady return home, it will be no breach of faith towards the barbarians, and it will undoubtedly be for the welfare of China. Not only is the young lady a costly contribution to our state policy, but this is a turning point in our future prosperity." The Emperor accepted these suggestions, and recalled the young lady.

The Mad King again took to wife the Tsou Princess Keae-yew, by whom he had a son named Che-me; but he did not live on amicable terms with the lady. Being cruel and tyrannical, he also lost the attachment of the people. The Han sent the Equestrian Master of the Guard, Wei Ho-e, and the Assistant, Marquis Jin Ch'ang, to escort home the hostage Prince; when the Imperial Princess took occasion to inform the envoys that the Mad King was a perfect scourge to the people of Woo-sun, and that it would be easy to assassinate him. A plot was then concerted, in accordance with which an entertainment was given, at the close of

which one of the soldiers of the envoys drew his sword and struck at the tyrant. Missing aim, however, the sword glanced down his side, merely wounding the Mad King, who then took to horse and galloped off. His son Sze-ch'in-chow assembled the troops, and surrounded Wei Ho-e, Jin Ch'ang, and the Imperial Princess, in the city of Chih-kuh. There they were detained for several months; till Ch'ing Keih, the Governor General, raised troops from the allied states, came to their rescue, and carried them off. The Chinese sent the Inner Gentleman Usher and General Chang Tsun with medical appliances for the cure of the Mad King; carrying also a gift of twenty pounds weight of gold, and various coloured silks. Wei Ho-e and Jin Ch'ang were chained together, and conveyed to Chang-gan in the criminal van, where they were decapitated. The Chariot Cavalry General and Chief Historiographer Chang Ung remained to take evidence in the case of the Princess's complicity in the plot of the envoys to take the Mad King's life. The Princess refusing to submit or apologise, Chang Ung seized her by the head and reviled her. The Princess reported the matter in a letter to the Emperor; and on his return Chang Ung was condemned to death. The Assistant Envoy Ke Too voluntarily undertook the medical restoration of the Mad King; who appears to have been pleased with his treatment, and gave him an escort of a dozen horsemen on his departure. On Ke Too's return he was charged with knowing that the Mad King ought to be put to death, and having neglected to take advantage of the opportunity that offered. For this omission of duty he was cast into the silkworm-house.

Formerly, when the attack was made on the Mad King, Wootsew-t'oo, a son of the Lusty King Ung-kwei-me's Heung-noo wife, fled with the Heih-hows, and took up his residence among the mountains to the north.

There giving out the report that the Heung-noo troops of his mother's tribe were coming to his support, multitudes were induced to rally round his standard. After this, when he had gathered strength, he made a sudden incursion on the old country, killed the Mad King, and set himself up as Kwän-me. China then sent the Po-keang General Sin Woo-heen, in command of 15,000 troops, to Tun-hwang; and the Envoy Gan Hing-peaou was sent to construct a canal from the Marquis of Pe-te's well westward for the conveyance of grain to be deposited in granaries, in anticipation of the exigencies of a siege.

One of the Tsoo Princess' personal attendants from the first, the maiden Fung, who had gained a reputation as a historian, caligrapher, and manager of business, was entrusted with a token of credence from the Han, to conduct the bestowment of gifts,

on behalf of the Princess, among the settled kingdoms. She was honoured for her talents with the designation Lady Fung, and became the wife of the Right Generalissimo of Woo-sun. Now the Right Generalissimo happening to be on terms of intimacy with Woo-tsew-t'oo, the Governor General Ching Keih made use of the Lady Fung to convey an intimation to the usurper Woo-tsew-t'oo that a Chinese army was already on the march against him; and should matters come to an extremity, he would certainly be utterly exterminated; and it would be far better for him at once to tender his submission. Woo-tsew-t'oo, becoming alarmed, said:—"I merely wish to retain an inferior title." The Emperor Seuen-te sent orders to the Lady Fung to enquire into the matter personally; at the same time sending the interpreter Chuh Tsze, and the door attendant Kan Yen-show, as a convoy to escort her. The Lady Fung, now using a tapestried carriage, and holding a token of credence, summoned Woo-tsew-t'oo to appear before the Marquis of Chang-lo. Yuen-kwei-me was established as Great Kwän-me in the city of Chih-kuh, and Woo-tsew-t'oo was retained as the Little Kwän-me; on each of whom was conferred a ribbon and seal of investiture. The Po-keang General returned without crossing the boundary.

After this Woo-tsew-t'oo refused to bring back all the Heih-hows and people to their allegiance. China, in consequence, again sent Chang Hwuy, the Marquis of Chang-lo, with three battalions, to form a colony at Chih-kuh. There he effected a division of the people, and determined the boundaries (B.C. 53). More than 60,000 families were allotted to the Great Kwän-me, and over 40,000 to the Little Kwän-me. The hearts of the people, however, were all attached to the Little Kwän-me.

Only a short time elapsed after this, when Yuen-kwei-me and Ch'e-me had both been carried off by sickness. The Princess then forwarded a letter to Court, saying:—"I am now old, my mind is burdened with thoughts about my native land; it is my wish to return, that my bones may rest in China." The Emperor sympathised with her in her sorrows, and went to meet her on her return.

The Princess reached the metropolis, accompanied by three of her grandchildren, in B.C. 51. Being then 70 years old, the Emperor gave her a house and grounds, with a retinue of servants male and female, suitable to an Imperial Princess, and treated her with the greatest liberality. On her appearance at Court she was received with the decorum due to an Imperial Princess.

Two years later (B.C. 49) she died, and her three grandchildren remained to pay attention to her grave.

Yuen-kwei-me's son, Sing-me, who succeeded his father as Great Kwän-me, being of a feeble character, the Lady Fung ad-

dressed a letter to the Court, expressing a desire that a protecting force for Sing-me might be sent to Woo-sun. The Chinese, in reply, sent off a corps of a hundred troops as a present to Woo-sun. The Governor General Han-seuen memorialised with a recommendation that the Ta-le, Ta-luh, and Ta-keen of Woo-sun, should each be invested with the gold seal and purple ribbon, as a mark of honour to the assistants of the Great Kwān-me. The request was acceded to. The same Governor General again memorialised to the effect that Sing-me, being a weak and timid prince, he might be set aside, and replaced by his paternal uncle the Left Generalissimo Ta-lo. The Chinese, however, refused to comply with this suggestion.

At a later period, when Twan Hwuy-tsung was Governor General, he recalled the exiled rebels and pacified them. On the death of Sing-me he was succeeded by his son Tsze-le-me.

When the Little Kwān-me Woo-tsew-t'oo died, his son Foo-le ascended the throne, but was killed by his younger brother Jih-urh. China then despatched an envoy, who set up Foo-le's son Gan-jih as Little Kwān-me; when Jih-urh fled, and took up his abode in K'ang-keu. The Chinese removed the Ke battalion to form a colony in Koo-mih, waiting for an opportunity to punish the delinquent. Gan-jih sent the nobleman Koo-mo-neih and two other, who feigning themselves exiles joined Jih-urh, and thus succeeded in stabbing him to death. The Governor General Leen Paou bestowed on Koo-mo-neih and his two companions each twenty pounds weight of gold and three hundred pieces of silk stuff. Gan-jih himself was afterwards assassinated by some of his subjected people. China then set up his younger brother Mo-chin-tseang as his successor.

About this time the Great Kwān-me Tsze-le-me became powerful in his kingdom, and was greatly feared by the subject Heih-hows. He ordered the people to rear horses and cattle, to avoid the necessity of repairing to pastoral kingdoms for supplies; and peace prevailed, as in the time of Ung-kwei-me. The Little Kwān-me Mo-chin-tseang, fearing his kingdom might be annexed, sent a nobleman named Woo-jih-ling, who while affecting to tender his submission, took occasion to mortally stab Tsze-le-me. The Chinese wished to send an army to take vengeance for the deed, but failed in the attempt. The Inner Gentleman Usher and General Twan Hwuy-tsung, who was sent with gold and silks, after consultation with the Governor General, set up E-chih-me, the uncle of Tsze-le-me and grandson of the Imperial Princess, as Great Kwān-me. The Chinese had never received a hostage-son of the Little Kwān-me at the capital. After a considerable interval of comparative tranquillity, Nan-se, a Heih-how of the Great Kāwn-me, assassinated Mo-chin-tseang;

who was then succeeded by Gan-le-me, a son of his elder brother Gan-jih, as Little Kwān-me.

Annoyed that they had not themselves been instrumental in inflicting chastisement on Mo-chin-tseang, the Chinese again despatched Twan Hwuy-tsung in B.C. 11, who decapitated Fan-keu, the eldest son of the latter. On his return he received the title of Marquis of Kwan-nuy. Twan Hwuy-tsung, while careful not to involve the Chinese as having approved the act of the Heih-how Nan-se in killing Mo-chin-tseang, yet memorialised regarding his merit in punishing the rebels; for which Nan-se was made Keen-show Protector General. At the same time he reproached the Ta-luh, the Ta-le, and the Ta-keen for their conduct on the occasion of Tsze-le-me's assassination; on which account their gold seals and purple ribbons were taken away, and replaced by copper seals with black ribbons.

Pe-yuen-che, the younger brother of Mo-chin-tseang, who had taken part in the plot to assassinate the Great Kwān-me, now went northward at the head of over 80,000 followers; and attaching himself to K'ang-keu, formed the design of bringing the two Kwān-mes into subjection by force of arms. Full of apprehension, these two potentates placed themselves under the protection of the Governor General.

In B.C. 1, the Great Kwān-me E-shih-me attended the Court audience in person, together with the Shen-yu; on which occasion the Chinese made a great display.

In the period *Yuen-che* (A.D. 1-5), Pe-yuen-che killed Woo-jih-ling, to advance his own interest with China, for which he was made Marquis of Kwei-e.

The two Kwān-mes now both being weak, were invaded by Pe-yuen-che; and he in turn was killed by the Governor General Sun-keen.

From the time that Woo-sun was placed under the divided rule of two Kwān-mes, it had been a cause of great anxiety and trouble to China, and the land had never enjoyed a year of tranquillity.

*Koo-mih.*¹

The capital of the kingdom of Koo-mih is the Southern city, distant from Chang-gan 8,150 *le*. The kingdom contains 3,500 families, comprising a population of 24,500. Its army numbers 4,500. There are a Marquis of Koo-mih, a National Assistant Marquis, a Protector General, a Right General, a Left General, a Right Knight, a Left Knight, and two Interpreters-in-chief. The

¹ This kingdom was on the north bank of the River Tarim, from the confluence of the Kashgar and Yarkand rivers eastward.

seat of the Governor General lies 2,021 *le* to the east. Khoten lies to the south, at a distance of fifteen days journey on horseback. The country joins Woo-sun on the north, and produces copper, iron, and orpiment. There is free communication with the kingdom of Kwei-tsze (Kuchay), which lies 670 *le* to the east.

In the time of Wang Mang (A.D. 9-22), the King of Koo-mih killed the King of Wan-suh, and annexed his kingdom.

Wan-suh (Aksu).¹

The capital of the kingdom of Wan-suh is the city of Wan-suh, distant from Chang-gan 8,350 *le*. The kingdom contains 2,200 families, comprising a population of 8,400. Their army amounts to 1,500. They have a National Assistant Marquis, a Left General, a Right General, a Left Protector General, a Right Protector General, a Left Knight, a Right Knight, and two Interpreters-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies 2,380 *le* to the east. Yu-t'ow (Uch) lies 300 *le* to the west. The city of Chih-kuh, in Woo-sun, lies 610 *le* to the north. The country and its productions are similar in character to those of Shen-shen and the neighbouring kingdoms. Koo-mih lies 270 *le* to the east, with free communication.

Kwei-tsze (Kuchay).²

The capital of the kingdom of Kwei-tsze is the city of Yen, distant from Chang-gan 7,480 *le*. The kingdom contains 6,970 families, comprising a population of 81,317 persons. The army numbers 21,076. There are a Grand Protector General, a Sub-National Assistant Marquis, a Kingdom Pacifying Marquis, a Hoo-chastising Marquis, a Hoo-interjacent Protector General, a Keu-sze Chastising Protector General, a Left General, a Right General, a Left Protector General, a Right Protector General, a Left Knight, a Right Knight, a Left Strong Assistant, a Right Strong Assistant, two Colonels of the East, two Colonels of the West, two Colonels of the South, two Colonels of the North, three Hoo-interjacent Princes, and four Interpreters-in-chief. The country joins Tsing-tseue on the south, Tseay-muh on the south-east, Yu-me on the south-west, Woo-sun on the north, and Koo-mih on the west. The inhabitants are dextrous at founding and

¹ This country lay on the north bank of the Kashgar river, about the site of modern Aksu, as stated in the "Se yih t'ung wän che."

² There is no doubt about the identity of this place, of which the name is not altogether obliterated in the modern pronunciation. The great Russian map places the city in about 83° E. long. (Greenwich), 41° 33' N. lat. It is at present garrisoned by the Chinese and is considered the key of Turkestan.

casting;¹ and the country produces lead.² The city of Woo-luy, the seat of the Governor General, lies 350 *le* to the east.

*Woo-luy.*³

Woo-luy contains 110 families, comprising 1,200 persons. It has 300 trained troops, a City Protector General, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The city is the seat of the Governor General. Keu-le lies 330 *le* to the south.

*Keu-le.*⁴

Keu-le has a City Protector General. The state contains 130 families, comprising 1,480 persons. There are 150 troops. The country joins Yu-le on the north-east, Tseay-muh on the south-east, and Tsing-tseue on the south. It is bounded on the west by a river, which leads to Kwei-tsze (Kuchay) at a distance of 580 *le*.

When a road to the Western regions was first opened up, in the reign of Woo-te, a Deputy Protector was appointed, and a military colony planted in Keu-le. There were then incessant military complications, the troops were on the move for thirty-two years, and there was a general scarcity of provisions.

In the year B.C. 90, the Urh-sze General Le Kwang-le being in command of the troops, effected the submission of the Heung-noo.⁵

The Emperor being now weary of his distant military enterprises, the Show-suh Protector General Sang Hung-yang with the Prime Ministers and Censors, laid a memorial before the throne, to the following effect:—

¹ A modern Chinese account translated by Father L'Amiot says:—"1,060 lbs. of copper are brought [yearly] to Kouchay to be coined."—"(*Chinese Repository*," vol. ix, p. 123.)

² The Buddhist traveller Heuen-chwang, who passed this way in the seventh century, says:—"On y trouve des mines d'or, de cuivre, de fer, de plomb et d'étain."—"(*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*," tome i, pp. 3, 4.)

L'Amiot's translation mentions saltpetre, sulphur, and copper among the productions, but no lead.

³ The native polyglot geographical dictionary, published by imperial authority last century, gives Tsetar as the name of a town now occupying the site of this ancient settlement (see "Se yih t'ung wan-che," book ii, fol. 15). On the great Russian map of Central Asia there is a town marked "Czatyr" (N. lat. 41° 50', E. long. 85° 13'), on the high road between Kharashar and Kuchay, about 90 miles from the former, and 100 from the latter. This appears to answer tolerably well to the various data of the Chinese text.

⁴ This small state must have been somewhere in the vicinity of the lake Baba kul; but the site cannot be accurately identified. The great Imperial Geography places it on the north bank of the River Tarim.

⁵ See the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. iii, No. 3, pp. 438-440.

"From ancient Lun-t'ae (*Yugur*)¹ eastward, Tsiëh-che and Keu-le are both ancient states. The land is broad and fertile, and water and herbage are everywhere plentiful. There are about 800 acres of arable land. The climate is genial; the soil is excellent, and might be improved by drains and watercourses. The different kinds of grain grow there, and ripen about the same time as in China. Awls and knives are scarce in the neighbouring countries, and the people set a high value on gold and silk fabrics of various colours. These we might give in exchange for their grain; and thus secure a sufficiency of food to save us from want. Your servants in their ignorance beg to suggest, that military colonies might be placed at ancient Lun-t'ae and eastward, and three Deputy Protectors be appointed, to divide the defence of the country between them. Then each taking a plan of his own territory, a system of drains and watercourses might be carried out. More grain might then be sown in the season. It would thus be convenient to send Provisional Cavalry leaders from Chang-yay and Tsew-tseuen, to watch over the affairs of the Deputy Protectors. The appointment of horsemen would facilitate the transmission of reports of the annual produce of the cultivated land.

"Our dependent people would become robust and vigorous, thus strengthening our position, while those who ventured to remove their habitations would tend towards the cultivated fields; and following their original vocation of rearing cattle, they would also clear the irrigated land. It would be expedient gradually to erect guard-stations at intervals from the Great Wall westward, to keep the Western kingdoms in awe. Let Woo-sun be encouraged as a vassal to transmit the regular tribute. Let ministers of business make a lucid division of the several tribes; and proceeding to the borders, give strict injunctions to the Governors and Protectors General to be very clear in regard to lighting the beacon fires. Let troops and horses be selected, to keep a careful watch, and let provender be stored up for use. Desirous that Your Imperial Majesty would send envoys to the Western regions, to set their minds at rest, your servants in their blindness have laid themselves open to capital punishment, by presenting this their request." On receiving this, the Emperor issued a rescript, containing a doleful lamentation on past proceedings, in the following terms:—

"Formerly the authorities memorialised to have the taxes of the

¹ This identification is given on the authority of the "*Se yih t'ung wän che*," book ii, fol. 16, which says, "the modern town of Yugur represents Lun-t'ae of the Han." On the Russian map we find a place marked "*Jusur*," on the high road between Kuchay and Czaty, about 60 miles from the former and 40 from the latter, which answers well to the position indicated in the text. The town is also called Poo-koo-urh.

people increased 30 per cent., in order to provide for the border expenses : which proved a heavy burden on the aged and feeble, the orphans and childless. Now, again, a request is presented for troops to be sent to cultivate Lun-t'ae. This territory lies more than 1,000 *le* west of Keu-sze. Formerly when the Marquis of Keae-ling attacked the Keu-sze, the young princes of six kingdoms, including Wei-sew (Chagan-tungi), Yu-le (Kalga-aman), and Low-lan, who were residing at the imperial metropolis, all returned to their homes in advance, and sent animals to meet and provision the Chinese army ; while the kings in person, at the head of several tens of thousands of troops, combined to surround the Keu-sze. On the submission of the king of the latter, it was judged expedient to suspend military operations by these several kingdoms ; and they were unable again to offer provisions to the Chinese army on the road. When the Chinese troops capture a city, the consumption of provisions is very great ; and what the men carry with them is totally inadequate to meet the wants. Eventually the more robust of the troops consume all the animals, while several thousand of the feeble die on the roads. I have sent mules and camels carrying food from Tsew-tseen, by the Jade gate, which have met the men and officers of the army at no great distance beyond Chang-yay ; but still there was a very large number of the retainers left behind. Formerly when I did not understand these matters, Keun How-hung forwarded a despatch saying, ' The Heung-noo tied their horses by the fore and hind legs, and placing them under the city wall, sent a message to the men of Ts'in, saying,—“ We beg these horses.” ’

“ Again, when an envoy from the Han was for a long time detained by them, and did not return, an army was sent under the command of the Urh-sze general to vindicate the dignity and importance of the envoy. Anciently, when the high ministers and great statesmen held a consultation, if on examining the tortoise the prognostic was infelicitous, they desisted from action. Now taking the despatch on the bound horses, I looked round on the prime ministers, censors, two thousand stone stipendiary great statesmen, the secretaries of literary pretension, even to the Protectors General of the regions and dependent states, Ching Chung, Chaou Po-noo and others ; who all considered that captives binding their own horses was extremely infelicitous. Some said, when put to the test, what is insufficient for the powerful may be excessive for others. The augury by the ‘ Book of Changes ’ gave the *Ta kwo* (‘ greatness in excess ’) diagram, the stroke being the fifth-nine.¹ When the Heung-noo

¹ Wan-wang's text for this line is :—“ Fifth-nine is a decayed willow-tree producing blossoms ; an old woman obtaining a young husband, neither blame

suffered a grievous defeat, the summoning officers, provosts of regions, historiographers, astronomers, and meteorologists were consulted; and the grand augur with the tortoise and divining plant all indicated a felicitous response. The Heung-noo must be reduced, and no further prognostic could be obtained." The rescript also said:—"If we undertake a northern invasion, we shall certainly be victorious at the Foo mountains. The lot being cast for a general, that for the Urh-sze was most felicitous. I therefore personally commissioned the Urh-sze general to proceed to the Foo mountains, with the command that he should certainly not proceed farther. Now to deliberate on the prognostics of the diagrams is altogether misleading. The words of the spies who were taken prisoners by the marquis are eminently confirmatory of this, where they say,—The Heung-noo, on hearing that the Chinese army was advancing, sent wizards to bury sheep and oxen on all the roads and watercourses by which they might come, in order to bring a curse on the forces.' When the Shen-yu presents horses or cloaks to the emperor, he causes the wizards to bless them. Binding the horses implies a curse on the army. Again the lot was cast for another general for the Chinese army; but the prognostic was infelicitous. The Heung-noo are accustomed to say,—'China is an exceeding great country, and cannot be destroyed by hunger and thirst.' But one wolf can put to flight a thousand sheep; and the numbers who were slain, taken captive, and dispersed on occasion of the Urh-sze general's defeat have been a perpetual load of grief on my heart. Now the request is made to form a camp at Lun-t'ae; whence it is proposed to erect a line of guard stations. That, indeed, would embarrass the empire, and is not the way to tranquillise the people. Now I cannot bear to listen to the talk of the banqueting-house magnates. Again, they are proposing to send prisoners to escort the Heung-noo envoy back. This illustrates conferring a marquisate to allay irritation; five earls having been unsuccessful. Moreover, when any of the Chinese submit to the Heung-noo, they are always taken aside and submitted to a searching examination; by which means the Heung-noo have become informed regarding the defenceless state of the present uncared for and dilapidated border fortifications. The chief officials of the look-out towers send the guards to hunt wild animals, for the sake of their skins and flesh. The men are in a miserable condition; the beacon fires are unattended to, and it would be impossible to assemble the forces. Subsequently,

nor praise result." Chow Kung says:—"If a decayed willow tree produces blossoms, how can this last long? That an old woman should marry a young man is detestable." (A Translation of the Confucian "Classic of Change," by the Rev. Canon McClatchie, M.A., p. 136.)

should those who have submitted to the Heung-noo bring an aggressive force, when we take some captives we shall ascertain the truth. We ought now to apply ourselves to prevent oppressive annoyances, and put a stop to arbitrary imposts. Let agriculturists sedulously pursue their avocations. Let horses be provided, and fresh orders issued to repair the breaches, and make good all deficiencies in the military defences. Let every chief of a state or region of two-thousand-stone-revenue send in trained horses, and plans for restoring the border erections, with estimates of the expense." After this the troops were not called forth. The prime minister Keu Tsëen-ts'ew was made Foo-min marquis, which shows the consideration given to the enrichment and culture of the people in the time of peace.

Previously, when the Urh-sze general Le Kwang-le went to attack Fergana, he passed through Yu-me on his return, and finding that Yu-me had sent the heir apparent Lae-tan as a hostage to Kwei-tsze, he reproachfully addressed Kwei-tsze, saying:—"All the outside nations are under vassalage to China; how does it happen that Kwei-tsze has received a hostage from Yu-me?" He then took Lae-tan with him to the metropolis.

Adopting the suggestion formerly made by Sang Hung-yang, the Emperor Chaou-te (B.C. 86-74) appointed the Yu-me heir-apparent Lae-tan Deputy Protector and General, with a commission to colonise Lun-t'ae. The territory of Lun-t'ae is conterminous with that of Keu-le. The event was inauspicious for the new general; for Koo-yih, one of the Kwei-tsze nobles drew the attention of the king, saying, "Lae-tan, who was originally our vassal, has now come with the seal and ribbon of investiture from China, to harass our nation by establishing a colony, which will certainly be detrimental to our interests." The result of this representation was, that the king found means to put Lae-tan to death; and then forwarded a despatch to China, acknowledging his transgression. The Chinese, however, did not find it convenient to resent the deed at that time.

In the time of Seuen-te (B.C. 73-49), however, when Chang Hwuy the Marquis of Chang-lo, was sent on a mission to Woo-sun, on his return he availed himself of the occasion to raise troops from the various kingdoms to the number of 50,000 men, with which army he attacked Kwei-tsze. On reproaching the king for his former atrocity, in putting Lae-tan to death, the king humbly addressed the invader, saying:—"The offence was committed at the instigation of Koo-yeh a noble of our kingdom, during the reign of my predecessor. I am guiltless in the matter," So saying, he handed over Koo-yih to Chang Hwuy, by whom he was forthwith decapitated.

About the same time, a daughter of the Imperial Princess of

Woo-sun, who had been sent to China to learn to play the *kin*,¹ was sent back by the Chinese, under the escort of a vice-president with music, to accompany the young lady past Kwei-tsze. The king of Kwei-tsze had already sent a messenger to Woo-sun to ask the hand of the princess' daughter; and before the messenger had returned, the young lady had reached Kwei-tsze. The king of Kwei-tsze thereupon detained her; and instead of forwarding her on the way, sent another envoy to report the matter to the princess. The princess acceded to the king's desire.

After this the princess forwarded a despatch, requesting that her daughter might be received at court as a member of the imperial house. Keang-pin, the king of Kwei-tsze, who was tenderly attached to his wife, also forwarded a despatch, saying, that as he had married a grand-daughter of the house of Han, and was consequently united by a fraternal bond, he wished to come to court with the daughter of the imperial princess.

The above request in both cases seems to have been granted; for in the year B.C. 65, the king and his consort came to court. The emperor received them graciously, conferring on each a seal and ribbon. The lady was gazetted as an imperial princess, and received presents of carriages, riding horses, flags, drums, singers, and pipers, several tens of persons in all; also fret and embroidered work, silks of various colours, gems and rarities, to the value of several tens of millions of taels. They remained a year, and were then sent away with costly presents.

After this they came several times to court, and were most graciously received, adopting the Chinese dress and manners. On their return home the king built a palace, with a wall and road surrounding the royal precincts. On going out and entering, the word was passed, and a big drum was beat, according to the Chinese palace customs. With these innovations, the Hoo of these countries were accustomed to say:—"An ass is no ass, and a horse is no horse; but what the king of Kwei-tsze calls a mule." When Keang-pin died, his son Ching-tih designated himself a grandson of the house of Han.

During the reigns of Ching-te and Gae-te (B.C. 32-1) there was a more frequent intercourse with China, and the Kwei-tsze king was received on more intimate terms.

Eastward from Keu-le, the road leads to Yu-le (Kalga-aman), at a distance of 650 *le*.

The *kin* is an ancient and highly esteemed instrument of music of the lute kind. It is made of a choice wood, nearly 4 feet long, about 7 or 8 inches wide at one end and tapering to an inch or so narrower at the other. The upper surface is slightly convex, and it has seven strings. It lies flat on a table when played.

Yu-le (Kalga-aman).¹

The capital of the kingdom of Yu-le is the city of Yu-le, distant from Chang-gan 6,750 *le*. The kingdom contains 1,200 families, comprising a population of 9,600 persons. There is an army of 2,000 troops, a Yu-le marquis, a Gan-she Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Right Protector general, a Left Protector general, a Hoo-chastising prince, and two Interpreters-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies 300 *le* to the west. The country joins Shen-shen and Tseay-muh on the south.

Wei-seu (Chagan-tungi).²

The capital of the kingdom of Wei-seu is the city of Wei-seu, distant from Chang-gan 7,290 *le*. The kingdom contains 700 families, comprising a population of 4,900. There are 2,000 troops, a Hoo-chastising Marquis, a Hoo-chastising Protector General, a Right general, a Left general, a Right Protector General, a Left Protector General, a Right knight, a Left knight, a Hoo-chastising prince, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor-General lies 500 *le* to the west. Yen-ke is distant 100 *le*.

Yen-ke (Kharashar).³

The capital of the kingdom of Yen-ke is the city of Yuen-keu, distant from Chang-gan 7,300 *le*. The kingdom contains 4,000 families, comprising a population of 32,100 persons. The army numbers 6,000; and there are a Hoo-chastising Marquis, a Hoo-interjacent Marquis, a National Assistant Marquis, a Right General, a Left General, a Right Protector General, a Left Protector General, a Right Hoo-chastising prince, a Left Hoo-chastising prince, a Keu-sze chastising prince, a Keu-sze

¹ In the "Se yīh t'ung wān che" (book ii, fol. 14), Yu-le of the Han is identified with the modern Kalga-aman. This town we find on the Russian map on the north bank of the Chajdu gol, in about N. lat. 41° 50', E. long. 86° 30', Greenwich; which agrees very well with the notes of position in the Chinese text.

² In the "Se yīh t'ung wān che" (book ii, fol. 12), the ancient Wei-seu is identified with the modern Chagan-tungi; a town given on the Russian map on the west bank of the river Taszkaj, north-east from Kharashar, and in about N. lat. 42° 25', E. long. 87° 36' (Greenwich). The site agrees tolerably well with the Chinese numbers.

³ Yen-ke is admitted by every authority to be represented by Kharashar of the present day, the principal garrison town in the southern circuit of Ili, in N. lat. 42° 15', E. long. 87° 05'. Heuen-chwang, the Buddhist pilgrim, passed through the place in the seventh century, and described it under the name O-ke-ne.

reforming prince, two Hoo-chastising Protectors General, two Hoo chastising princes, and three Interpreters-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the south-west at a distance of 400 *le*. Yu-le lies 100 *le* south. The country joins Woo-sun on the north. There is a lake in the vicinity,¹ the waters of which contain abundance of fish.²

Woo-tan-tsze-le (Teneger).³

The capital of the kingdom of Woo-t'an-tsze-le is in the Yu-loo valley, distant from Chang-gan 10,330 *le*. The state contains 41 families, comprising a population of 231 persons. It has 57 soldiers. There are a National Assistant Marquis, a Right Protector general, and a Left Protector general. The country joins Tan-hwan (Sain-tara) on the east, Tseay-me on the south, and Woo-sun on the west.

Pe-luh (Sengnima).⁴

The seat of government of the kingdom of Pe-luh is in the state⁵ of Keen-tang to the east of the Teen-shan range, distant from Chang-gan 8,680 *le*. The kingdom contains 227 families, comprising a population of 1,387 persons. The army numbers 422; and there are a National Assistant Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Right Protector general, a Left Protector general, a Right interpreter-in-chief, and a Left interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies 1,287 *le* to the south-west.

Ulterior Pe-luh.⁶

The capital of the kingdom of Ulterior Pe-luh is in the valley of Pan-keu-luy, distant from Chang-gan 8,710 *le*. The kingdom contains 462 families, comprising a population of 1,137 persons. The army numbers 350 persons. There are a National Assistant

¹ The Bostang Lake.

² The modern Chinese account of Kharashar, translated by Father Amiot, says:—"They dig canals which serve to water the lands, and take a great quantity of fish."—"Chinese Repository," vol. ix, p. 123.)

³ The "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book i, fol. 6) identifies Woo-t'an-tsze-le of the Han with Teneger of the present day, a place in the circuit of Urumtsi, and probably not far from that city; but it does not appear to be marked on the map.

⁴ In the "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book ii, fol. 10) Sengnima is said to be on the site of Pe-luh of the Han. This place belongs to the district of P'ichan, lying between Turfan and Hami; but it is not given on any European map.

⁵ The text has *kwö*, or "kingdom," which is, perhaps, a clerical error for *küh*, or "valley."

⁶ This is obviously at no great distance from Pe-luh before mentioned, but no authority within reach gives any information as to its modern name or site.

Marquis, a Protector general, an Interpreter-in-chief, and two generals. The country joins Yeu-leih-sze on the east, the Heung-noo on the north, the kingdom of K'ee (Bulalik) on the west, and Keu-sze on the south.

Yeu-leih-sze.

The capital of the kingdom of Yeu-leih-sze is in the Nuy-tuh valley, distant from Chang-gan 8,830 *le*. The kingdom contains 190 families, comprising a population of 1,445 persons. There are 331 troops; also a National Assistant Marquis, a Right Protector general, a Left Protector general, and an interpreter-in-chief. The country joins the territory of the city chief of Ulterior Keu-sze on the east, Pe-luh on the west, and the Heung-noo on the north.

*Tan-hwan (Sain-tara).*¹

The capital of the kingdom of Tan-hwan is the city of Tan-hwan, distant from Chang-gan 8,870 *le*. The kingdom contains 27 families, comprising a population of 194 persons. It has 45 soldiers; also a National Assistant Marquis, a General, a Right Protector general, a Left Protector-general, and an interpreter-in-chief.

*Poo-luy (Urumtsi).*²

The capital of the kingdom of Poo-luy is in the Soo-yu valley on the west of the Teen-shan range, distant from Chang-gan 8,360 *le*. The kingdom contains 325 families, comprising a population of 2,032 persons. The army numbers 799. There are a National Assistant Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Right Protector general, and a Left Protector general. The seat of the Governor General lies 1,387 *le* to the south-west.

*Ulterior Poo-luy (Tchanggi).*³

The capital of Ulterior Poo-luy is distant from Chang-gan 8,630 *le*. The kingdom contains 100 families, comprising a

¹ Tan-hwan of the Han is identified by the "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book i, fol. 7), with the present Sain-tara in the government of Urumtsi. The country was occupied by the Juan-juan tribe in the fifth century. During the Suy and T'ang dynasties it was held by the Eastern Turks, and subsequently, during the Ming, by the Eleuth Tartars. We are told it lay east of Teneger.

² This identification is given in the "Si yih t'ung wän che" (book i, fol. 6), and as Urumtsi is given on the Russian map about N. lat. 43° 20', E. long. 88° 10' Greenwich, this gives a clue to the position of several other countries mentioned in this region.

³ The "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book i, fol. 10) gives both *Tchanggi* and *Loklon* as occupying the site of Ulterior Poo-luy of the Han. These places do

population of 1,070 persons. The army numbers 334; and there are a National Assistant Marquis, a General, a Right Protector general, a Left Protector general, and an interpreter-in-chief.

Western Tseay-me.

The capital of the kingdom of Western Tseay-me is in the valley of Yu-ta on the east side of the T'een range 8,670 *le*. The kingdom contains 332 families, comprising 1,926 persons. The army numbers 738. There are a Western Tseay-me Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Right knight, and a Left knight. The seat of the Governor General lies to the south-west 1,487 *le*.

Eastern Tseay-me.

The capital of the kingdom of Eastern Tseay-me is in Tuy-heu valley, on the eastern side of the T'een-shan range, distant from Chang-gan 8,250 *le*. The kingdom contains 191 families, comprising a population of 1,948 persons. The army numbers 572. There are an Eastern Tseay-me Marquis, a Right Protector general, and a Left Protector general. The seat of the Governor General lies south-west at a distance of 1,587 *le*.

K'ëě (Bulalik).¹

The capital of the kingdom of K'ëě is in the Tan-keu valley on the eastern side of the T'een-shan range, distant from Chang-gan 8,570 *le*. The kingdom contains 99 families, comprising a population of 500 persons. There are 115 troops; also a National Assistant Marquis, a Protector general, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the south-west at a distance of 1,487 *le*.

Hoó-hoó (P'ichan).²

The capital of the kingdom of Hoó-hoó is in the Keu-sze-lew

not appear to be marked on any European map; but in the "Hwang chaou chung wae yih tung yu t'oo," a native atlas published at Woo-chang in 1863, the city of Tchanggi is placed about 40 miles west by slightly north of Urumtsi, bearing also the Chinese name Ning-p'ên. The station of Loklon-fort is also given about ten miles south of the city of Tchanggi.

¹ This identification is given in the "Se yih t'ung wán che" (book ii, fol. 11) as the name of a place in the Government of P'ichan. The writer cannot find a place of this name on any map, native or foreign, but the distances seem to point somewhere north of Urumtsi.

² Hoó-hoó of the Han is stated in the "Se yih t'ung wán che" (book ii, fol. 5) to have been on the site of modern P'ichan, a small but important town

valley,¹ distant from Chang-gan 8,200 *le*. The kingdom contains 55 families, comprising a population of 264 persons. There are 45 troops; also a National Assistant Marquis, a Right Protector general, and a Left Protector general. The seat of the Governor General lies 1,147 *le* to the west. Yen-ke (Kharashar) is distant 770 *le*.

*Shan.*²

The capital of the kingdom of Shan is distant from Chang-gan 7,170 *le*. The kingdom contains 450 families, comprising a population of 5,000 persons. The army numbers 1,000. There are a National Assistant Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Right protector general, a Left protector general, and an interpreter-in-chief. Yu-le (Kalga-aman) lies 240 *le* to the west; Yen-ke (Kharashar) is 160 *le* north-west; and Wei-seu (Chagan-tungi) 260 *le* to the west. The country joins Shenshen and Tseay-muh on the south-east. The mountains produce iron; and the people, living among the mountains, depend on Yen-ke and Wei-seu for their grain and field produce.

*Anterior Keu-sze (Turfan).*³

The capital of the kingdom of Anterior Keu-sze is the city of Keaou-ho. The waters of the river there divide and flow round the city walls; hence the name Keaou-ho (confluent river). The city is distant from Chang-gan 8,150 *le*. The kingdom contains 700 families, comprising a population of 6,050 persons. The army numbers 1,865. There are a National Assistant Marquis, a National pacifying Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Protector general, a China reverting Protector general, a Keu-sze prince, an Arbitration prince, a Rural improvement prince, and two interpreters-in-chief. The

on the high road between Hami and Turfan. The Russian map places it in about N. lat. 42° 45'. E. long. 90° 20', Greenwich.

¹ *Lit.* "Willow Valley of the Keu-sze." From a passage in the itinerary of Wang Yen tih, an envoy from the Chinese to the Ouigour capital (Urumsit), in the tenth century we learn that passing through the government of Kiaou-ho (Turfan) "he traversed the Valley of Willows, made the passage of the Kinling Mountain, and reached the Ouigour capital." From this Julien concludes that the Kin-ling is that now known as the Tsikhe dabakhan (Julien's "Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique," p. 11). This is a fair guide to the position of the Hob-hoô territory.

² The distances given in the text point to some place a little way north of the Bostang Lake, and agree tolerably well with a spot marked Uzaklal on the Russian map.

³ Anterior Keu-sze of the Han is allowed by all authorities, both Chinese and foreign, to have occupied the site of the present Turfan. In the Russian map this city is placed about N. lat. 42° 55', E. long. 85°, Greenwich. The town of Khara-hocho lies about 15 miles to the east.

seat of the Governor General lies south-west, at a distance of 1,810 *le*. Yen-ke is distant 835 *le*.

Uterior Keu-sze (Murui).¹

The capital of the kingdom of Uterior Keu-sze is in the Foo-t'oo valley, distant from Chang-gan 8,950 *le*. The kingdom contains 595 families, comprising a population of 4,774 persons. The army numbers 1,890. There are a Hoo-chastising Marquis, a Right general, a Left general, a Right protector general, a Left protector general, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies south-west at a distance of 1,237 *le*.

Keu-sze Protectorate-general (Yatuku).²

The Keu-sze Protectorate-general contains 40 families, comprising a population of 333 persons. It has 84 trained soldiers.

Uterior Keu-sze Presidency (Liem-tsim).³

The Uterior Keu-sze Presidency contains 154 families, comprising a population of 560 persons. It has 260 troops.

In the year B.C. 99, the Heung-noo prince of Keae-ho, who having surrendered to China had been made Marquis of K'ae-ling, took command of the Low-lan troops and made an attack on Keu-sze; but the Heung-noo sent the Right sage prince to their relief, at the head of several tens of thousands of cavalry; when, the Chinese troops being unequal to the contest, withdrew.

In B.C. 89, Ma T'ung the Marquis of Chung-hō, was sent in command of forty thousand cavalry to attack the Heung-noo; and having to pass north of the Keu-sze on his way, the Marquis of K'ae-ling was again sent in command of a body of troops from Low-lan, Yu-le, Wei-seu, and three other kingdoms, who created a diversion by making a separate attack on Keu-sze, and covered the advance of the Marquis of Chung-hō. The

¹ The "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book i, fol. 8) gives Murui as occupying the site of Uterior Keu-sze of the Han. A place of this name is marked on the Russian map in about N. lat. 43° 48' E. long. 90° 35' Greenwich, on the northern slope of the Tien-shan mountains. The same authority also gives Beshiterek as occupying part of the territory of the Uterior Kew-sze, but this is not found on the map.

² Yatuku, in the Government of P'ichan, is given in the "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book ii, fol. 10) as now occupying this small territory, but as no distances are given in the text, and it does not appear to be marked on the maps, it is difficult to point out the exact spot.

³ The "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book ii, fol. 10) gives Liem-tsim in the government of P'ichan, as occupying the territory of the Uterior Keu-sze Presidency. As the name does not appear on any available map, the exact position is uncertain.

troops of the several kingdoms combined to surround Keu-sze, when the Keu-sze king surrendered, and became a vassal of the empire.

Towards the end of Chaou-te's reign, the Heung-noo again sent four thousand cavalry to form a colony in Keu-sze.

On the accession of the Emperor Seuen-te (B.C. 73), when five generals were sent in command of an army to attack the Heung-noo, those who had encamped in Keu-sze fled in alarm. The Keu-sze then renewed intercourse with China; at which the Heung-noo became irritated, and called upon them to send Keun-suh, the heir-apparent, as a hostage. Keun-suh, however, who was a grandson of the king of Yen-ke, was unwilling to go as a hostage to the Heung-noo, and fled to Yen-ke. The Keu-sze king then appointed his son Woo-kwei heir apparent.

When Woo-kwei ascended the throne he contracted a marriage with the Heung-noo family; and instructed them to cut off the passage of the Chinese to Woo-sun.

In B.C. 68, the Under Secretary Ching Keih and the Deputy Protector Sze-ma He led a company of pardoned criminals to form an encampment in Keu-le, and collect a store of grain, in anticipation of an attack on Keu-sze. In autumn, when the grain was gathered, Ching Keih and Sze-ma He raised upwards of ten thousand troops from the subject states; with which they united fifteen hundred of the troops in their own encampment, for a combined attack on Keu-sze. With this force they took the city of Keaou-ho by assault; but the king, being in a stone fortress on the north, did not come into contact with the troops. The provisions running short, Ching Keih and his party suspended operations, and returned to the camp at Keu-le.

Another harvest having been gathered in, the army was again called out to attack the king in the stone fortress; but when the latter heard that the Chinese army was advancing northward, he fled for assistance to the Heung-noo. The Heung-noo, however, refused to send troops on his account. When the king returned he took counsel with one of his nobles, named Soo-yew, on the desirability of surrendering to China; but he feared they would not trust him. Following Soo-yew's instruction, the king attacked the Heung-noo border kingdom of Little P'oo-luy, decapitated the chief, took captive the people, and with these as an offering, tendered his submission to Ching-Keih. The inhabitants of the little border kingdom of Kin-foo, who followed in the wake of the Chinese army, having committed acts of brigandage in Keu-sze, the king of Keu-sze, asking permission from the Chinese general, himself chastised the delinquent state. When the Heung-noo heard that Keu-

size had surrendered to China, they sent an army to attack Keu-sze; while Ch'ing Keih and Sze-ma He led their forces north to meet them. Under these circumstances the Heung-noo considered it prudent not to advance; and the two Chinese generals left a watch and a picket of twenty men for the king's safety. When Ch'ing Keih and his comrades led the troops back to Keu-le, the Keu-sze king, fearing the Heung-noo troops might return and put him to death, mounted a light horse and fled to Woo-sun. Ch'ing Keih went to receive the king's consort and family, and placed them on the east of Keu-le; at the same time memorialising the throne regarding the affair. On reaching Ts'ew-tseuen on his way home, he received an imperial rescript ordering him back to form encampments in Keu-le and Keu-sze, to increase the stores of grain preparatory to a pacification of the western kingdoms, and the invasion of the Heung-noo. On Ch'ing Keih's return to Keu-le, he forwarded the family of the Keu-sze king to Chang-gan. There they were presented with most costly gifts; and at every court audience given to the barbarians they were put prominently forward to show the imperial magnanimity.

About this time Ch'ing Keih sent an officer with 300 men to form a separate encampment in Keu-sze; when he was told by some of those that surrendered that the Shen-yu and his great ministers all said:—"The Keu-sze land is rich and fertile, and near to the Heung-noo territory. Should the Chinese take possession of it with their encampments, and collect stores of grain, it will certainly be detrimental to the interests of the neighbouring kingdoms. We must certainly contest the occupation." They accordingly sent cavalry to attack the camp. Ch'ing Keih then, in concert with the Deputy Protector, took all the 1,500 men from Keu-le to the new camp. When the Heung-noo again sent a larger body of cavalry, the Chinese being too few to defend the camp, took up their position in the Keu-sze city. The Heung-noo general then advancing to the city wall, thus addressed Ch'ing Keih:—"The Shen-yu is determined to contest the occupation of this land. You cannot maintain a camp here." After surrounding the city for several days, they raised the siege; after which several thousand horsemen were kept always on the patrol to preserve Keu-sze. Ch'ing Keih then addressed a despatch to the Emperor, saying:—"Keu-sze is distant from Keu-le more than a thousand *le*, and they are separated by rivers and mountains. Being contiguous to the Heung-noo on the north, the Chinese troops in Keu-le are altogether inadequate to save Keu-sze. An additional number of men is wanted for the camp." The ministers in council, in view of the road, and the trouble and expense, considered it expedient

to give up the Keu-sze camp. By imperial decree the Marquis of Chang-lo took command of the Chang-yih and Tsew-tseuen cavalry, with which he advanced more than 1,000 *le* beyond Keu-sze northward, making a great military display, on which the Hoo cavalry in the neighbourhood of Keu-sze made off; and Ch'ing Keih was then able to return with his troops to Keu-le. Three Deputy Protectors had formed colonies in Keu-sze when the king absconded to Woo-sun. The sovereign of Woo-sun detained him, refusing to send him back; but sent an envoy to China, with a despatch, desiring that the king of Keu-sze might be detained for the safety of the nation, and proposing that an expedition should be speedily sent by the western road to attack the Heung-noo. The Emperor fell in with the suggestion, and summoned the former heir-apparent of Keu-sze Keun-suh, then residing in Yen-ke, and set him on the throne. The people of Keu-sze were then all removed, and settled in Keu-le; while the old Keu-sze country was abandoned to the Heung-noo. The new Keu-sze king being now in close alliance with the officers of the Chinese colony, he broke off all communication with the Heung-noo, and rejoiced to be on terms of intimacy with China.

After these events the Chinese sent the Under Secretary Yin Kwang-tih to reprimand Woo-sun, and to ask the release of the king of Keu-sze. A noble general of Woo-sun then proceeded to the imperial metropolis, where a dwelling was appropriated for himself, his wife and family. This was in B.C. 62.

A military colony was subsequently established in the old Keu-sze country under the Woo-ke Deputy Protector.

During the period *Yuen-che* (A.D. 1–6), a new road was opened up from Ulterior Keu-sze, north of Woo-chuen, as far as the Jade gate barrier, thus shortening the communication. This road had been made by Sen Tsin-yuh, the Woo-ke Deputy Protector, to shorten the distance by a half, and evade the dangers of the white dragon mound. Koo-keu the king of Ulterior Keu-sze, however, believing that the road might prove a check to his movements, looked upon it as an inconvenience. His territory joined that of the Heung-noo general of the south; and Sen Tsin-yuh having clearly pointed out the line of demarcation, he afterwards forwarded a memorial on the subject. Koo-keu received orders to verify the limits, but he refused to ratify the arrangement. He attempted at different times, by bribes of sheep and oxen, to induce the imperial officers to allow him to go beyond the boundary, but was unsuccessful. Koo-keu being a member of the Yu-twan-säng-ho family, his wife Koo-tsze-tseu said to him:—"Yu-twan-säng-ho, there is an air of military action about this; it will be well to have the troops

in readiness. Formerly the king of Anterior Keu-sze was put to death by the Governor General's cavalry leader. Now you have been long under restraint, and must inevitably die. It were better to surrender to the Heung-noo." He then suddenly decamped, and entered the Heung-noo country by way of the Kaou-chang wall. Now the Keu-hoo-lae king T'ang-tow, who was settled near the great tribe of the Red-river Keang, having been unsuccessful in a series of mutual raids, informed the Governor General Tan Kin of his peril; but the latter failed to render him timely relief. Suffering under oppression, and wrath against Tan Kin, he went eastward to the Jade gate barrier. Not being admitted within the barrier, however, he fled and tendered his submission to the Heung-noo, taking with him his wife, children, and more than a thousand of his people. They were received by the Heung-noo, who sent an envoy to China, with a despatch containing a statement of the matter. Wang Mang, the Marquis of Sin-too, who held the reins of government at the time, sent the Inner Gentleman Usher General Wang Chang and others on a mission to the Heung-noo. They told the Shen-yu that as the Western regions belonged to the empire, he ought not to have received the fugitives. The Shen-yu acknowledged his error, and handed over the two kings to the envoy. Wang Mang sent the Inner Gentleman Usher Wang Ming to wait at the Go-too-noo border in the western regions to receive them. The Shen-yu sent an envoy to escort them back; and took occasion to request that their crime might be pardoned. The Chinese envoy forwarded the request, but Wang Mang would not consent. He issued a rescript to assemble the various kings of the Western regions, the military were drawn up in rank, and Koo-ken and T'ang-tow were decapitated in their presence.

In the year A.D. 10, Chin Fung, the Duke of Kwang-sin, was made Grand Earl, and when about to proceed to the Western regions, Seu-che-le, the king of Ulterior Keu-sze, hearing of it, took counsel with his Right General Koo-te and his left General She-ne-che, saying:—"It is reported that Duke Chin has been made Grand Earl of the Western regions, and is about to leave for his destination. According to custom, an envoy must be supplied with oxen, sheep, grain, provender for the animals, guides, and interpreters. Formerly when the Woo-wei general passed, we were unable to provide supplies for the envoys. Now again that the Grand Earl is coming on a tour, our country being still poorer, I fear we shall be unable to provide the necessaries. I think we must abscond, and join the Heung-noo." The Woo-ke Deputy Protector hearing what was in the wind, summoned Seu-che-le and questioned him; but the latter refus-

ing to submit, he was put in fetters and sent to Tan Kin, the Governor General at the city of Loo, where he conducted his administration. Seu-che-le's people knowing that he would never return, all escorted him on the journey weeping. On being handed over to Tan Kin he was decapitated. After this, Seu-che-le's brother Hoo-lan-che, the National Assistant Marquis, took command of over 2,000 of Seu-che-le's people, drove off the domestic animals, and the whole nation absconded and submitted to the Heung-noo. About this time the Shen-yu was exasperated against Wang Mang for having changed his signet; which made him the more willing to receive Hoo-lan-che's submission. The latter then joined the Shen-yu's troops in a raid upon Keu-sze, when the Ulterior President was killed, and the Governor General's cavalry leader wounded; while Hoo-lan-che returned with his company to the Heung-noo. About the same time, the Deputy Protector Teaou Hoo falling sick, he sent the historiographer Chin Leang to plant a colony in Hwan-tseay valley, to guard against the Heung-noo raids; the historiographer Tsung Tae to take charge of the commissariat; the Aide-de-camp Han Heuen to superintend the defences; and Jin Shang the Marquis of Yew-keuh to superintend the fortifications. All these consulting together, said:—"The various kingdoms of the Western regions are all bordering on revolt; and the Heung-noo are preparing for a grand invasion, when we shall all be put to death. It would be well for us to kill the Deputy Protector, take the people, and tender our submission to the Heung-noo." Thereupon, taking several thousands of cavalry, they proceeded to the official residence of the Deputy Protector, where they availed themselves of some outbuildings to collect a supply of fuel. They also posted the following notice at the various posts of defence:—"A hundred thousand Heung-noo cavalry are advancing upon us, Let officers and men all stand to their arms." Three or four hundred new men afterwards joined them, whom they placed at a few *le* distant from the residence of the Deputy Protector. Early in the morning bonfires were lit, when the Deputy Protector opened the gates, and beat the drums to collect the officers and troops. Chin Leang and his party followed in, killed the Deputy Protector Teaou Hoo and his four sons, together with his brothers and their sons. The wives, daughters, and little children were all that were left alive in the stronghold of the Woo-ke Deputy Protector. They then sent men to the Heung-noo General of the south to carry the tidings of what had taken place. The general, taking with him 2,000 cavalry, went to meet Chin Leang's party. Chin Leang and his confederates carried off more than 2,000 of the Woo-ke Deputy Protector's officials and people, male and

female, to the Heung-noo country. The Shen-yu made both Chin Leang and Tsung Tae, Woo-fun-Protectors General.

Three years after this (A.D. 13) the Shen-yu died; when his younger brother Heen was set up as Woo-luy Shen-yu.

A treaty of peace and friendship was again effected with Wang Mang (A.D. 14); when the latter sent an envoy with presents of gold and silks as an inducement to the Shen-yu to give up Chin Leang, Tsung Tae, and the others. The Shen-yu took the four leaders, together with Che Yin, the man who had killed Teaou Hoo with his own hand, their wives, children, and subordinates, twenty-seven persons in all, who were put in fetters, placed in carts, and handed over to the envoy, who took them to Chang-gan. There Wang Mang had them all burnt to death.

After this, Wang Mang again played false with the Shen-yu (A.D. 16), and the treaty of friendship was utterly abandoned. The Heung-noo then made a grand attack on the northern border; while the Western regions were broken up and scattered like loose tiles. The kingdom of Yen-ke (Kharashar) being contiguous to the Heung-noo, first revolted, and killed Tan Kin, the Governor General; but Wang Mang felt himself powerless to chastise the offenders. In the latter part of the same year, Wang Tseun, the Woo-wei general, and Le Tsung, the Governor General of the Western regions, made an expedition to the Western regions in connection with the matter of the Woo-ke Deputy Protector. They were met at the borders of the several kingdoms, escorted with troops, and supplied with grain. Yen-ke falsely made a show of submission; while at the same time assembling troops for their own defence. Wang Tseun's party having more than 7,000 Sha-ken (Yarkand) and Kweit-sze (Kuchay) troops, divided them into several brigades, and entered Yen-ke. The latter country had troops in ambuscade with the purpose of intercepting Wang Tseun. The troops of Koo-mih, Yu-le, and Wei-seu, being all in a state of rebellion, concentrated towards Yen-ke, and made a combined attack on Ma Tseun and his party, who were all killed. When this had taken place, Koh Kin, the Woo-ke Deputy Protector, who had command of a separate detachment, marched on Yen-ke; and while the troops of the latter were absent, attacked and put to death all the aged and feeble, and then withdrew with his force. For this service Wang Mang made Koh Kin Baron of San-hoo. Le Tsung returning with the remnant of his force, protected Kwei-tsze.

Some years later (A.D. 23) when Wang Mang was dead, Le Tsung's authority was annihilated, and the power of China in the Western regions was at a minimum.

In the fifty kingdoms under subjection to China, there were—from Interpreters-in-chief, Presidents, Princes, Superintendents, Magistrates, Ta-luhs, Centurions, Lieutenants, Protectors general, Tseay-keus, Tang-hoos, Generals, and Ministers, up to Marquises and Kings—in all 376 persons holding the seal and ribbon of investiture from China. K'ang-keu, Ta Yue-she, Gan-seih, Ke-pin, and Woo-yih, being all at an extreme distance, are not included in the number. When envoys came from these bearing tribute, they were cordially recompensed; but no oversight was exercised, nor were they under control.

PAN KOO'S REFLECTIONS ON THE PRECEDING NOTES.

IN the reign of the Emperor Woo-te, when plans were formed for arresting the Heung-noo disasters, these having formed a compact with the Southern Keang from the kingdoms in the West, four regions were established along the bend of the Yellow River, and the Jade gate was opened as a thoroughfare to the Western regions. The right arm of the Heung-noo was thus cut off, and a through separation effected between them and the Southern Keang and the Ta Yue-she nations. The Shen-yu being thus utterly baffled, removed his encampment to a great distance, and ceased to hold his court in the south. During the reigns of Wān-te and King-te, the people were nourished in a period of peaceful tranquillity. For five generations the empire was prosperous and wealthy; riches and strength were superabundant; while troops and horses were robust, and in good condition. Hence the people could attend to agriculture, and tortoise-shell being disseminated, Choo-yae and six other regions were added to the empire. Thanks to the Keu soy and bamboo staves, Tsang-ko and Yue-suy were annexed. The reports regarding the celestial horses and grapes led to the opening up of communication with Fergana and Parthia. From this time, carbuncles, tortoise-shell, white heart rhinoceros horn, plumagery and such rarities were found in profusion in the after palace; foreign palfreys, dragon-figured, fish-eyed, and blood-perspiring horses thronged the imperial gates; while a menagerie of great elephants, lions, savage dogs, and large birds fed in the park outside; and strange objects arrived from foreign lands in every direction. At the same time the imperial forest was enlarged, the Kwan-ming pool was excavated, the palace of a thousand gates and ten thousand doors was built, and the tower of communication between Heaven and the spiritual powers was erected. The cyclical screens were formed of fine silk, with rows of pearls and harmonising gems; and the Emperor, while occupying the place, wore the hatchet embroidered robe, and variegated lower garment, and

rested on a jade stand. Amid this luxuriance there were pools of wine and forests of flesh, for the entertainment of the barbarian guests arriving from all quarters. There were also the Pa and Yu acrobatic feats, and the *T'ang-keih* music of transmarine nations. Huge monsters roamed about, while the waters teemed with fish and dragons. The dramatist gave his entertainments to gratify the assembled multitudes. Presents were made, and visitors were escorted back for ten thousand *le*; till the expenses of such expeditions surpassed calculation. At length the revenue was found to be inadequate. The wine was then sold off; the sale of salt and iron was brought under regulation; and coins of white metal¹ were cast, to use for presents representing the skins and silks. The carriages and boats were let out on hire; the strength of the people and the domestic animals was bent with oppression; while their wealth was utterly exhausted. The result was years of dearth; added to which, highway robberies became so common that the public thoroughfares were impassable. The moral is this:—when a nation begins by a display of embroidered garments, and by the free use of the military, cuts itself off from the other regions and states, it ends by being itself conquered. Thus it happened that in the later years the territory of Lun-t'ae was abandoned, and the Emperor publicly proclaimed his distress. Truly this is a subject of remorse for the benevolent and the sage.

Among the dangers of the passage through the Western regions, are, near home the dragon mound; and more remote, the Tsungling mountains, the Fever Bank, the Head-ache Mountain, and the Hindu Kush Range. Speaking of the latter, the Prince of Hwaenan, Too Kin, and Yang Heung, all designate it as the boundary province between heaven and earth, the point of absolute separation between the interior and exterior. It is said in the “Shoo King:”—“The wild tribes of the West all coming to submit to Yu’s arrangements.”² Yu having come, they fell in with his arrangements. It was not that they were brought to submit to the imperial dignity, and so induced to bring tribute. The various countries of the Western regions having each one its prince and its troops, are divided and weak, having no common bond of unity. Although subject to the Heung-noo, they have no intimate bond of attachment. The Heung-noo obtain horses, cattle, and woven fabrics from them; but have never been able to cultivate a mutual intercourse with them. They are utterly cut off from China by the nature of the country; and being at such an impracticable distance, it is no advantage to be on good terms with them, and we lose nothing by abandoning them. The source of prosperity is in ourselves, and we gain nothing by them.

Hence, since A.D. 25, the powers of the Western regions, in view of the dignity of the Chinese empire, have generally rejoiced to

¹ This was a composition of silver and tin.

² See Legge’s “Shoo King,” part III, book i, chap. x, par. 83.

maintain an attachment. Some of the smaller states, such as Shen-shen and Keu-sze, whose borders are hard upon the Heung-noo, have been retained by the latter; but the larger kingdoms, such as Sha-keu (Yarkand), and Yu-teen (Khoten), have repeatedly sent envoys and placed hostages with China; desiring to be under the care of the Governor General. Our sacred Emperor taking a wide survey of history past and present, and studying the exigencies of the time, keeps them under restraint; not absolutely repelling their advances, while carefully avoiding promises. The Great Yu, when he rendered the wild tribes of the West submissive; Chow Kung, when he yielded the white pheasant, and T'ae-tsung in his misunderstanding about the running horse, are all instances of the same principle, and may be adduced in its support.

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